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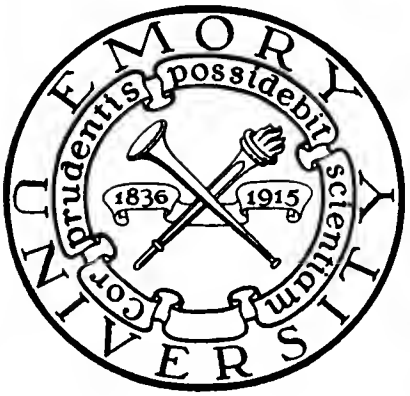

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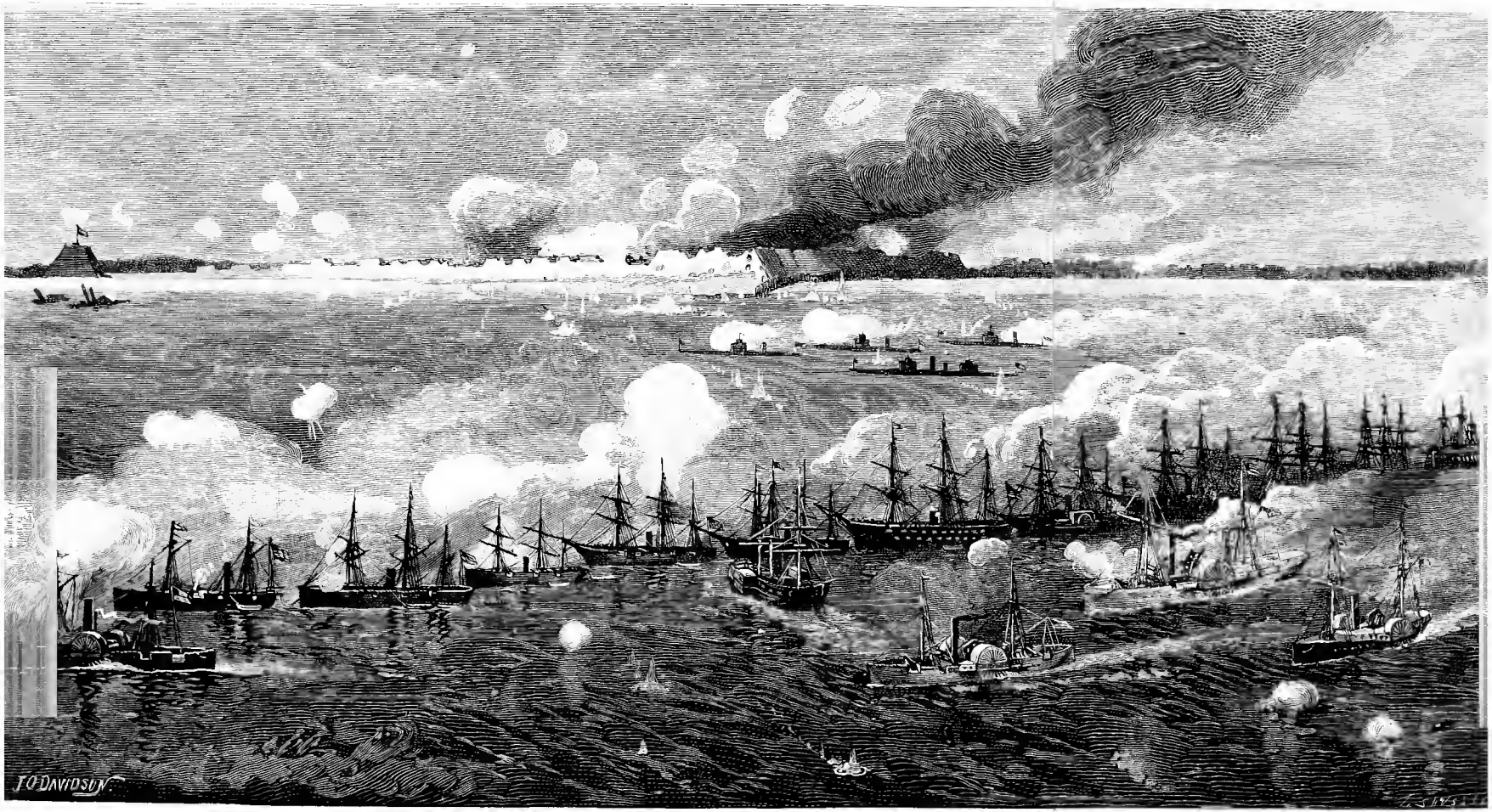

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HISTORIES

OF THE

SEVERAL REGIMENTS AND BATTALIONS

FROM

NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE

GREAT WAR 1861-'65.

WRITTEN BY MEMBERS OF THE RESPECTIVE COMMANDS

EDITED BY

WALTER CLARK,

(LIEUT.-COLONEL SEVENTIETH REGIMENT N. C. T.)

VOL. V

WITH INDEX.

PUBLISHED BY THE STATE.

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1901.

DEDICATION.

IN THE NAME OF THE

MORE THAN **125,000** SOLDIERS, LIVING AND DEAD, WHOM

This State

SENT TO THE FRONT IN ONE OF THE GREATEST AND MOST

UNEQUAL CONFLICTS RECORDED IN HISTORY,

THESE VOLUMES,

FRAUGHT WITH THE TESTIMONY OF COMRADES TO IMMORTAL COURAGE,

ARE INSCRIBED TO THE

Heroic Women of North Carolina,

WHO INSPIRED OUR CITIZEN SOLDIERY

BY THEIR FAITH IN GOD, BY THEIR MAGIC INFLUENCE AND

IMMEASURABLE GOOD WORKS, AND TO

Their Fair Daughters,

WHOSE UNSHAKEN FIDELITY HAS PRESERVED THE FAME OF

Our Glorious Dead.

WITH SUCH TO INSPIRE THE LIVING AND HONOR THE FALLEN THE MEN

OF NORTH CAROLINA WILL EVER BE

Equal to Victory—Superior to Defeat.

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REVIEW AND CONCLUSION.

The last line of these five volumes having now been printed it is proper to write a few lines in review and farewell to be prefixed to this, the last volume.

The origin, the purpose and the scope of this work have been stated in the Preface to Vol. 1. and need not be repeated. In the classic tongue of historic Greece the word *oida, I have seen*, is at the same time both the perfect tense of the verb *eido, I see*, and the present tense of the verb *I know*. That is, "what I have seen I know." It is upon this idea that this work has been compiled. The narrative is not by one historian writing at second hand from information derived from many sources. But herein the narratives are by participants who have written from the personal knowledge of themselves or of their immediate comrades and largely of scenes of which they were eye witnesses.

Their contributions have been laboriously gathered by them from conference, or correspondence, with surviving comrades and diligently compared with the original reports published in the "*Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies.*" As a further assurance of accuracy these sketches were printed in the newspapers and criticisms and corrections requested. It may be stated here that the dates affixed are mostly arbitrary for the majority of the regimental sketches were written in 1895, but being revised again and again down to the time each went to press, the date 9 April, 1900 or 1901, was affixed to those organizations from the Army of Northern Virginia and 26 April to those from the Army of the West, these being the anniversaries of the surrender of the respective armies. A few articles written by persons who died before the beginning of this work have been reproduced where the name of the writer or the subject matter has given them special interest.

The writers herein number 180 and represent every grade in the Army from Lieutenant General to private, and embrace not only men who have filled almost every vocation in

life since the war but those who have occupied every civil office from U. S. Senator and Governor to constable. Farmers, lawyers, preachers, physicians, manufacturers, teachers, editors, day laborers have each and all freely contributed their time and labor to preserve herein the memorials of what their comrades did and suffered at the command of North Carolina during those four eventful years the memory of which can never be forgotten.

Among the brave men who have traced the lines in these volumes are soldiers who heard the first shriek of shell at Bethel in the first real battle of the war 10 June, 1861, and whose ears caught the patter of minies as Cox's brigade fired the last volley at Appomattox 9 April, 1865 and who missed but little of the music of war between those dates. Among these writers are some who heard the opening guns at Sumter 13 April, 1861; many who heard the crash of A. P Hill's musketry on that sultry summer's eve as he drove back Burnside at Sharpsburg and who listened to the long, low monotone of artillery at Gettysburg so steady and unbroken as to seem the prolonged reverberation of a single broadside; eyes now dim saw the Southern night lightened with shell and mortar over doomed Vicksburg; limbs now stiff stepped fast and cheerily as the echoes of Jackson's cannon rolled along the silver Shenandoah. Such another gathering can not be found in any other work and could not be duplicated now for nearly one in every ten has passed beyond the pale since their articles were penned. Their comrades of whose deeds they wrote sleep, many of them, where the Georgian pines are bare, others by the Mississippi, the Cumberland, the Ohio, the Kanawha and where Potomac's breezes whispering low soothe many a soldier's endless sleep.

With a devotion to duty, only to be expected of such men, they have written these volumes and deserve the grateful remembrance of their countrymen for this scarcely less than for the gallant deeds they aided to perform and which but for their pens would have been unrecorded.

While these articles have been necessarily written from the standpoint of each writer which by a natural law makes each object and event near us seem larger and more impor-

tant than those farther off, still there has been a strenuous and painstaking effort to be accurate and truthful to the smallest detail. The work of such men could not be other than reliable. Any errors come from the lack of perspective incident to every narrative by an eye witness.

The articles are 254 in number exclusive of 165 pages embraced in the three Indexes, i. e. Index to Appomattox Parole List, Index to Illustrations and the General Index. These Indexes include some 17,000 names, a very large part of which are cited more than once.

The history of each of our 84 regiments (which includes the "Bethel" Regiment) is written by a member thereof except the sketches of four of the Senior Reserves Regiments and two of the Detailed men of which no survivors could be found. The history of each of our twenty-six Battalions is also given. The history of each brigade is written by a member thereof and a valuable series of Battles, giving North Carolina's part therein is furnished by participants on the respective occasions. The articles on Gettysburg by Major W M. Robbins, Captain Louis G. Young, Captain S. A. Ashe and Lieutenant-Colonel John T. Jones as to the assault on Cemetery Ridge and by Captain N. W Ray on the capture of Cemetery Hill are of exceptional value. An account of North Carolina's share in the Navy is herein preserved including the story of the cruise of the Shenandoah, commanded by a gallant North Carolinian who flew the Confederate battle emblem at her mast head till 6 November, 1865, nearly seven months after Lee's surrender.

The experience of prisoners of war is graphically told including an account of those who were exposed to the fire of our own batteries at Morris Island. Governor Vance's memorable speech narrating the State's record in the war, also the report of our agent sent to England to procure supplies are reproduced. The history of the State's steamer, the *"Ad-Vance"* and a most interesting story by Mr. Sprunt of the incidents of the system of Blockade-running by which we were so long enabled to continue the war are printed for the first time.

Every subject is touched upon save the story of the sacri-

fices, the services, the sufferings of our glorious and heroic women. The flight of time and the invincible modesty of the sex prevented our securing one of themselves to narrate that story and no man felt that his pen was equal to the portrayal. Like Emmett's epitaph, it must remain unwritten but its abiding remembrance is in the hearts of the soldiery of the South. The dedication prefixed to the completed work in this last volume comes from the heart. They are not perfunctory words, but the expression of the sentiments of the more than 125,000 soldiers, living and dead, whom North Carolina sent to the front.

The pay of the Confederate soldier in the depreciated currency was wholly inadequate to be of any assistance to those dependent upon him at home. Mention has already been made of the cotton cards and other supplies brought in through the blockade and distributed by the State to soldiers' wives. In most, if not all the counties, the county authorities procured supplies of corn, meat and salt which were stored in warehouses and dispensed weekly by boards of elderly citizens to the mothers, wives and children who needed assistance. This was not charity but just compensation to those who were absent fighting for the State without pay. Where the counties neglected this just measure there were of course large numbers of desertions. The soldier felt it but just that the government should see that his aged mother, his dependent wife and children were provided for by the State since at its command they were deprived of his labor. The salt was procured from the works at Saltville, Virginia, or from the ocean near Wilmington, the counties raising the funds by the issue of what was known as "Salt bonds." By what now seems a singular decision the Supreme Court of the State, in the Reconstruction era, held the bonds thus issued in aid of the destitute and suffering women and children of the State void "because issued in aid of the Rebellion."

A most interesting chapter might have been added of the operation of the "Tax in kind" by which provisions were obtained for the support of our armies, but as that would have required much elaboration and was a matter concerning

the Army as a whole rather than the North Carolina Regiments and Battalions, the subject has not been treated herein.

A series of extracts from the Executive Letter Books and the files of the Adjutant-General's office 1861-5 would have added interest to this work, but it had already swelled to five volumes, and this as well as some other valuable matter was necessarily foregone.

The legend on the cover is no idle boast, but is based upon evidence given herein that is deemed worthy to be presented to the great jury of the public and of posterity. Major Hale's history of the "Bethel" regiment proves, (if it had ever been called in question) North Carolina's claim to be the *First at Bethel.* The histories herein by Brigadier General Cox, Major General Grimes and by Colonel Frank Parker of the Thirtieth regiment abundantly establish that the volley of Cox's Brigade, of Grimes' Division was the *Last at Appomattox,* the last shots being fired by the Thirtieth Regiment belonging to that brigade. The last capture of guns by that gallant army was the 4 Napoleons taken by Roberts' North Carolina Cavalry brigade the morning of the surrender.

Davidson's history of the Thirty-ninth regiment, as well as Major Harper's history of the Fifty-eighth and Colonel Ray's of the Sixtieth fully demonstrate that our North Carolina soldiers were *Farthest to the front at Chicamauga* and they are corroborated by Captain C. A. Cilley's report, herein reprinted, who was a Staff Officer of Vanderveer's Brigade which faced our North Carolinians on that well fought field.

At *Gettysburg* the history of the Fifty-fifth Regiment by Adjutant C. M. Cooke shows that it went *farthest to the front* on Cemetery Ridge. The best proof of how far a line of battle went is where it left its dead and wounded. These derelicts cast up by the bloody wave of war were found farthest in the front of that gallant regiment and this is shown by the battlefield map prepared by the authority of the United States government after years of careful investigation of official reports and living witnesses from both armies. A copy of this official map, on a reduced scale is printed in this work.

The number of troops this State furnished is shown herein from official records to have been over 125,000 and a full one fifth of the total force of the Confederacy. The losses of this State were over 41,000 by death on the battlefield or from wounds, being the largest loss sustained by any Southern State. Though North Carolina furnished one-fifth of the troops, it also appears that instead of one-fifth of the general officers being appointed from this State not one third of the pro rata, which was her due, received the promotion they so well deserved. Yet by the general opinion in the Army Pender, Hoke, Pettigrew and perhaps others, were as competent to command corps and as much deserved promotion as any who received the appointment of Lieutenant-General at the hands of the Confederate government. Brigadier-Generals Clingman, Lane, James B. Gordon, Matt. W Ransom, Scales, and others merited being made Major-Generals, and the State had many gallant sons who well earned promotion to Brigadier-General Among many such, it may not be invidious to name Major E. J. Hale, who (General Lane being absent wounded) planned the successful movement at Fuzzell's Mills and virtually commanded his brigade at Reams Station, a South Carolinian (General Conner) being nominally in command—Colonel R. Tyler Bennett, the hero of the Bloody Lane at Sharpsburg—Colonel David Coleman in the Army of the West (to which we sent eight regiments and had no Brigadier after General Vance's capture in 1863)—Colonel Jno. S. McElroy of the Sixteenth, Colonel W H. Cheek of the Ninth (First Cavalry) and Colonel T. M. Garrett of the Fifth all of whom were recommended for this promotion. These and many others, whether recommended or not, deserved the honor and were entitled to receive it both on their own merits and from the number of troops furnished by this State. But North Carolina was modest, as she always is, and did not receive just recognition which has ever been her fate, alike in war and peace.

The following admirable summary of the services of our soldiers is taken from a recent speech by the eloquent Henry A. London, now Senator from Chatham, who at the surrender at Appomattox, was a member of the Thirty-second Regi-

ment and courier to General Grimes, and carried to General Cox the order for the last volley fired by that gallant army. His words deserve preservation.

"With a white population in 1860 of 629,942 and 115,000 voters, North Carolina sent 125,000 soldiers to the Confederate armies, composing eighty-four regiments and eighteen battalions. Three of these regiments were artillery, eight cavalry and seventy-three infantry. Several of the battalions were artillery and cavalry. Over 41,000 were killed or died in the service. There were seven Major-Generals from this State, of whom three were killed, namely: Pender, Ramseur and Whiting. There were twenty-six Brigadier Generals from this State; four of whom were killed and the others, almost without exception, were wounded.

"The first victory was won by North Carolina troops at Bethel on 10 June, 1861, and they fired the last volley at Appomattox Court House.

"At Gettysburg 2,592 Confederates were killed and 12,707 wounded, and 3,155 Federals were killed and 14,529 were wounded. Of the killed 770 were North Carolinians, 435 Georgians, 399 Virginians, 258 Mississippians, 217 South Carolinians and 204 Alabamians. The three brigades which lost more killed than any others in that battle were Pettigrew's North Carolina (which lost 190 killed) Davis', composed of three Mississippi and one North Carolina regiment, which lost 180, and Daniel's North Carolina brigade, which lost 165 killed. Pickett's entire division lost 214 killed. No brigade in Pickett's division lost as many killed and wounded as the Twenty-sixth North Carolina regiment, whose loss was 86 killed and 502 wounded, which was the heaviest loss of any regiment in either army in any battle of the war. There were sixteen brigades of Confederates in the first day's battle, of which seven were from North Carolina. In what is called 'Picketts' charge there were nineteen Virginia regiments and fifteen North Carolinians. At Reams Station, in August, 1864, after the first efforts of other Confederates had failed, the three North Carolina brigades of Cooke, Lane and Mac-

"Bombardment of Fort Fisher" (the frontispiece to Vol. 5), the full page engraving of the "Mound Battery" and other engravings. To Mr. James Sprunt the writer of the valuable article on "Blockade Running" we are indebted for the full page engravings of the "Steamer Ad-Vance," the "Shenandoah" and other engravings, and we owe to Colonel Thos. S. Kenan, of the Forty-third regiment, the frontispiece to Vol. 4 "Johnson's Island" (a description of which may be found in his personal reminiscences of prison life on page 689 of that volume) and also for a full page engraving of Company A of his regiment. The only other engraving of a full company is that furnished by Captain C. B. Denson in the Twentieth Regiment.

Numerous maps are given which add much to the easy comprehension of the narratives. The two maps of Gettysburg and that of the capture of Plymouth are especially valuable.

This work undertaken more than seven years ago has been prosecuted with many hindrances. It would be bootless to relate the tribulations attending such an undertaking. Its merits are due to the efforts of the self-sacrificing patriotic men who have written the several histories composing it. Its short-comings are due to the Editor and the limitations which the lapse of time and untoward circumstances have imposed.

For better, for worse, the record is now made up. The last word to the present age or posterity has been said and already the voices of many who have spoken are stilled in death.

On several occasions, the Confederacy was on the very eve of success, but some unexpected fatality intervened. At Shiloh within a half hour of the capture of the Federal Army with Grant and Sherman at its head, a single bullet which caused the death of Albert Sidney Johnston changed the history of the Continent. At Chancellorsville, one scattering volley fired by mistake of his own men took the life of Stonewall Jackson, when but for that fatality the capture of Hooker and his whole army was inevitable. The unexpected humiliation of the Federal Government in surrendering

Mason and Slidell to British threats avoided a war with that power and with it the independence of the South, which would have come with the command of the seas which was within the power, at that time, of Britain's fleet. If Stuart's cavalry had been on hand at Gettysburg, or even a competent Corps commander to have held our gains of the first two days, in all human probability the war would have ended in a great Southern victory at that spot. Had Mr. Davis, when he sent his commissioners to England to negotiate a loan of $15,000,000, acceded to the pressure of foreign capitalists to make it $600,000,000, not only would the Southern finances not have broken down (which was the real cause of our defeat) and Southern troops have been amply supplied, but European governments would have intervened in favor of Southern Independence ere they would have suffered their influential capitalists to lose that sum. They have always intervened everywhere for such cause.

There were other occasions besides when a contrary event would have brought about Independence. No troops in all history have fought better nor has any people shown better military qualities. But, as Napier said of Napoleon, "Fortune, *that name for the unknown combinations of an infinite power,* was wanting to us and without her aid, the designs of man are as bubbles on a troubled ocean."

Historical experience in other countries has been that the disbanded soldiers after a long war, having contracted habits of idleness, have been a source of long continued disturbance. Not so with the Confederate veterans who at once went to work to repair the ravages of war and rebuild the fortunes of their sorely devastated country. Not only that, but they were the mainstay of order and in many places when the discarded camp-followers of the other side were not restrained by the commanders of that army, these were sternly given to understand that if order was not otherwise maintained, the ex-Confederates could and would establish it.

Unawed by garrisons of the victorious army, and unseduced by the blandishments and temptations offered them, these soldiers of a Lost Cause took their stand for Anglo-

BURGWYN, W. H. S., Captain. . . . . II—591, IV—481, 569
Col. 7th Md. Regt., Col. 2nd N. C. Regiment Spanish War, Author Md. Digest, Lawyer, Bank President, Weldon, N. C.

BUSBEE, FABIUS H, Lieutenant. . . . . IV—583
U. S. District Attorney, Raleigh, N. C.

BUSBEE, C. M., Sergeant-Major . . . . . I—281, V—619
State Senator 1874, Grand Sire Odd Fellows 1890, President State Bar Association 1901-2, Raleigh, N. C.

CAHO, W. T., Sergeant . . . . . III—725
State Senator 1874, Lawyer, Bayboro, N. C.

CAIN, WILLIAM, Cadet Captain . . . . . V—637
Professor University of N. C., Chapel Hill.

CALLIS, G. B., Brigadier General U. S. A.,. V—611
Member Congress Wisconsin. Died 1897.

CANTWELL, JNO. L, Colonel. . . . . IV—721, V— 23
Veteran also Mexican War, Secretary Produce Exchange, Wilmington, N. C.

CARR, JULIAN S., Private. . . . IV—581
One of Founders Blackwell's Mfg Co., Commander State Veterans Association, Millionaire, Durham, N. C.

CATHEY, B. H., Lieutenant . . . . . I—751
In business. Bryson City, N. C.

CHEEK, W. H., Colonel. . . . . I—445, 775
Lawyer, Henderson, N. C. Died 23 March, 1901.

CILLEY, C. A Captain U. S. A. . . . . V—169
Judge Superior Court N. C. 1867-8. Died 1898.

CLINGMAN, THOMAS L., Brigadier-General . . . . . V—29, 197
Resigned from U. S. Senate 1861, to join C. S. A. Died 3 November, 1897.

COLE, JAMES R., Colonel . . . . . V—629
Supt. Military School, Dallas, Texas.

COOKE, CHARLES M., Adjutant . . . . . III—287
State Senator 1874; Solicitor 1877-8; Secretary of State 1895-7; Lawyer, Louisburg, N. C.

COWAN, JOHN, Captain. . . . . I—177
Secretary Board of Audit and Finance, Wilmington, N. C. Died 1900.

COX, W. R., Brigadier-General . . . . . IV—44
Judge Superior Court 1877-80; M. C. 1881-87; Secretary U. S. Senate 1894-1900; Farmer and Lawyer, Edgecombe Co., N. C.

CROSS, J. F., Lieutenant . . . . . IV—70
Farmer, Sunbury, N. C.

CUMMING, JAMES D., Captain. . . . . IV—361
In business Brooklyn, N. Y. Died January, 1902.

DAVES, GRAHAM, Adjutant . . . . . II—161
Author and Man of Letters, New Bern, N. C.

DAVIDSON, JNO. M., ... II—727
R. R. Agent, Farmer. Kingston, Georgia.

DAVIDSON, THEO. F, Lieutenant. . . . . II—699
Att'y General N. C. 1884-92; Mayor of Asheville 1895.

DAVIS, T. C., Sergeant. . . . . II—745
Postmaster, Morehead, N. C.

DENSON, C. B., Captain. . . . . IV—409
Teacher, Sec'y N. C. Ag'l. Society, Raleigh, N. C.

DEROSSETT, W. L., Colonel . . . . . I—215
Commander State Veteran Association 1896-7, Wilmington, N. C.

DIXON, B. F., Captain . . . . . III—15
State Auditor N. C. 1901; Major Second N. C. Reg't 1898 (Spanish War).

ELLINGTON, J. C., Lieutenant .. .. III—161
Civil Engineer City of Raleigh.

ELLIOTT, CHAS. G., Captain .. .. IV—527
Treasurer N. & C. R. R. Died 14 August, 1901.

ELLIOTT, GILBERT, Adjutant .. .. V—315
Lawyer, St. Louis, Mo., and New York. Died 9 May, 1895.

EVANS, J. W., Corporal .. .. III—713
Register of Deeds Dare Co., Merchant, Manteo, N. C.

FERGUSON, GARLAND S., Lieutenant .. .. II—291
Solicitor 12th District 1879-1892, State Senator 1876, Waynesville, N. C.

FLANNER, HENRY G., Captain .. .. V—617
Druggist, Wilmington, N. C. Died 1885.

FLOWERS, GEO. W., Lieutenant-Colonel .. .. II—675
Merchant, Taylorsville, N. C.

FRAZIER, F. C., Lieutenant .. .. IV—325
Farmer, High Point, N. C.

GAITHER, BURGESS S, ... V— 57
Member Congress C. S., Lawyer, Morganton, N. C. Died 1892.

GALLOWAY, JNO. M.. .. .. III—529
Prominent Citizen, Madison, N. C.

GORDON, A., MAJOR .. .. I—3, 23, 37, 39, 45
Planter, Hulda, La.

GRAHAM, JAMES A., Captain.. .. .. II—425, IV—501
Lawyer, State Senator 1872; Washington, D. C.

GRAHAM, JOHN W, Major .. .. V—175
Member State Convention 1868; State Senator 1868-'9; and 1876-'77; Lawyer, Hillsboro, N. C.

GRAHAM, Robt D, Captain. .. .. III—313
Chief of Bureau, Dept. Interior; Lawyer, Washington, D. C.

GRAHAM, W A. Major .. .. I—50, II— 79
Planter, Lincoln Co., N. C. Several times in N. C. Legislature, President Farmers' Alliance. Son of Hon. W. A. Graham, C. S. Senator and brother of Major Jno. W. Graham, Captain Robert D. Graham and Captain Jas. A. Graham, who are also Historians in this work.

GREEN, WHARTON J., Lieutenant-Colonel. .. .. IV—243
Member of Congress 1883-87; Farmer, Fayetteville, N. C.

GRIMES, BRYAN, Major-General. .. .. V—247
Farmer, Pitt County; Assassinated 14 August, 1880.

GRIZZARD, JAMES M., Captain... .. .. IV—645
Member Gen. Ass. 1895; Lawyer. Died 1901.

HALE, E. J. Major .. .. I— 69
Consul to Manchester, England; Ed. Fayetteville Observer.

HAMPTON, E. R, Hospital Steward .. .. IV—385
Clerk U. S. Dist. Court 1870-1884. Lawyer, Sylva, N. C.

HANNAH, J. GEORGE .. .. V—643
Insurance Agent, Siler City, N. C.

HARPER, G. W. F., Major .. .. III—431
In Gen. Ass. 1881; Prest. Lenoir N. G. R. R. 1894; Prest. Bank Lenoir, N. C.

HARRILL. L., Captain. .. .. I—771
Prominent Physician, Statesville, N. C.

HARRIS, J. S., Capt., ... I—361
Wounded three times, Merchant, Davidson College, N. C.

HILL, D. H, Lieutenant-General. .. .. V— 15
President Uni. of Arkansas. Died 25 September, 1889.

HILL, JOSHUA B., Sergeant .. .. II—767
U. S. Marshal, Raleigh, N. C.

HINES, PETER E., Surgeon . . . . . IV—623
Prominent Physician, Raleigh, N. C.

HINSDALE JOHN W., Colonel . . . . IV— 35
Prominent Lawyer, Raleigh, N. C.

HOGE, REV. DR. MOSES D., ... V—341
Presbyterian Minister, Richmond, Va. Died 6 January, 1898.

HOLT. E. J., Lieutenant . . . . . IV—91, 580
Sheriff Johnston Co.; Member Gen. Ass. 1874-8; Merchant, Smithfield.

JOHNSON, BRADLEY T., Brigadier-General. . . . V—213
Lawyer, Baltimore, Md.

JOHNSTON, JOS. F., Lieutenant . . . IV—521
Governor of Alabama 1898-'9.

JONES, HAMILTON C., Colonel . . . . . III—405
State Senator 1869-1871; U. S. Dist. Atty. 1884-88; Lawyer; Charlotte, N. C.

JONES, JOHN T., Lieutenant-Colonel . . . V—133
Killed 6 May, 1864, at the Wilderness.

KEARNEY, H. C., Lieutenant . . . . . I—733
Sheriff of Franklin Co. since 1878, Louisburg, N. C.

KENAN, THOS. S., Colonel . . . . . III—1, 19, IV—689, V—611
Attorney-General 1876-1884; Clerk Supreme Court since 1887. Raleigh, N. C.

KENNEDY, JOHN T., Colonel . . . . . IV—71, 370
Member Gen. Ass., Farmer, Goldsboro, N. C.

LAMB, WILLIAM, Colonel . . . . II—629, V—217, 351
Prominent business man, Norfolk, Va.

LAMB, WILSON G., Lieutenant . . . . II— 1
Merchant, Williamston, N. C.

LANE, JAMES H., Brigadier-General. . . II—465, IV—465, V—93, 645
Prof. A. & M. College, Auburn, Ala.

LATTIMORE, THOS D., ... II—581
Clerk Superior Court Cleveland Co.; Treasurer Manufacturing Co., Shelby, N. C.

LAWHON, W H. H., Captain . . . . . III—113
Member Gen. Ass. 1897; Baptist Minister, Moore Co., N. C.

LILES, E. R., Lieutenant-Colonel . . . V— 63
Farmer, Anson Co. Died about 1894.

LINNEY, ROMULUS Z., ... V—285
State Senator; M. C.; Lawyer, Taylorsville, N. C.

LONDON, HENRY A., Private . . . . II—521
Courier who carried last order to charge at Appomattox; Ed. Chatham Record; State Senator 1901. Pittsboro, N. C.

LONDON, W L., Captain . . . . . IV—513
Merchant, Pittsboro, N. C.

LOYALL, B. P., Commander C. S. N., . . . V—325
Resides Norfolk, Va.

LUDWIG, H. T. J., Drummer . . . . . I—387
Professor Mount Pleasant College, N. C., 1871-1900. Died 28 July, 1900.

LUSK, VIRGIL S., ... IV—271
Member Gen. Ass. 1895-1897; U. S. Dist. Atty 1868-1884; Lawyer. Asheville, N. C.

MACRAE, J. C., Major . . . . . I—281, IV—379
Judge Superior Court N. C. 1882-1892; Judge Supreme Court 1892-5; Prof. Law Uni. of N. C., Chapel Hill, N. C.

MACRAE, WALTER G., Captain . . . . . IV—713
Sheriff of New Hanover; Civil Engineer. Wilmington, N. C.

MAGLENN, JAMES, Chief Engineer. . . . . V—335
Master Machinist. Hamlet, N. C.

MANLY, MATT., Captain.. . . . . .I—157
Mayor and Postmaster at New Bern.

MANGUM, A. W., Chaplain. . . . . .IV—745
Methodist Minister; Prof. Uni. N. C. Died 1890.

MARTIN, JAS. G., Brigadier-General . . . . . V— 13
Graduate West Point; Lawyer, Asheville, N. C. Died 4 October, 1878.

MARTIN, W J., Colonel.. . . . . .I—583
Professor Uni. N. C. and Davidson College. Died 23 March, 1896.

MAXWELL, DAVID G., Captain . . . . . IV—405
In business, Charlotte, N. C.

McDOWELL, B. G., Lieutenant-Colonel . . . . .III—515
Atty at Law, Bristol, Tenn.

McKETHAN, A. A., Lieutenant.. . . . . .III—205
Clerk Superior Court Cumberland; Manufacturer; Fayetteville, N. C.

McKINNE, DAVID E., Captain.... . . . . .IV— 25
Merchant, Princeton, N. C.

McLAURIN, W H , Adjutant. . . . . .II— 15
Farmer, Laurinburg, N. C.

McNEILL, THOS. A . . . . . .IV—303
Judge Superior Court, 1898. Lumberton, N. C.

MEADOWS, E. H., Sergeant. . . . . II—507, V—161
In business and Bank and R. R. Director. New Bern, N. C.

MEANS, PAUL B., Private . . . . . .III—545
Member Gen. Ass. 1874-5; State Senator 1885 and 1889; Lawyer. Concord, N. C.

METTS, JAMES I., Captain... . . . . I—177
Prominent Citizen, Wilmington, N. C.

MILLS, G. H., Lieutenant . . . . . .IV—137
In business, Rutherfordton. Died 10 January, 1901.

MONTGOMERY, W A., Lieutenant . . . . . I—605, V—257
Justice Supreme Court since 1895. Raleigh, N. C.

MOORE, JOHN W., Major. . . . . .IV—261
Editor "Moore's Roster," Historian and Novelist, Powellsville, N. C

MOORE, M. V., Captain . . . . . .III—673
Editor and Farmer. Died 1900.

MOORE, T. C., Lieutenant. . . . . .IV—221
Farmer, Bladen County.

MOREHEAD, JAS. T, Colonel . . . . . .III—255
State Senator 1872; Lawyer. Greensboro, N. C.

MORRIS, B. T., Captain . . . . . .III—659
Chairman County Commissioners Henderson County; Farmer.

MULLEN, JAMES M., ... V—269
State Senator N. C.; Judge Hustings Court, Petersburg, Va.

MYROVER, J. H., Lieutenant . . . . . .IV—341
Editor. Man of Letters, Fayetteville, N. C.

OFFICER OF SHENANDOAH, ... V—345
The name is unknown, but supposed to be one of the Surgeons of the ship.

OSBORNE, E. A., Colonel . . . . . I—229
Minister Episcopal Church; Chaplain Second N. C. Regiment Spanish War 1898. Charlotte, N. C.

OUTLAW, E. R., Captain . . . . . I—583
Sheriff Bertie Co. 10 years; Planter. Bertie County, N. C.

PARKER, FRANK M., Colonel . . . . . .II—495
Farmer. Enfield, N. C.

PARKER, W FLETCHER. Lieutenant. . . . . IV— 71
Member Gen. Ass. 1901; Merchant and Farmer. Enfield, N. C.

PATTON, THOS. W., Captain. . . . . III—499
Twice Mayor, Co. Commr., Philanthropist and Financier, Asheville, N. C.

PICKENS, S V., Adjutant . . . IV—109, 363
Lawyer, Hendersonville, N. C.

POOL, S. D , Colonel, ... I—489; V—19, 83
Ed. "Our Living and Our Dead"; Supt. Pub. Instruction N. C. 1878-80. Died in Louisiana 1902.

POWELL, C. S., Adjutant. . . . . IV—329
Sheriff of Johnston Co.; Merchant. Smithfield, N. C.

POWERS, L. E., Lieutenant. . . . . II—147
Member Gen. Ass. 1879-1883, Architect, Rutherfordton, N. C.

PRISONERS AT JOHNSON ISLAND TO GOV. VANCE . . . . IV—697

RAMSAY, JOHN A., Captain . . . . . I—551
State Senator; Civil Engineer. Salisbury, N. C.

RAMSEY, N. A , Captain. . . . . III—503
Surveyor, Durham, N. C.

RAY, JAMES M., Lieutenant-Colonel . . . . III—473
Real Estate Agent, Asheville, N. C.

RAY, NEILL W., Captain. . . . . I—293; V—605
Lawyer; Mayor of Fayetteville, N. C. Died 1899.

RAWLEY, T. L., Captain . . . . I—701, IV—551
In business, Winston, N. C.

RIVENBARK, CHAS W.. Sergeant . . . IV—725 V—595
In business, Charlotte, N. C.

ROBBINS, W M., Major . . . . . V—101
Member Congress 1872-78; Com. Gettysburg Battlefield since 1894.

ROBERTS, W P , Brigadier-General. . . . . II— 99
State Auditor 1877-1891; Consul to Victoria, B. C., 1893-1897. Gatesville, N. C.

ROBINSON, JNO. H.. Adjutant . . . . III—223
Accountant, Fayetteville, N. C.

ROGERS, J. ROWAN, Lieutenant. . . . . III—103
Sheriff Wake County 1887-1891; Farmer. Raleigh, N. C.

ROSE, GEORGE M., Adjutant . . . . . III—685
Speaker N. C. House of Reps. 1883; Lawyer, Fayetteville, N. C.

ROSE, W N., Corporal . . . . . II—269
Farmer, Johnston County, N. C.

ROULHAC, THOS. R.. Lieutenant. . . . . III—125
Judge Superior Court Alabama. Sheffield, Ala.

SANDERS. J. W., Lieutenant . . . . . I—499
Physician, Carteret County, N. C.

SHAW, W P., Lieutenant. . . . . III—455
Clerk Superior Court Hertford County. Winton, N. C.

SMITH, N. S., Adjutant. . . . . I—689
Farmer, Forsythe Co.

SPARROW, THOMAS, Major. . . . . V— 35
Member Gen. Assembly 1858-9; Lawyer. Washington, N. C. Died 14 January, 1884.

SPRUNT, JAMES, Purser . . . . . V—353
Large shipper and British Vice Consul, Wilmington, N. C.

STEDMAN, CHARLES M., Major. . . . . III—21, V—207
Lieutenant-Governor 1889-1893; Lawyer. Greensboro, N. C.

STRINGFIELD, W W ..... III—729
Member Gen. Ass 1883; State Senator 1901; Surveyor, Waynesville, N. C.

SUTTON, THOMAS H., Private ..... II— 65
Member Gen. Assembly 1887, 1889, 1891, 1897; Judge Criminal Court 1897-8; Fayetteville, N. C.

TAYLOR, MATTHEW P. ..... IV—293
Insurance Agent. Wilmington, N. C.

THORNE, E A., Lieutenant ..... V—5, 9
County Commissioner; Farmer, Halifax County, N. C.

THORP, JOHN H., Captain ..... III— 83
State Senator 1887; Lawyer; Farmer, Nash County, N. C. Rocky Mount.

TOLAR, A. H. H., Captain ..... V— 98
Editor, Damon, Texas.

TOON, THOS. F., Brigadier-General ..... II—111
Superintendent Public Instruction 1901-1902. Died February 1902. Lumberton, N. C.

TREDWELL, ADAM, Paymaster in Navy ..... V—299
In business, Norfolk, Va.

TURNER, VINES E., Captain ..... II—181
Dentist, Raleigh, N. C.

TUTTLE, ROMULUS M., ... V—599
Presbyterian Minister, Collierstown, Va.

UNDERWOOD, GEORGE C., Assistant Surgeon ..... II—303
Physician, Chatham County, N. C.

VANCE, ROBERT B., Brigadier-General ..... II—485
Member Congress 1872-82. U. S. Comm'r Patents 1884. Died 1900.

VANCE, ZEBULON B., Colonel ..... V—463
Three times Governor of N. C., and four times elected U. S. Senator; Lawyer. Died 1893.

WADDILL, J. M., Lieutenant ..... III— 63
Merchant, Greenville, S. C.

WALL, H C., Sergeant ..... II—181
Cotton Manufacturer, Member Gen. Ass. 1899, Rockingham, N. C. Died 1900.

WALTON, T. GEORGE ..... V—635
Prominent Citizen, Morganton, N C, now 86 years old.

WATSON, CYRUS B., Sergeant ..... III— 35
State Senator 1889, 1891; Dem. Candidate for Governor 1896; Lawyer, Winston, N. C.

WEBB, LEWIS H., Captain ..... IV—355
Franklin, Va. Died 8 February, 1902.

WEBB, ROBERT F., Colonel ..... IV—657
Farmer, Durham County. Died 1890.

WESTON, JAMES A., Major ..... II—537
Minister Episcopal Church; Author of "Marshall Ney in North Carolina."

WHARTON, RUFUS W., Lieutenant Colonel ..... III—703, IV—225
Member State Board of Agriculture; Farmer. Washington, N. C.

WHEELER, WOODBURY, Captain ..... IV—315
Lawyer, Washington, D. C. Died 1900.

WHITAKER, SPIER, Adjutant ..... V—97
Judge Superior Court 1890-4; Major 6th U. S. Vols. 1898 (Spanish War). Died June, 1901.

WHITE, B. F., Captain ..... V—581
Merchant, Alamance County, N. C.

WHITE, JOHN, Commissioner ..... V—453
Merchant, Warrenton, N. C. Died ——.

WIGGINS, OCTAVIUS A. .. .. .II—658
In business, Wilmington, N. C.

WILLIAMS, ARTHUR B., Captain. . . .. .I—537
Mayor Fayetteville 1875; Chairman Co. Commrs; in business, Fayetteville, N. C.

WILLIAMS, J. MARSHALL, Lieutenant. .. .. .III—267
Farmer, Fayetteville, N. C.

WILLIAMS, R. S., Captain. .. .. I—653
Farmer, Guilford County.

WYNNS, JAS. M., Lieutenant-Colonel. .. . . .IV—365
Member Gen. Assembly, Merchant, Murfreesboro, N. C.

YELLOWLY, E. C., Lieutenant-Colonel..... V—55
Lawyer, Greenville, N. C. Died 1885.

YOUNG, LOUIS G., Captain. . .IV—555, V—113
Merchant, Savannah, Georgia.

THE EDITOR. .. .... I—v, xi, xiii, xiv; IV—1, 65, 69, 97, 107, 129, 133, 224, 270, 301, 302, 338, 339, 383, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 403, 407, 435, 649; V—iii, vii, xix, 1, 3, 8, 17, 71, 298, 573, 587, 626.

NUMBER OF TROOPS FROM NORTH CAROLINA.

BY THE EDITOR.

By the Adjutant-General's report 19 November, 1864, it appears as follows:

Transferred to Confederate States by original rolls on file	64,636
No. of conscripts to 30 September, 18,585, but report of General Holmes 9 February, 1865	21,348
Enlisted number of recruits since 1862	21,608
Number of North Carolinians serving in other States	3,100
Number of detailed men (in three regiments and one battalion)	3,117
Number Junior Reserves	4,207
Number Senior Reserves	5,686
Number in State Troops	3,203
Total	126,905
Additions by coming of Military age after 19 November, 1864, and other additions, probably	2,000
Total	128,905
Besides nine regiments of reorganized Home Guards 1864–'65	5,000
Grand total	133,905

Which is slightly in excess of Major Gordon's estimate in Vol. 1 of this work, at page 19.

The total enrollment in the Home Guards in the Spring of 1864 was 25,098 This embraced men from 45 to 50, and 5,589 militia officers, magistrates and other civil officers exempt from Confederate service and other exemptions and those exempt from physical disability This latter class was reported to the Confederate Congress at 7,885. It is probable that the exemptions of all kinds from the Home Guards were one-half, leaving 12,500 in Home Guards. Of this number 6,000 were later taken into Confederate service as Senior Reserves, leaving the Home Guards only 6,500, of whom, however, when finally ordered out not more than 5,000 as above stated) got to the front. The number of officers, 1,312, which were not very excessive before the Home Guard was depleted by taking out the Senior Reserves, became nearly one-fourth of the force when mobilized, as appears

from the official returns of the three Home Guard Regiments at Kinston September-November, 1864, and their number an embarrassment.

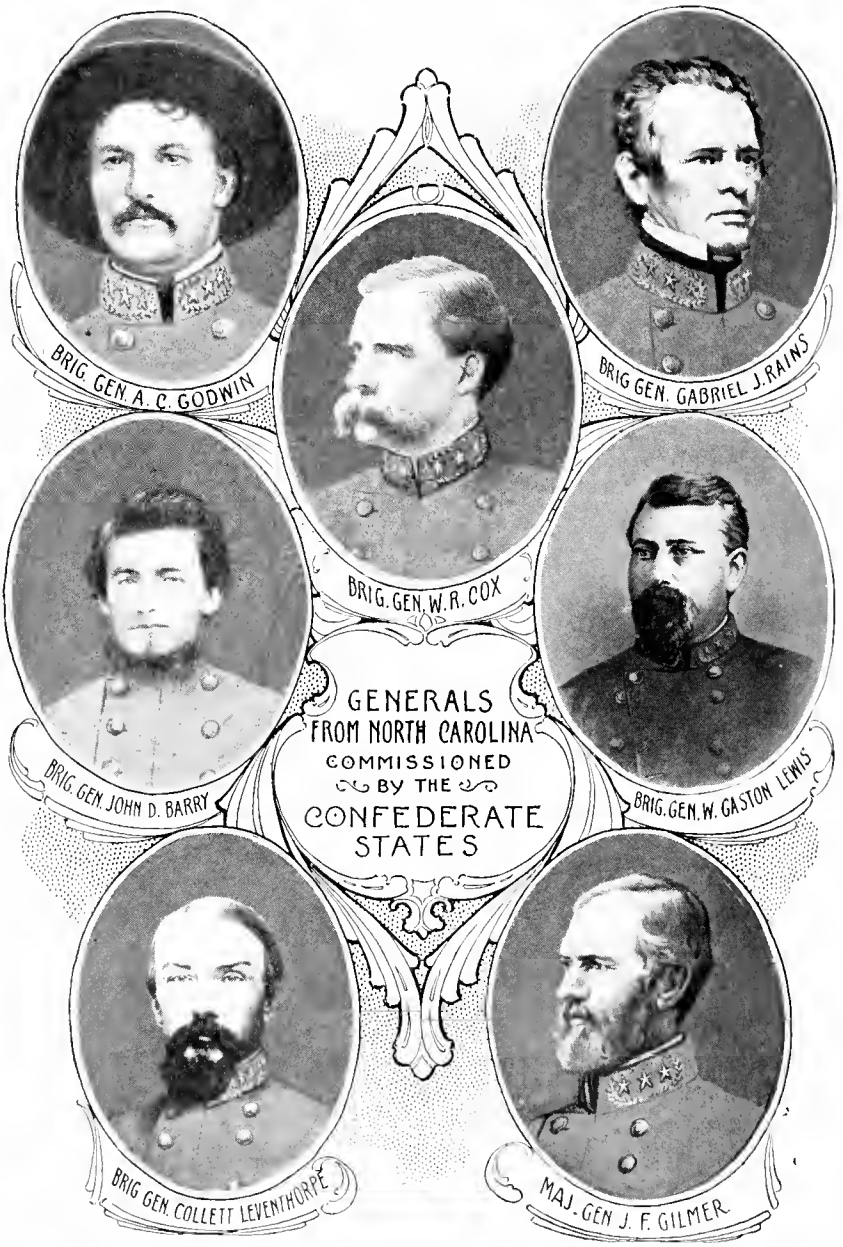
In the early part of the war the "State Troops" consisted of the first ten regiments and the Thirty-third, which were enlisted at the start "for three years or the war," the others being twelve months men or "Volunteers." But the State Troops in above table are the Sixty-seventh and Sixty-eighth Regiments, the First Heavy Artillery Battalion (herein styled Ninth Battalion), the Fifteenth Battalion (cavalry), and Fourteenth Battalion (cavalry), which later was raised to a regiment, the Seventy-ninth (or Eighth Cavalry). These commands were never turned over to the Confederacy, having been raised for service in the State, though they served under Confederate Generals, like all others.

EXEMPTIONS.

As a matter of interest, the following table is here given of exemptions in this State which were reported to the Confederate Congress in February, 1865. *129 Off Rec. Union and Confed. Armies, 1101*:

Physical disability	7,88
State officers (including in this 2,650 militia officers)	5,58
Ministers of the Gospel	40
Editors	2
Newspaper employees	9
Apothecaries	31
Physicians	37
Presidents and College Professors	17
Presidents, etc., Deaf, Dumb and Blind	5
Overseers and Agriculturists	24
Railroad officers and employees	96
Mail contractors	10
Mail drivers	4
Non combatants (Quakers)	34
Foreigners	16
Special exempts	4
Agricultural details	22
Shoemakers, tanners, etc.	4
Total	17,26

The State also furnished a large number of negroes from time to time to work on fortifications under Confederate authority.


BRIG. GEN. A. C. GODWIN
BRIG GEN. GABRIEL J. RAINS
BRIG. GEN. W. R. COX
BRIG. GEN. JOHN D. BARRY
BRIG. GEN. W. GASTON LEWIS
GENERALS
FROM NORTH CAROLINA
COMMISSIONED
BY THE
CONFEDERATE
STATES
BRIG GEN. COLLETT LEVENTHORPE
MAJ. GEN J. F. GILMER

NUMBER OF GENERALS FROM NORTH CAROLINA.

By THE EDITOR.

The total number of Confederate troops was between 600,000 and 650,000. The troops from North Carolina in Confederate service as above was over 125,000, or about one-fifth.

The Confederacy appointed the following General Officers (*20 So. Hist. Papers, 117*):

Full Generals	6
Full Generals (temporary)	2
Of these *none* from North Carolina.	
Lieutenant-Generals	21
From North Carolina two or *one-tenth.*	
Major-Generals ..	99
From North Carolina 6 (or including J. F. Gilmer 7) instead of *20, her quota.*	
Brigadier-Generals ..	.480
From North Carolina 25 (or including General Rains, 26) instead of *her quota, 96.*	

Of her twenty-five Brigadiers, four were temporary appointments and two of them were returned to their former rank as Colonels after a few weeks service, and of her Major-Generals, also one was a temporary appointment. Of her two Lieutenant-Generals, one had his appointment withdrawn after rendering distinguished services in command of his Corps at Chickamauga, and the Senate had no chance to confirm him as Lieutenant-General.

Investigation shows that Brigadier-General Gabriel J. Rains and Major-General Jeremy F Gilmer were appointed from this State and should be added to the list of Generals given in the preface to Vol. 1. Neither, however, commanded North Carolina troops. General Rains commanded

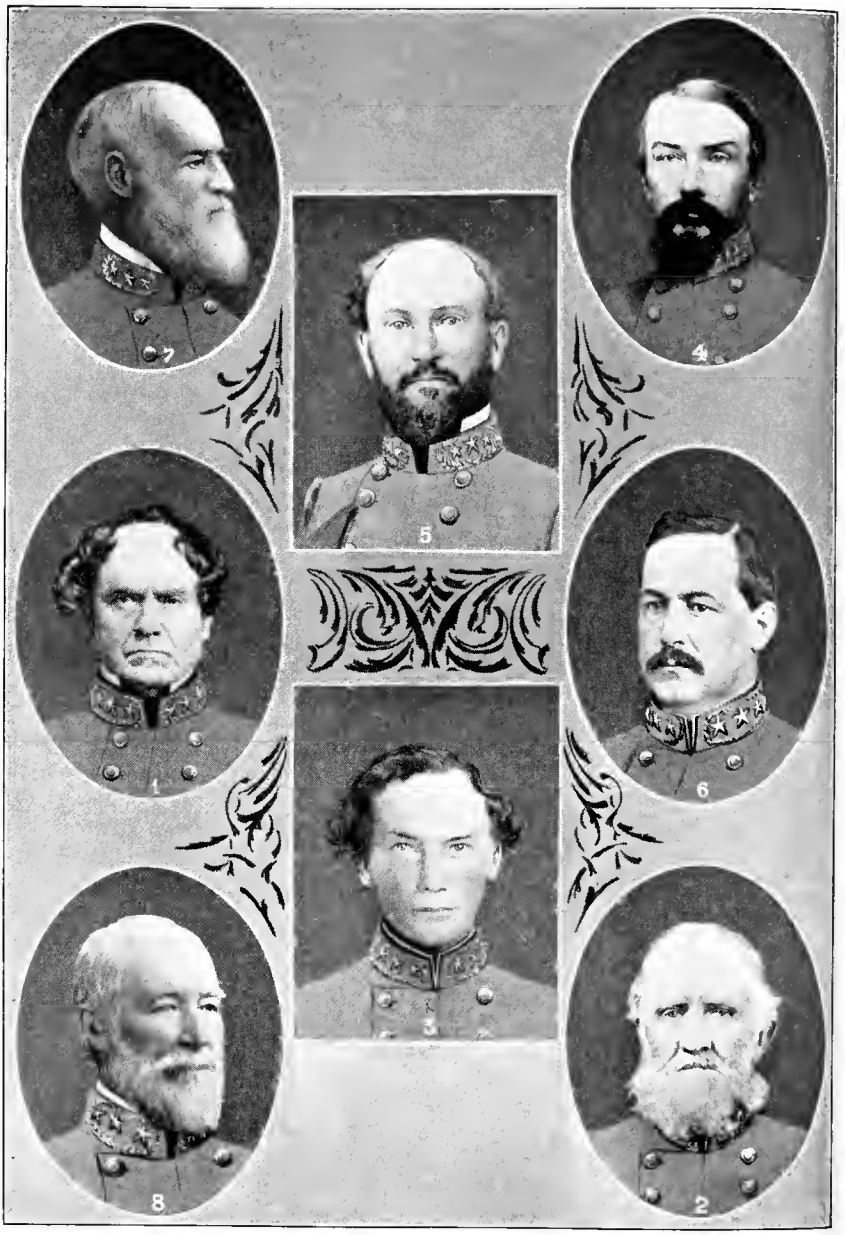
an Alabama Brigade in 1862 and thereafter was in the Engineer Corps. General Gilmer was Chief of Engineer Bureau, and for a while Chief of Staff in the Army of the West. After the war he settled in Georgia and General Rains in Arkansas.

With Generals Rains and Gilmer added and including the *temporary* appointments above mentioned, out of 608 General Officers appointed by the Confederacy, this State had only 35 instead of 122, which would have been her one-fifth, in proportion to troops furnished.

Governor Vance's letter books show repeated protests by him against this discrimination. It is not too much to say that by common consent in the army Pender, Hoke, and Pettigrew were entitled to command Corps or even Armies, and we doubtless had others who would have proven themselves competent for high commands if opportunity had been furnished them.

It was only by urgent representations that Governor Vance secured the brigading of North Carolina troops together in Lee's army and that most of the commanders of North Carolina brigades were North Carolinians. As to the Army of the West, that was never done, though the Legislature in 1864 passed a resolution requesting that the North Carolina regiments in that army should be brigaded together and a North Carolinian made Brigadier. In fact, Colonel David Coleman, of the Thirty-ninth, for a long time commanded Ector's Brigade, in which was that regiment and the Twenty-ninth, but he never received his merited promotion. The Junior Reserves Brigade 12 March, 1865, petitioned (unknown to Colonel Coleman) that he be promoted Brigadier-General and assigned to command them, but the application was not granted.

The same discrimination against this State in the appointment of General Officers was shown in the Revolution and even in the recent war with Spain.



GENERALS COMMISSIONED BY STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA, 1861-5.

1. Walter Gwynn, Brigadier-General.
2. Jno. W. McElroy, Brigadier-General.
3. David Clark, Brigadier-General.
4. Collett Leventhorpe, Brig'r-General.
5. James G. Martin, Adjutant-General.
6. Daniel G. Fowle, Adjutant-General.
7. R. C. Gatlin, Adjutant-General.
8. John F. Hoke, Adjutant-General.

GENERALS COMMISSIONED BY THE STATE.

By Lieutenant E. A. THORNE, Ordnance Officer, Ransom's Brigade.

During the war there were eight Brigadier-Generals under State commission, who commanded troops at the front or otherwise rendered active service.

1. Brigadier-General John F Hoke, Adjutant-General of the Militia. Through him the volunteer regiments were organized down till his election as Colonel of the Twenty-third Regiment, when he resigned. Later he resigned as Colonel of that regiment and in 1864 was elected Colonel of the Seventy-third Regiment (First Senior Reserves) and in October, 1864, was placed in command as Senior Colonel of a brigade consisting of the Seventy-third, Seventy-fourth and Seventy-sixth Regiments (First, Second and Third Senior Reserves), which were in Confederate service and assigned to duty guarding Federal prisoners at Salisbury and scouring the three adjacent Congressional Districts for deserters.

2. Brigadier-General James G. Martin, who was Adjutant-General under the act to raise the eleven regiments called "State Troops," who enlisted in the beginning for "three years or the war." After the resignation of Adjutant-General Hoke he was Adjutant-General of the entire service of raising and equipping troops and likewise charged with the defence of the State. It was on his suggestion that Governor Vance began the importation of army supplies through the medium of the *Ad-Vance*. In May, 1862, he was appointed Brigadier-General in the Confederate States service and some months later a question being raised as to his right to hold both commissions, he resigned the State appointment and took command of a brigade in the field. In 1864 he was sent to Asheville and placed in command of that department, surrendering at Waynesville 10 May, 1865, the last surrender this side the Mississippi.

3. On General Martin's resignation, Daniel G. Fowle was appointed Brigadier and Adjutant-General, but held the position only a short time, being soon elected to the Legislature from Wake County. Previous to this appointment he had been Lieutenant-Colonel of the Thirty-first Regiment and had been captured at Roanoke Island. In 1888 he was elected Governor.

4. Brigadier-General Walter Gwynn was an Engineer officer of high repute and was, on the outbreak of the war, assigned by the State to the supervision of our coast defences. His reports, still on file, are valuable and show that if his suggestions had been followed we should not have lost Hatteras and thus opened the door to the host of evils which beset Eastern North Carolina the remainder of the war. With Hatteras securely held all Eastern North Carolina would have been exempt from invasion as fully as the Cape Fear country was till the loss of Fort Fisher. He resigned in 1862.

5. On the resignation of Adjutant-General Fowle, Richard C. Gatlin, who was the senior Brigadier-General from North Carolina in the Confederate service, resigned and was appointed Brigadier and Adjutant-General in State service. He rendered most efficient duty organizing the Home Guards, assisting the conscript service, and supervising the State Troops, which were the Sixty-seventh and Sixty-eighth Regiments, the First Heavy Artillery Battalion, the Fifteenth (cavalry) Battalion (Wynns'), and Fourteenth Battalion (cavalry) later Seventy-ninth Regiment, for none of these were ever turned over to the Confederacy. The Sixty-eighth was raised entirely from men within the territory occupied by the Federals. General Gatlin's letter and order books show the great range of his work and the faithfulness and ability with which he executed it.

6. Brigadier-General David Clark in January, 1862, was assigned to the command of the defences of Roanoke river, not so much by virtue of his command of a brigade of militia (from Halifax, Northampton and Warren) as by special appointment from the Governor by reason of his knowledge of that section. The militia of Bertie, Washington, Edgecombe

and Martin were also placed under his orders, and authority was given him to impress slaves, teams and supplies for his purpose. On the fall of Roanoke Island he assembled his militia at Plymouth, subsequently falling back to Williamston. These orders were renewed by General S. G. French and General T. H. Holmes, who successively came in charge of the department. The Thirty-fourth Regiment under Colonel Leventhorpe and the Thirty-eighth under Colonel W J. Hoke were sent to his assistance, but he was not relieved of the command till late in April when Colonel Leventhorpe succeeded him. This is the only instance of a General of Militia being in active service during that war in this State—though it was common practice in the Revolution and in 1812-15—and this, as just stated, was rather a special assignment to duty than by virtue of his previous commission.

7 Brigadier-General John W McElroy was appointed by Governor Vance 19 September, 1863, under the act of 7 July, 1863, to establish a "Guard for Home Defence"—commonly called Home Guards. He and General Leventhorpe, appointed a year later, were the only two Generals of the "Home Guards." General McElroy was assigned to duty in charge of Home Guards of several counties adjacent to his headquarters at Burnsville to protect that section against raids from East Tennessee and was on duty till the surrender of Johnston.

8. Brigadier-General Collett Leventhorpe had served as a Captain in the English army He was successively Colonel of the Thirty-fourth and Eleventh North Carolina Regiments and was wounded at Gettysburg. In 1864 he was appointed by Governor Vance Brigadier-General and assigned to command the three Home Guard regiments which were assembled at Kinston in September, 1864. On 3 February, 1865, he was appointed Brigadier-General in the Confederate service but remained in command of these troops. He was at Greensboro 14 April, 1865, and notified General Beauregard on that date that his troops were leaving for home. *100 Off. Rec. Union and Confed. Armies, 800.* But the same thing was taking place at that time among all the troops, for it was plain to all alike that our hope of success had passed.

NORTH CAROLINIANS ON MILITARY COURTS.

By THE EDITOR.

By General Orders 20 December, 1862, *128 Off. Records Union and Confed. Armies, 248*, there was established nine permanent military courts, one for each corps. Each court consisted of a presiding judge and two associates, all of the rank of Colonel, and a Judge Advocate.

North Carolina was represented on these courts as follows:

On court for Jackson's Corps, Colonel David M. Carter, Associate Judge.

On court for E. Kirby Smith's Corps, Colonel Thomas Ruffin, Presiding Judge.

On court for G. W Smith's Corps, Colonel William B. Rodman, Presiding Judge.

Out of the thirty-six officers of the nine courts, North Carolina had only these three representatives, though at the time fully one-fifth of the troops under arms were from this State.

GENERAL AND FIELD OFFICERS KILLED

By Lieutenant E. A. THORNE, Ordnance Officer, Ransom's Brigade.

GENERALS.

Major-General William D. Pender.
" " Stephen D. Ramseur.
" " W H. C. Whiting.
Brigadier-General L. O'B. Branch.
" " Junius Daniel.
" " James B. Gordon.
" " G. B. Anderson.
" " J J. Pettigrew.
" " Arch. C. Godwin.

COLONELS.

Montford S. Stokes, First Regiment.

Charles C Tew, Second Regiment.

Gaston H. Meares, Third Regiment.

Geo. B. Anderson, Fourth Regiment, promoted to Brigadier-General and killed.

James H. Wood, Fourth Regiment.

Thos. M. Garrett, Fifth Regiment.

Charles F Fisher, Sixth Regiment.

Isaac E. Avery, Sixth Regiment.

Wm. D. Pender, Sixth Regiment, promoted Major-General and killed.

Reuben P Campbell, Seventh Regiment.

Henry M. Shaw, Eighth Regiment.

James B. Gordon, Ninth Regiment, promoted Brigadier-General and killed.

James A. J. Bradford, Tenth Regiment, died in service.

Junius Daniel, Fourteenth Regiment, promoted Brigadier-General and killed.

Philetus W Roberts, Fourteenth Regiment, died in service.

Robert M. McKinney, Fifteenth Regiment.
Champ T. N Davis, Sixteenth Regiment.
Thos. J Purdie, Eighteenth Regiment.
Solomon Williams, Nineteenth Regiment.
Matthew L. Davis, Nineteenth Regiment.
Clinton M. Andrews, Nineteenth Regiment.
J Johnston Pettigrew, Twenty-second Regiment, promoted Brigadier-General and killed.
Daniel H. Christie, Twenty-third Regiment.
Charles C. Blacknall, Twenty-third Regiment.
Henry K. Burgwyn, Twenty-sixth Regiment.
Wm. H. A. Speer, Twenty-eighth Regiment.
Edward C. Brabble, Thirty-second Regiment.
L. O'B. Branch, Thirty-third Regiment, promoted Brigadier-General and killed.
Clark M. Avery, Thirty-third Regiment.
Richard H. Riddick, Thirty-fourth Regiment.
John G. Jones, Thirty-fifth Regiment.
Charles C. Lee, Thirty-seventh Regiment.
William M. Barber, Thirty-seventh Regiment.
George B. Singletary, Forty-fourth Regiment.
J. Henry Morehead, Forty-fifth Regiment, died in service.
Samuel H. Boyd, Forty-fifth Regiment.
Robert C Hill, Forty-eighth Regiment, died in service.
Stephen D. Ramseur, Forty-ninth Regiment, promoted Major-General and killed.
James K. Marshall, Fifty-second Regiment.
Marcus A. Parks, Fifty-second Regiment.
Wm. A. Owens, Fifty-third Regiment.
A. C. Godwin, Fifty-seventh Regiment, promoted Brigadier-General and killed.
Peter G. Evans, Sixty-third Regiment.
James H. McNeil, Sixty-third Regiment.
Alex. D. Moore, Sixty-sixth Regiment.
W C. Walker, Eightieth Regiment.

LIEUTENANT-COLONELS.

Walter S. Stallings, Second Regiment.
William M. Parsley, Third Regiment.

Junius L. Hill, Seventh Regiment.
Thomas Ruffin, Ninth Regiment.
Francis W Bird, Eleventh Regiment.
George S. Lovejoy, Fourteenth Regiment, died in service.
John C. Lamb, Seventeenth Regiment.
R. K. Pepper, Twenty-first Regiment.
Saunders Fuller, Twenty-first Regiment.
Franklin J. Faison, Twentieth Regiment.
Robert H. Gray, Twenty-second Regiment, died in service.
C. C. Cole, Twenty-second Regiment.
John T Jones, Twenty-sixth Regiment.
Thomas L. Lowe, Twenty-eighth Regiment, died in service.
William W Sellers, Thirtieth Regiment.
Oliver C. Petway, Thirty-fifth Regiment.
John A. Graves, Forty-seventh Regiment, died in prison.
John A. Flemming, Forty-ninth Regiment.
James T. Davis, Forty-ninth Regiment.
John R. Murchison, Fifty-first Regiment.
Caleb B. Hobson, Fifty-first Regiment.
James C. S. McDowell, Fifty-fourth Regiment.
M. Thomas Smith, Fifty-fifth Regiment.
Edmund Kirby, Fifty-eighth Regiment.
James T. Weaver, Sixtieth Regiment.
Edward J Mallett, Sixty-first Regiment.
Elias F. Shaw, Sixty-third Regiment.
Clement G. Wright, Sixty-sixth Regiment.
H. L. Andrews, Second Battalion.

MAJORS.

Tristam L. Skinner, First Regiment.
John Howard, Second Regiment.
A. K. Simonton, Fourth Regiment.
John C. Badham, Fifth Regiment.
Henry McRae, Eighth Regiment, died in service.
John H. Whitaker, Ninth Regiment.
Thomas N. Crumpler, Ninth Regiment.
Egbert A. Ross, Eleventh Regiment.
Edward Dixon, Fourteenth Regiment, died in service.
Lucius J. Johnson, Seventeenth Regiment, died in service.

John S. Brooks, Twentieth Regiment.
Alexander Miller, Twenty-first Regiment, died in service.
W J Pfohl, Twenty-first Regiment.
Laban Odell, Twenty-second Regiment.
E. J Christian, Twenty-third Regiment.
William S. Grady, Twenty-fifth Regiment.
Abner B. Carmichael, Twenty-sixth Regiment.
Thomas W Mayhew, Thirty-third Regiment.
Eli H. Miller, Thirty-fourth Regiment.
George M. Clark, Thirty-fourth Regiment.
John M. Kelly, Thirty-fifth Regiment.
Owen N. Brown, Thirty-seventh Regiment.
Thomas McGee Smith, Forty-fifth Regiment.
Benjamin R. Huske, Forty-Eighth Regiment.
John Q. Richardson, Fifty-second Regiment.
James J Iredell, Fifty-third Regiment.
James A. Rogers, Fifty-fourth Regiment.
James S. Whitehead, Fifty-fifth Regiment, died in service.
A. T. Stewart, Fifty-eighth Regiment.
Thos. W Harris, Sixty-third Regiment.
Charles M. Roberts, Seventy-ninth Regiment.
John W Woodfin, Woodfin's Battalion.

E. A. THORNE.

AIRLIE, N. C.,
9 April, 1901.

N. C. TROOPS--WHERE STATIONED 21 NOVEMBER, 1861

By BRIGADIER-GENERAL JAMES G. MARTIN.

First Regiment, Mathias Point, Virginia.

Second Regiment, Fredericksburg, Virginia.

Third Regiment, Acquia Creek, Virginia.

Fourth, Fifth and Sixth Regiments, Manassas, Va.

Seventh Regiment, Bogue Island, near Fort Macon, N. C.

Eighth Regiment, Roanoke Island, North Carolina.

Ninth Regiment, near Centreville, Virginia.

Tenth Regiment, Companies B, H and F, heavy artillery, Fort Macon, North Carolina; Company C, light battery, near New Bern, North Carolina; Company G, light battery, near Fort Macon; Company D, light battery, near Centreville, Virginia; Company E, light battery, near Port Royal, South Carolina; Company A, light battery, Smithfield, Virginia; Company I, heavy artillery, near New Bern, North Carolina; Company K, prisoners of war taken at Hatteras.

"Bethel" Regiment, disbanded 13 November.

Twelfth Regiment, Norfolk, Virginia.

Thirteenth and Fourteenth Regiments, Smithfield, Va.

Fifteenth Regiment, Yorktown, Virginia.

Sixteenth Regiment, *en route* to Manassas from Western Virginia.

Seventeenth Regiment, the field officers and Companies D, F, G, H, and I, were taken prisoners of war at Hatteras, the balance of the regiment is at Roanoke Island and in Hyde County, North Carolina.

Eighteenth Regiment, near Port Royal, South Carolina.

Nineteenth Regiment, Companies D, E, F, I and K, are at Edenton, North Carolina, not mounted; A, C and H at New Bern, North Carolina, mounted; B and G at Washington, North Carolina.

Twentieth Regiment, Forts Johnston and Caswell, N. C.

Twenty-first and Twenty-third Regiments, Manassas, Va.

Twenty-second Regiment, Evansport, Virginia.

Twenty-fourth Regiment, ordered from Western Virginia to Petersburg, Virginia.

Twenty-fifth Regiment, near Port Royal, South Carolina.

Twenty-sixth Regiment, Bogue Island, near Fort Macon.

Twenty-seventh Regiment, Companies A, B and G at Fort Macon; the balance at Fort Lane, near New Bern, N. C.

Twenty-eighth Regiment, near Wilmington, N. C.

Twenty-ninth Regiment, at Raleigh under marching orders to Jonesboro, Tennessee.

Thirtieth and Thirty-first Regiments, near Wilmington, N. C.

Thirty-second Regiment, Companies G, H, I and K taken prisoners at Hatteras; the other six companies are stationed near Norfolk, Virginia.

Thirty-third Regiment, Companies A, B and C in Hyde County; the balance in this city getting equipped.

Thirty-fourth Regiment, at High Point, North Carolina.

Thirty-fifth Regiment, at Raleigh without arms.

Thirty-sixth Regiment, the six companies on the coast of North Carolina.

Thirty-seventh Regiment, organized at High Point to-day. No arms.

Two more regiments can be organized soon if arms can be furnished for them.

The above does not include the battalion and companies that have tendered their services to the Confederacy. They would form, at least, two regiments.

I am very respectfully,

J G. MARTIN.

RALEIGH, N. C.,
21 November, 1861.

NOTE.—The above is report of Adjutant General Martin, 21 November, 1861, to Adjutant General Samuel Cooper, C. S. A.

DEEDS OF DARING---SIX HEROES.

By D. H. HILL, Lieutenant-General.

There were at least six instances in the siege of Petersburg in which shells, with burning fuse attached, were picked up and thrown over the breastworks. On inquiry, each of these brave men were from North Carolina and their names and commands were as follows:

1. Captain Stewart L. Johnston, Company H, Seventeenth North Carolina Regiment, says: "A shell from one of the enemy's mortars fell in the midst of the company, and while it was spinning round like a top and the fuse still burning, Private William James Ausbon picked it up and cast it over the breastworks where it immediately exploded. General Beauregard in general orders directed his name to be placed on the Roll of Honor and that he be presented with a silver medal."

2. Colonel Jno. E. Brown, Forty-second North Carolina Regiment, says: "Private Frank Campbell, Company F, of this regiment, though belonging to the Drum Corps, was frequently on the firing line. On one occasion a loaded shell fell into the trenches at Petersburg. Campbell caught it up immediately and threw it outside, before it could explode, thereby saving the lives of a number of his comrades. On another occasion he threw water upon a shell for a like purpose. He was from Davie County and survived the war."

3. Captain T. J Adams, Company K, Forty-ninth North Carolina Regiment, says: "Private William Guffey, of my company, while rubbing up his field piece, as he was pleased to call his rifle, had the misfortune to have it smashed by a mortar shell. Seeing the shell, with the fuse burning rapidly and almost ready to explode, he cried out, 'Why, there is the darned old thing frying now,' and grabbing it up, threw it over the breastworks."

4. Captain R. D. Graham, Company D, Fifty-sixth North Carolina Regiment, writes: "On 18 June, 1864, the next day after the terrific night battle of 17 June, a battery to the

right of the Baxter road threw a shell into a ditch where the 'Crater' afterwards exploded on 30 July, which ditch was crowded with men from our regiment. Its explosion would have caused a great loss of life, but quick as thought, Private John Alvis Parker, of my company, had it upon his spade and threw it over the breastworks, saying, "Get out of here." It exploded as it went over. There was no braver deed during the war. I heard that the same thing was done by a member of Pegram's Battery the same day."

5. Adjutant W L. Faison, Sixty-first North Carolina Regiment, says: "I send you the name of Sergeant Thomas L. Graves, Company A, of this regiment, as one of the six 'nameless heroes.' On 3 June, 1864, at Cold Harbor, while the enemy was shelling our works, a shell fell in the trench occupied by our regiment, in a smoking condition and almost ready to burst. It was at once seized by this brave man and thrown over the parapet."

6. Captain Jas. D. Cumming, Cumming's Battery, Company C, Thirteenth North Carolina Battalion, writes: "While Butler was 'bottled up' at Bermuda Hundreds, during a heavy cannonade on 3 June, 1864, a shell from a 32-pound battery, just opposite our position, fell into our trenches and rolled under the trail of a gun by which I was standing. Private J. P Pierce, from Columbus County, N. C., of my battery, raised the shell and threw it over the parapet. General Beauregard in a general order complimented his bravery and presence of mind."

D. H. HILL.

CHARLOTTE, N. C.,
9 April, 1867.

NOTE —The above is taken from Vol 2, *Land We Love* (1866-67) edited by General Hill, in which much valuable material for the history of the War is preserved. which is also true of Colonel Stephen D. Pool's valuabe volumes *Our Living and our Dead*. There is no record of all those who captured flags from the enemy, but in *69 Off. Rec Union and Confed Armies 806* is an official report of the capture 12 May, 1864, of the flag of the 51st Penn. regiment by Lieutenant O. A. Wiggins, Co. E, 37th N. C. regiment; of the flag of the 17th Michigan by Lieutenant J. M. Grimsley, Co. K. 37th regiment, N. C., and of a brigade guidon by Private James H. Wheeler, Co. E. Eighteenth N. C. regiment. It is to be regretted that a complete list of the brave men from this State who thus captured flags from the enemy can not now be made.

OTHER DEEDS OF DARING.

By THE EDITOR.

Among the many other deeds of striking gallantry are the following whose memory has been preserved to us by resolutions of thanks by the General Assembly, for they are not mentioned in any of the articles in these volumes.

On 4 July, 1863, the General Assembly passed a resolution of thanks to "Captain John Elliott, of Pasquotank county, his officers and men, for the gallant manner in which they captured the two Federal steamers, *Arrow* and *Emily*, (mail boats), the former in Albemarle and Chesapeake canal, the latter in North river, and bringing the same through Albemarle Sound and up the Chowan and Blackwater rivers and placing them safely under our guns at Franklin, Va., a distance of 120 miles from the place of capture, and that, too, while numerous gun-boats were cruising the same route."

On 7 July, 1863, the General Assembly passed a resolution of thanks to a "detachment of six men," of Captain S. C. Barrington's company, of Major Jno. N. Whitford's Battalion, "for their gallant and daring conduct in boarding and capturing the crew of one of the enemy's boats (the *Seabird*) on the waters of Neuse river, and in burning and destroying said boat and cargo," and requested that Major Whitford should "forward a list of the names of the brave men who have thus distinguished themselves" that they might be placed on the roll of honor.

Captain Barrington's company was from Craven and when Whitford's Battalion was increased and became the Sixty-seventh Regiment, it was Company B, of that command.

On recent investigation by Major Graham Daves these facts are learned:

"The schooner *Seabird* was captured at the mouth of South river, off the Garbacon Shoals, and far within the Federal lines. The names of the scouting party, 'a detachment of six

men,' are, or rather were—for all except the first mentioned are now dead—Robert F. Stilley, James M. Carmady, Benj. F. Edwards, Frank Howard, Cyrus J. Mayo and Wiley Rowe. Stilley was in command of the party. All were of Craven County."

Captain Jno. T. Elliott's became later Company A, of the Sixty-eighth Regiment, and was from Pasquotank County. The incidents connected with the above captures by his company should now be hunted up and the names of the brave participants preserved if these lines should strike the eye of any having knowledge of the facts. The same should be done as to the acts which caused the General Assembly to pass a resolution of thanks 23 December, 1864, "to Captain John A. Teague, Twenty-ninth Regiment North Carolina Troops, and to the brave officers and men under his command for the efficient manner in which they have discharged their duties in defending the western border of our State from the inroads of the enemy and depredations of bands of lawless men."

The capture in Neuse river of the steamer *Mystic* 5 April, 1865, and of the side-wheel steamer *Minquas* and two barges on 7 April, 1865, by small detachments of the Sixty-seventh, then operating in Sherman's rear, is told in Vol. 3 of this work on p. 710, and the capture of a steamer in New River 28 November, 1862, by Company A, of the Forty-first regiment (Third Cavalry), and a section of Adams' battery is narrated in Vol. 2, p. 774. Doubtless there were other incidents of a similar kind creditable alike to the courage and enterprise of our troops whose memory should be preserved by surviving comrades before it is too late.

A NORTH CAROLINA HEROINE.

By COLONEL STEPHEN D. POOL, Tenth Regiment (1 Art.) North Carolina Troops.

News had been received at headquarters at Kinston in November, 1862, that two Generals of the Federal army—one of them commanding in North Carolina, would, on a certain day, pass from Morehead to New Bern. It was advisable, in view of certain contemplated movements, to capture the train and secure the officers. At 10 o'clock p. m., I received orders to proceed at once to Trenton, take a detail of men from Major Nethercutt's command, and, if possible, on the day named, capture the train. At 2 a. m., I reached Trenton to find Major Nethercutt absent on one of his usual scouting expeditions. Awaiting his return at daylight, I made myself comfortable, and was about to indulge in a morning nap, when the clatter of the feet of a horse, at full gallop, caused me to step to the door of the court house to see what was in the wind. The sentinel upon duty had halted the rider, and was receiving from him a paper to be immediately delivered to the officer in command. To my astonishment, the note bore no address, and upon being opened the blank page of half a sheet of letter paper was all that met my eye. The rider, an elderly countryman, unknown to me, was breathing his jaded horse preparatory to return; but could give me no other information than this: About 1 o'clock a. m., he was aroused from his slumbers and on going to his door, found a lady on horseback who gave him the note, and told him to take it at full speed to Trenton and give it to any Confederate officer he should find on duty there, as it contained important information. In a few moments thereafter, I was in the private room of a citizen of Trenton, and his kind wife was warming an iron, for my use. Applied to the seemingly blank sheet of paper, heat soon enabled me to see what I de-

sired. Foster had returned two days sooner than anticipated and was to leave that very morning with a force most accurately detailed on the sheet before me, on an expedition, having, in my opinion, the railroad bridge at Weldon for its objective point. The object of my expedition being thus frustrated, I returned immediately to Kinston, and gave the information I had procured through the intrepid daring of one of New Bern's daughters to the officer in command. Steps were promptly taken by the General commanding the department, and such an array of troops were placed in front and upon the flanks of the Federal General as caused him rapidly to retrace his steps. The lady's name appended to that note has never been told—her secret has been locked in my breast—my superior officer, respecting my motive in desiring to keep it, only requiring my pledge that the writer was worthy of credit. I doubt if the writer of that note knew into whose hands it fell or the good it accomplished. When I state that she was a young lady, tenderly reared, and then in the very morning of her maidenhood, her night ride at great personal risk, to convey useful information, can be properly appreciated.

STEPHEN D. POOL.

NOTE.—The above is taken from Vol. 4, p. 123 of "Our Living and Our Dead." Recent investigation shows that a young lady living in New Bern sent the letter out (written probably with milk, which a hot iron will disclose) by another lady living in the country who could pass the pickets, and she delivered it to the messenger in the manner stated. Both ran great risk.—ED.

CAPTURES AND BATTLES.

A CAPTURE BEFORE THE WAR.

OCCUPATION OF FORTS BELOW WILMINGTON 10 JANUARY, 1861.

By JOHN L. CANTWELL, Colonel Fifty-First Regiment, N. C. T.

The fact that the State of North Carolina was slow to follow the secession movement of her more Southern sister States was the cause of much chafing among her people in the eastern counties, and especially along the seacoast, where it was urged that the Federal Government was likely, at any moment, to garrison the forts commanding Cape Fear river, and Beaufort harbor.

The people of Wilmington were particularly exercised over the possibility of such a step being taken, and it is likely that the knowledge of this strong feeling, and the impression that it would be regarded as an act of coercion, alone deterred the Washington Government from sending down strong garrisons and ample munitions of war.

Fort Caswell, commanding the main entrance to Cape Fear river, was a bastioned, masonry fort of great strength, and in thorough order, but without mounted guns. Once occupied and armed it would have been impossible for the Confederates, without command of the sea, to have retaken it, and the port which afterwards proved of such inestimable value to them would have been effectually sealed. The Federal fleets having free entrance there, would have held the shores on either side of the river for some distance up, and commanded, from a safe interior base, the entrance through New Inlet, for the defence of which Fort Fisher was afterwards built, and that historic and epoch-making earthwork would probably never have been constructed.

In the State at large the union sentiment was at this time slightly in the ascendent. In the lower Cape Fear section the secessionists were probably in the majority. These re-

garded delays as dangerous, and anticipated with forebodings the occupation of the forts by the Union forces.

Early in January, 1861, alarmed by the condition of affairs in Charleston harbor, they determined to risk no longer delay. A meeting of the citizens of Wilmington was held in the court house, at which Robert G. Rankin, Esq., presided, who afterwards gave his life for the cause on the battle field of Bentonville. A Committee of Safety was formed, and a call made for volunteers to be enrolled for instant service under the name of "Cape Fear Minute Men." The organization was speedily effected, John J. Hedrick being chosen commander.

On 10 January Major Hedrick and his men embarked on a small schooner with provisions for one week, the Committee of Safety guaranteeing continued support and supplies, each man carrying such private weapons as he possessed. Arriving at Smithville (now Southport) at 3 p. m., they took possession of the United States barracks known as Fort Johnson, and such stores as were there in charge of United States Ordnance Sergeant James Reilly, later Captain of Reilly's Battery. The same afternoon Major Hedrick took twenty men of his command, reinforced by Captain S. D. Thruston, commander of the "Smithville Guards," and a number of his men and citizens of Smithville, but all acting as individuals only, and proceeded to Fort Caswell, three miles across the bay, where they demanded, and obtained, surrender of the fort from the United States Sergeant in charge.

Major Hedrick assumed command and prepared to make his position as secure as was possible. About twenty-five strong, armed only with shotguns, but sure of ample reinforcements should occasion arise, these brave men determined to hold Fort Caswell at all hazards. In bitter cold weather they stood guard on the ramparts and patroled the beaches, reckoning not that, unsustained even by State authority, their action was treasonable rebellion jeopardizing their lives and property. There were only two 24-pounder guns mounted, one on the sea face and one on the inner face, both carriages being too decayed to withstand their own recoil, but, such as they were, with them they determined to defy the army and

navy of the United States. The smoke of an approaching steamer being once descried below the horizon the alarm was signaled, and, believing it to be a man-of-war, the brave men of Smithville flew to arms, and soon the bay was alive with boats hurrying them to the aid of their comrades within the fort. Women, as in the old days, armed sons and fathers, and urged them to the front. But the steamer proved to be a friendly one.

Upon receipt of unofficial information of this movement, Governor John W Ellis, as Captain-General and Commander-in-Chief of the North Carolina Militia, 11 January, 1861, addressed a letter to Colonel John L. Cantwell, commanding the Thirtieth Regiment North Carolina Militia, at Wilmington, in which, after stating his belief that the men were "actuated by patriotic motives," he continued:

"Yet, in view of the relations existing between the General Government and the State of North Carolina, there is no authority of law, under existing circumstances, for the occupation of United States forts situated in this State. I cannot, therefore, sustain the action of Captain Thruston, however patriotic his motives may have been, and am compelled, by an imperative sense of duty, to order that Fort Caswell be restored to the possession of the authorities of the United States.

"You will proceed to Smithville on receipt of this communication and communicate orders to Captain Thruston to withdraw his troops from Fort Caswell. You will also investigate and report the facts to this department.

"By order of John W Ellis,

"Captain-General and Commander-in-Chief

"Graham Daves, *"North Carolina Militia."*

"Private Secretary and Acting Adjutant-General."

Upon receipt of this order on the 12th, Colonel J. L. Cantwell notified the Governor that he would proceed at once to Fort Caswell, accompanied by Robert E. Calder, Acting Adjutant, and William Calder, Acting Quartermaster, two staff officers temporarily appointed for that duty. Transportation facilities between Wilmington and Smithville were then

very limited. Colonel Cantwell and his aids embarked on a slow sailing sloop which became becalmed within four miles of Smithville. They were put into shallow water from whence they waded and walked to Smithville, where they secured, with difficulty, because the populace was almost unanimously opposed to their supposed mission, a pilot boat in which they sailed to Fort Caswell, arriving there after dark.

After some parleying, and not without reluctance, they were admitted and conducted to Major Hedrick, to whom the following order was delivered:

"*To Major John J Hedrick, Commanding Fort Caswell*:

"SIR:—In obedience to the order of His Excellency, John W Ellis, Governor, Etc., a copy of which I herewith transmit, it becomes my duty to direct that you withdraw the troops under your command from Fort Caswell, and restore the same to the custody of the officer of the United States, whom you found in charge. Respectfully,

"JOHN L. CANTWELL,
"*Colonel Thirtieth North Carolina Militia.*

"ROBERT E. CALDER,
"*Acting Adjutant.*"

The garrison asked until the next morning to consider what reply should be made and, on the morning of the 13th this was returned:

"*Colonel John L. Cantwell*:

"SIR:—Your communication, with the copy of the order of Governor Ellis demanding the surrender of this post, has been received. In reply I have to inform you that we, as North Carolinians, will obey his command. This post will be evacuated to-morrow at 9 o'clock, a. m.

"JOHN J HEDRICK,
"*Major Commanding.*

"GEORGE WORTHAM,
"*Acting Adjutant.*"

The fort was evacuated on the next day Colonel Cantwell and his Aides returned to Wilmington and reported the

facts to Governor Ellis. The United States Sergeant again assumed control of the Government property.

Thus matters remained in this section until April of the same year, the State in the meantime drifting steadily towards secession and war, and the people sternly arming and preparing. The local military companies in Wilmington were fully recruited, and the former "Minute Men" permanently organized as the "Cape Fear Light Artillery," under which name they served through the war.

On 14 April came the firing upon Fort Sumter, followed on the 15th by a call from the Secretary of War upon the Governor of North Carolina for "two regiments of military for immediate service." Immediately the Governor telegraphed orders to Colonel J L. Cantwell, at Wilmington, "to take Forts Caswell and Johnson without delay, and hold them until further orders against all comers." Colonel Cantwell, as commander of the Thirtieth Regiment North Carolina Militia, promptly issued orders to "the officers in command of the Wilmington Light Infantry, the German Volunteers, and the Wilmington Rifle Guards, to assemble fully armed and equipped this afternoon" (15th), which was promptly obeyed.

On the morning of the 16th the Governor telegraphed Colonel Cantwell to proceed at once to the forts "and take possession of the same in the name of the State of North Carolina. This measure being one of precaution merely, you will observe strictly a peaceful policy, and act only on the defensive." The force under Colonel Cantwell's orders moved promptly. It consisted of the Wilmington Light Infantry, Captain W L. DeRosset; the German Volunteers, Captain C Cornehlson; the Wilmington Rifle Guards, Captain O. P Meares; and the Cape Fear Light Artillery, Lieutenant James M. Stevenson, commanding. At 4 p. m., United States Sergeant James Reilly surrendered the post at Fort Johnson, where Lieutenant Stevenson was left in command with his company. The remainder of the battalion, under Colonel J L. Cantwell, proceeded to Fort Caswell and took possession at 6:20 p. m., Sergeant Walker, of the United States Army, being placed in close confinement in his quar-

ters "in consequence of the discovery of repeated attempts to communicate with his government."

Officers and men worked with vigor to mount guns and prepare for defence, and the work never ceased until the fall of Fort Fisher in 1865, and the necessary abandonment of the defences of the lower harbor. The Wilmington Light Infantry were soon after sent to Federal Point, where, in Battery Bolles, they began the first defensive works which afterward grew into Fort Fisher, and its outlying batteries.

Thus was war inaugurated in North Carolina more than a month prior to the act of secession, and it is a noteworthy fact that the news of the act dissolving its connection with the Union, and the call upon her sons to arm themselves was first made known to the pioneer troops of the Cape Fear on the parade ground at Fort Caswell.

JOHN L. CANTWELL.

WILMINGTON, N. C.,
10 January, 1901.

THE BATTLE OF MANASSAS.

21 JULY, 1861.

By BRIGADIER-GENERAL THOMAS L. CLINGMAN.

On that day, General Beauregard was kind enough to lend me one of his horses, and during the entire battle, I was either with him or General Joseph E. Johnston. I will now confine my statement to the narration merely of some facts connected with the conduct of Colonel Fisher's regiment. Between two and three a. m., our army seemed to be most pressed, the enemy then having gotten farthest in his advance, on our left flank. Besides large masses of the enemy which had driven back our small force there engaged, Rickett's six-gun battery was pushed far forward to a point on the left of General Johnston's position, concealed, however, by a skirt of pine trees. Its shots passed by us and went many of them nearly a mile to the rear. Its rapid firing from this advanced position, indicated to every one the advantage our adversaries had gained, and the situation seemed most critical. I felt confident that if the enemy could long maintain that position, our center would give way. General Johnston evidently impressed with the gravity of the situation, exclaimed in a loud, earnest voice, "If I just had three regiments! Just three regiments!"

I looked to the rear through the open field and said, "Here they are, General." He took a hasty glance to the rear and said, "They are too far off. I want them now!" The nearest of the regiments was within less than a quarter of a mile. The men were bending forward, marching up the hill as fast as possible. They passed seventy or eighty yards to the left and entered the pines, moving by the flank, directly towards Rickett's Battery. The other two regiments were slower in getting forward, and passed some hundreds of yards to our left. As the regiment which had marched so near went out of view among the pines, an officer left it and came up to me.

He was Dr Caldwell, the Surgeon, and informed me that it was Colonel Fisher's regiment that had gone in. I expressed to him my regret that I had not known it, that I might have spoken to the Colonel and other officers. I waited anxiously the result. The enemy were still pressing on; this battery and others were incessantly throwing their shot far to our rear, while the musketry fire on our side was slack.

It ought to be stated, that as the enemy had turned our left flank with the larger part of his active fighting force early in the day, as fast as our regiments could be gotten up they went in, and the collision was accompanied by heavy musketry discharges on both sides. As our troops were, however, very greatly outnumbered by the masses of the enemy, and outflanked, they were forced back with much loss, and there would be a slackening of the musketry fire. The enemy thus, by overlapping our left, was able to make a steady advance, and was then getting in the rear of our center, or rather might soon have been there.

Within fifteen minutes or less after Fisher's regiment passed out of view, suddenly the crash of musketry was louder than it had been at any time during the day. That battery suddenly become silent. It did not fire another gun that day. The heavy musketry fire continued for more than half an hour and gradually become fainter. At length there was a dead pause for some moments. Believing the battle was over, I took out my watch. It was then precisely 4 o'clock. There was no other musketry firing that day, till late in the evening near Centreville.

I will now briefly state what had occurred. Colonel Fisher moved his regiment by the flank into the pines. Immediately in front of them, and on his right as he marched obliquely towards the left of our line, there was an open field. In it, about sixty yards from the woods, Rickett's Battery was stationed. From it, towards the woods, the ground slightly rose, so that he was obliged to elevate his guns a little, that his shot might pass over the ridge at the border of the field. Outside of the field the ground descended into the wood. Colonel Fisher at the head of his regiment passed just inside the wood, below the crest of the ridge, along

ground which was rising a little. Thus he did not see the battery until he, with some companies, had rather passed it. Captain Isaac Avery's company was just opposite the battery. Finding themselves in this dangerous proximity, his company and others near them fired suddenly into the battery, only sixty yards distant. This fire killed most of the cannoneers as well as their horses. The men ran down on them, and finished the survivors with their muskets and bowie knives. Immediately after this, Colonel Fisher, having passed over the battery, received a ball in the brain and fell dead about thirty yards in the rear of the battery they had taken. Captain Isaac Avery stated to me that while he was sitting for a moment on one of the captured pieces, he saw Colonel Fisher, who had moved forward to reconnoitre seemingly, but was waving his rifle above his head triumphantly. After his death, the regiment was obliged to abandon the guns, not by the enemy's fire, but by that of our own men.

There was a regiment they thought from Alabama, on their left, but about two hundred yards in their rear, which continued to fire on them. It was this fire that killed young Mangum and several others. Many think it probable that Colonel Fisher himself was thus killed. As his regiment had gotten so far in front, and was on ground so lately occupied by the enemy in heavy force, the mistake was made. The regiment was thus obliged to abandon the battery, but it was never used, or ever retaken by the enemy. I saw Lieutenant Douglas Ramsey lying dead among the guns at the close of the fight, while the Captain (Rickett), wounded, was carried off a prisoner by our men.

I can vouch for the accuracy of the above statements, partly from what I saw, and also chiefly from conversations, which I had on that day and the succeeding one, with officers and privates well known to me. The official reports of Barry, the Chief of the Federal artillery, and of General Heintzelman, both confirm the truth of these statements. They said that this battery of Rickett's was pushed forward far in advance, and that a regiment on our side come up within sixty or seventy yards of it, and by a well directed fire disa-

bled it. Captain Rickett himself, while a prisoner, I was told about that time, said that as soon as he saw this regiment, he directed his guns to be lowered so that he could fire into it, but that before his order could be executed the regiment fired and disabled him, killed Lieutenant Ramsey and most of his gunners. This declaration of his confirms what several members of Captain Avery's company from Yancey told me at the time. They said "that battery would have ruined us but they were firing over our heads." Captain Avery told me that as soon as he saw the battery, he without waiting orders, directed his men to fire.

It may be asked why these facts so honorable to Colonel Fisher and his regiment have not been officially or publicly recognized? Colonel Fisher was himself killed and his only field officer then with the regiment, was Lieutenant-Colonel Lightfoot, who unfortunately, was not in the battle. He, with the two rear companies, was by some means separated from the balance of the regiment, as it was marching into battle. I saw him, and these two companies in the rear, after the battle had ended. The officers stated that while under his immediate command, as the regiment was marching forward into the battle, they were separated from the other eight companies. Lightfoot, in their presence, for it was a general conversation, complained very much of Colonel Fisher because he carried the regiment into action by the flank. He gave no other reason for not being in the engagement. Some days afterwards, when I urged him to make such a report as would do justice to Colonel Fisher and the regiment, he merely reiterated his complaints about the regiment being carried into battle by the flank. Not having been in the battle himself, his report was not of such a character as to afford a proper knowledge of the affair.

I appealed to General Jos. E. Johnston and requested him to have the facts made public, but he replied that in making out his report he could only give such statements as come up to him from the reports of his subordinates.

The service of Colonel Fisher and his regiment can not be over estimated on this occasion. Let it be admitted that it was a mere accident that he should have thus moved up by

the flank (the best mode in which he could have moved), and thus gotten just to the place where he ought to have been. The opportunity thus afforded was rightly used, and most fortunately for the success of our army. Neither then, nor at any time since, have I doubted that this movement saved the day to the Confederacy If the gallant and noble Fisher, by this dash, lost his life, who did more during the long and arduous struggle? Having from that day to this determined to endeavor to have justice done to his splendid and heroic action, I avail myself of this occasion to say something in that behalf. I saw him for the last time two weeks before his death, and his bright looks and generous words of thanks to me, for a slight service I had been able to render him and his command, are too vividly before me to allow me to let the occasion pass by without a brief tribute to his memory.

THOS. L. CLINGMAN.

ASHEVILLE, N. C.,
21 July, 1874.

THE FALL OF HATTERAS.

29 AUGUST, 1861.

DIARY OF MAJOR THOMAS SPARROW, TENTH REGIMENT, (1 ART.) NORTH CAROLINA TROOPS.

Portsmouth, N C., 27 August, Tuesday. The privateer steamer *Gordon* ran into the inlet some time in the afternoon, and put David Ireland and two others of the crew on the shore. They reported in camp, the appearance of a fleet of United States steamers, seen off Hatteras, after they left that inlet. This news corresponded with a letter previously received by Captain W T Muse, of the navy, giving notice of the expedition.

Captains Lamb and Clements were at Portsmouth from Hatteras attending a court-martial. These gentlemen expressed their desire to return to their commands at Hatteras that night. I detailed Privates Wm. H. Hanks and Woodley to take the steamer *M E. Downing* to carry them. They left in the steamer about 10 o'clock.

During the afternoon I went to Fort Ocracoke with Lieutenant-Colonel G. W Johnston, Major H. A. Gilliam, Captains Luke, Company D; John C Lamb, Company A, and Clements, and took with me Sergeant William H. Von Eberstein to assist in the defence of the fort, and to act as Ordnance Officer. He went immediately to work preparing cartridges and putting things in order.

August 28, Wednesday —I rose and dressed at reveille and went on drill with the company on the parade ground, near the church. Drilled two hours.

On return from the drill, Major Gilliam called me to the front fence and stated that Colonel Martin had sent a dispatch, ordering all the forces at Ocracoke to Hatteras, and requesting me to go. (I had been released from service in the Seventeenth Regiment, and was expecting orders to join Colonel Tew's Regiment in Virginia.) I at once gave or-

ders for the men to get breakfast, prepare two days' provisions, pack their knapsacks, take tent flys (for they had no tents), and prepare to embark.

I appointed T. Hardenburgh a lance Sergeant, and left him in charge of the camp, giving him written orders. Among these was one, that he should request Mr. B. J. Hanks to take certain of my command expected from Washington, on the steamer *Col. Hill,* to Hatteras in the afternoon. Another was on the approach of an enemy to take all the valuable baggage and the remaining men in camp to Fort Ocracoke, and if defeated in an attempt to do this, then to make the best of his way up the sound to Washington.

The Washington Grays, forty-nine in number, exclusive of commissioned officers, were in line, uniformed and equipped at 10 o'clock. I marched to the wharf, and embarked them for Hatteras, on the schooner *Pantheon.*

The Morris Guards, Tar River Boys, and Hertford Light Infantry, embarked in other vessels.

The Morris Guards took a vessel at Beacon Island, and so had several hours advantage. The others were towed by the steamer *Ellis.* Captain Muse embarked on her. So they had an advantage.

Wind and tide being against us, we took a longer route round Royal Shoals, and so were the last to arrive at Hatteras. The *Ellis,* with her tow, was only a half mile or so ahead of us when we arrived.

When within ten or twelve miles from the inlet, we began to see the fleet off the fort, first from the rigging, then from the deck. As we drew nearer we began to count them— one, two, four, ten, thirteen! There is a large fellow—there three others—there the small ones! Occasionally a gun was heard, then another—then three or four in quick succession.

The breeze freshened and favored us, and we began to make the fort and all about it very plainly. The decks and gunwales became crowded with men eager to see the bombardment, insomuch that the helmsman, a negro, could hardly see to steer the vessel. I had to order them constantly to trim the vessel.

We soon had the fleet and both forts in full view. The

Tar River Boys were just ahead of us, towed in by the steamer *Ellis*. The Morris Guards were in a schooner at anchor near the Swash. We followed hard after the *Ellis*.

We had an uninterrupted view of the fight. It was beyond description. There lay the formidable fleet of large and small vessels off Forts Clark and Hatteras, and seemingly in the inlet, was a steamer of moderate dimensions, afterwards known to be the *Monticello*.

Part of the fleet were firing upon Fort Clark, and part upon Fort Hatteras, but the principal engagement seemed to be between Hatteras and the *Monticello*. We could trace every shot fired at the latter, and see every gun fired by her. Some fell to the right of her, but a number we could see went into her. Eight struck her hull, and several penetrated through and through. We thought from our position that both forts returned the fire. This we afterwards learned to be a mistake. Fort Clark did not reply, being at that time in possession of the enemy. It was hard sometimes to distinguish between the bursting of a shell in the fort, and a gun fired from it. Almost every shot was remarked by the eager men on board. There goes the big fort—there goes the little fort—that shot was too high—that too far to the right—that one plugged her in the side, good for that, boys. There goes a broadside from the big steamer! How the shell burst over the fort! What beautiful white clouds of smoke they make! Such were some of the oft-repeated remarks made by the men around me.

I had never before seen a shell explode. It was sometime before I got to understand the thing. I saw from time to time beautiful little puffs of white, silvery smoke hanging over the fort without at first being able to account for them. I soon learned to know that it was where a shell had burst in the air, leaving the smoke or gas behind it, while the fragments had descended on their mission of destruction. As remarked before, there was such a continual roar of artillery, that we could not at our distance of one, two and three miles distinguish the bursting of a shell from the firing of a gun.

At three-quarters of a mile from shore the *Ellis* grounded. The schooner in tow of her, containing the Tar River Boys.

was then detached to come to an anchor. The schooner with Captain Gilliam's company, was at anchor outside of all of us. We had passed her. This, as well as I could judge, was near 5 o'clock. My pilot did not know the way through the channel to the fort.

About this time the firing had almost ceased on both sides, and the *Monticello* had hauled off the inlet.

What was to be done? I came to anchor, had the boat lowered, and went off to the *Ellis*. Captain Muse informed me (by hail) that Fort Clark had surrendered, and that two men had been killed. He offered me a pilot, Mr. Mayo, and put him in my boat. I returned immediately to the *Pantheon*, ordering the anchor to be weighed before I boarded.

Just then two boats with Captain Muse, Lieutenant-Colonel Johnston, and others, pulled from the *Ellis* towards the shore. I was off in a few moments, beating up the channel, towards Fort Hatteras. When this was discovered by the enemy, they began to fire rifle shot and shell at us. The shells fell short, but the rifle shot flew by us in quick succession. I had to make great exertions to keep my men below decks, out of the way of the shots. I remained on deck near the galley Soon we discovered crowds of men sitting on the outside of the fort. We knew not what to make of it. No flag was flying in the fort, and I began to think that all was over.

I ordered two hands in the boat, and pulled for the shore. The shot continued to fly over and beyond us, but none took effect. Landing, I gave orders that the vessel should go close to the shore, and disembark the men as soon as possible. I then hastened to the fort, and entered through the sally-port.

The soldiers sitting on the outside of the parapet, and on each side of the sally-port, looked fatigued and care-worn, but their faces lighted up as I saluted them, gave them a word of encouragement and passed into the fort. I found the men standing about in various directions, some with arms, others with muskets stacked, and all looking glad that the day's fight was over, and that reinforcements had arrived. They openly expressed joy at this latter occurrence. Captain Lamb greeted me shortly after I entered. He was as

cheerful as usual and said he had defended Fort Clark during the morning until he had shot away nearly every pound of powder. On the front of the fort facing the ocean leaning against a traverse, I found Colonel Martin, Lieutenant-Colonel Johnston and Captain Clements. The Colonel seemed feeble and worn out. All expressed the opinion that we should be attacked at night by the enemy's forces in possession of Fort Clark. Estimated at about eight hundred.

The *Pantheon* containing the Washington Grays, sailed close into the shore and soon landed the men. I ordered Jesse Liverman, one of the cooks, to be sent up to assist in preparing coffee and food for the soldiers. A Yankee cook, from one of the prize schooners (the *Samuel Chase*), I ordered to be kept on board, fearing that he might desert, and communicate with the enemy. I also ordered E. Harvey and A. Buckstarf to be kept on board to guard the vessel and prevent the hands from running her off. I did not allow the knapsacks of the company to be landed, fearing they might fall into the hands of the enemy. For the same reason I did not allow the tent flys to be landed.

I anticipated the result before leaving Portsmouth, and wrote a letter to my wife preparing her for the worse. I knew the enemy could shell us from the ocean, and that the armament of the fort was not sufficient for a successful resistance. I told the Adjutant-General this in Raleigh the last time I was in that city.

All the men in the fort were in want of nourishment, my own men and self included. We got a little bread and coffee, but this was not general.

The *Winslow*, Confederate States steamer, arrived after dark, bringing Commodore Barron, Lieutenants Murdaugh and Wise, of the navy. Major W S. G. Andrews, Captain Muse and several of his midshipmen and sailors also came into the fort.

Colonel Martin and Major Andrews voluntarily surrendered the command to Commodore Barron, who thereupon, assumed it.

Lieutenant-Colonel Johnston had entered the fort a little in advance of myself. Major Gilliam arrived after dark.

The night was somewhat advanced before the Morris Guards and Hertford Light Infantry got into the fort.

It became difficult after dark to find an officer until by common consent the tent of Captain Cahoon, in the south angle of the fort, towards Fort Clark, became headquarters and remained so for the balance of the time, until the surrender.

ORDERS OF THE NIGHT.

A sort of consultation was held on the steps near the navy gun, by Commodore Barron and the superior officers, at which I chanced to be present.

Lieutenant-Colonel Johnston remarked to me that he intended to take "that concern," meaning Fort Clark, during the night. This project was discussed and inquiry made as to the number of the enemy on the beach. The impression I derived from the answers of Captains Clements, Lamb and others, were that they numbered from seven hundred to eight hundred. They had landed howitzers and rifle guns, and had possession of two field pieces abandoned by our forces that morning. The forces in the fort were worn down with fasting and fatigue. Part only of the forces from Ocracoke were landed, and it was well in the night before all were on shore.

We were short of shell, powder and shot, provisions and water. All these had to be got into the fort. We had to send off for candles, as not one was to be had in the fort. These were needed for the Ordnance Officer to make up cartridges for the morrow's use. It was concluded that we might hold the fort another day, and that on the night following we should take Fort Clark. It was also resolved that we should waste no ammunition, and should fire only when we could so do, with effect.

I was ordered to detail an officer to take charge of a picket guard of one hundred men and to select thirty men from my own company for this duty. I named Lieutenant James J. Whitehurst to take charge of the guard, and ordered him to select from our company thirty men, which he did. I was also ordered by Major Andrews to select a force from the various companies, and to get a 10-inch Columbiad from the

sound side into the fort, and to put it into position during the night. I detailed ten men from my company, ten from Captain Sharp's, and five each from four other companies for this duty. I gave charge of the whole to Private William B. Willis, who was a ship carpenter, and had handled heavy guns successfully at Ocracoke.

There was no block and tackle, nor anything of the sort, and no shears that could be used in moving or handling the guns. We succeeded in getting a line and some pieces of scantling for slides.

I was engaged at the shore in a seemingly vain effort to move the Columbiad, with our imperfect means, when I was ordered to desist by Major Andrews, he alleging as a reason for the order that "there were neither 10-inch shot nor shell in the fort, and therefore the gun would be useless if mounted."

THE NIGHT.

Besides such of my men as were on picket duty, and other duty, some of them with Lieutenant Shaw, were occupied in landing men, water and ammunition a good part of the night. This left but few in the fort, not on duty. These I left with Sergeant Robbins behind the second traverse from the sally-port, facing the inlet, where they remained during the night. They leaned with their muskets against the traverses and slept upon the gun platforms as best they could, without blankets or covering of any sort.

There came up a little scud of rain in the night, and to protect their muskets the men generally turned them butt upwards, with the bayonets in the sand.

The soldiers were some in the bomb-proof, some against the bomb-proof on the outside, some behind the traverses, some on the platforms, and some in the tents.

I slept but little—not half an hour in all. I sat in Captain Cahoon's tent with Colonel Martin at times, tried to sleep in my chair a little, and would go thence to where my few men were. I always found Sergeant Robbins awake.

FORCES IN THE FORT.

Washington Grays, Captain Sparrow, four officers and forty-seven men. (Company G, Seventeenth N. C. T.)

Independent Grays, Captain Cahoon, four officers and sixty-nine men.

Roanoke Guards, Captain Jno. C. Lamb, three officers and ninety-eight men. (Company A, Seventeenth N C T.)

Morris Guards, Captain Gilliam, four officers and sixty-four men.

Hamilton Guards, Captain Clements.

Tar River Boys, Captain Johnston.

Hertford Light Infantry, Captain Thos. H. Sharp, three officers and sixty-four men. (Company C, Seventeenth N. C.)

Preston Guards, Captain Duke, three officers and sixty-six men.

North Carolina Defenders, Captain Luke, three officers and forty-seven men. (Company D, Seventeenth N C T.)

Lenoir Braves, Captain Sutton, three officers and — men.

RETURN OF THE PICKETS.

Just before day, while it was yet dark, a body of men were seen to approach the fort from the direction of the inlet. In the dusk of the morning it looked like a large force. I at once took it to be the returning pickets, but others insisted that it looked too large. Quite a stir was made in the fort. All the men were called to arms, the guns bearing on the inlet and on the sally-port were shotted with grape, and the men stood ready to fire. I could not understand how so large a force could have passed the pickets without creating an alarm, but then they might have landed in the inlet. It was well enough to be cautious. A man was sent out to challenge the force, but no answer was heard. The excitement grew quite intense. Soon I recognized the voice of Lieutenant Whitehurst and called out that it was the picket guard. This did not at first give satisfaction. Finally all became assured, and the guard came into the fort and reported.

They had advanced to within a few yards of Fort Clark and had seen no signs of the enemy. We learned afterwards that only a small force was left there, and that they got drunk on the whiskey found there and went to sleep. This is told

me by one of the free negroes who remained there. The fort might have been retaken had the fact been known.

PREPARATIONS.

August 29, Thursday.—The cooks had been kept busy all night providing food and coffee for the men. Some time after daylight, all got some, but not much. Fasting, want of sleep, and anxiety had quite exhausted me. A cup of coffee and a little whiskey and sugar given me by Captain Clements quite revived me.

The companies that had come from Ocracoke were to man the guns, while the men who had been on duty the day before were to be relieved.

I was ordered to form four detachments from my company, of eight men each and a gunner. They were to have charge of the guns bearing on the inlet, one a 32 and one an 8-inch howitzer. The detachments were to be in charge of one of my Lieutenants, and I was ordered to visit them in person during the fight. I appointed the following gunners: Sergeant Potts, Private Willis, Engineer Cornell and C. K. Gallagher (a volunteer).

Gallagher came in port from the brig *H C Brooks,* on which he was bound for Liverpool. He was fond of gunnery, was drilled at Beacon Island and I gave him a gun first assigned to W W Cordon. He was not called upon to fire it.

I gave the first detachment to Lieutenant W Shaw, and the second to Lieutenant A. J Thomas, who was to relieve the first every two hours.

The Tar River Boys had charge of two 32-pounders on the same face of the fort as my two, facing the inlet, and to the left of mine.

My first two detachments and the Tar River Boys practiced at the drill of their guns, and received special instructions from Major Andrews as to the elevation of their guns.

The Morris Guards were assigned to two guns which bore on the enemy, to-wit: The 8-inch howitzer in the pancoup (or angle) bearing on the inlet and ocean (southeast), and the Basket 32 near this. A traverse was between them.

The 32 on the left of this was mounted on a ship carriage, on an elevated platform and was very slightly protected by the parapet. This gun was in charge of Lieutenant Murdaugh, and a force from the naval steamer *Ellis*.

Stewart Johnson had charge of the howitzer in the angle. Lieutenant Grimes the 32 left of the traverse.

These three guns were the only ones fired during the engagement.

The Hertford Light Infantry had charge of a 32-pounder on the face of the fort looking towards Hatteras woods, and Fort Clark. During the night part of the traverse had been taken down, so as to bring this gun to bear on the rear of Fort Clark. Captain Sharp commanded here in person.

DISPOSITIONS.

It was determined that only those on duty should remain in the fort. The detachments to man the guns were to remain near them, and the reliefs were to stay in the bomb-proof until called for.

All the men not on duty were ordered outside of the parapet facing the sound for their protection. I was ordered not to fire a gun until the enemy should come within full range of our guns.

Just to the right of my guns was a traverse, already spoken of as the one where my men slept during the night. Just behind this I posted my men, so as to be in readiness to man and fire their guns when called upon. Here I remained some time before and in the early part of the bombardment. Here not a man was wounded.

Before the action commenced I was standing on the parapet near the pancoup facing the inlet and ocean, with Commodore Barron, Colonel Bradford and others, when bang, bang, went some rifles at Fort Clark, and at the same time the balls went whistling over our heads. The Germans there seeing us on the walls, took us as a target for their pieces. We got out of the way, of course. They continued to fire at the fort for some time without doing any harm.

When guns were assigned to me, the first thought that occurred to me was that owing to the position the enemy's ships

had taken, there was no protection for my men, as they would be subjected to a raking fire from them.

Looking from my guns seaward, I could see the broadside of the *Minnesota* between the rear of the two traverses at that angle of the fort. It was obvious that they would be unprotected at their guns.

I immediately took Commodore Barron, Colonel Martin, and Major Andrews to the parapet and pointed out to them this defect. Orders were immediately issued to Mr. Allen, the engineer, to take down a traverse in the rear of the fort and extend one in the angle named (at right angles to the face fronting the inlet) so as to protect the guns manned by my men. It was only half completed when the firing commenced, so the guns were unprotected. In the engagement both were disabled by shells from the *Minnesota.*

The large vessels had steamed off some distance from the shore at night, and the smaller ones took shelter in a bight under the cape near the shore.

At early dawn their heavy outlines could be descried off the bar to seaward, in all their formidable array As the morning wore away about 7 o'clock, a signal was fired from the flag-ship *Minnesota,* and soon the fleet were in motion for the shore. They moved in, took their positions with apparent deliberation and came to anchor. The bombarding fleet consisted of the following vessels: Flag-ship *Minnesota,* 74 guns; *Susquehannah,* 74 guns; *Cumberland,* 74 guns; *Wabash,* 74 guns; *Harriet Lane,* 7 guns.

The *Cumberland* came into action after the rest had begun to fire. The *Harriet Lane* joined them but did not confine herself to one position.

The action lasted three hours and twenty minutes. Such a bombardment is not on record in the annals of war. Not less than three thousand shells were fired by the enemy during the three hours. As many as twenty-eight in one minute were known to fall within and about the fort.

It was like a hailstorm, and how so many escaped is known only to Providence, who sheltered and preserved us. On this subject see the official reports of Commodore Barron,

Major Andrews and Colonel Martin, which with the reports of Commodore Stringham, I have preserved.

How shall I describe the bombardment—how give an idea of what was going on in various parts of the fort—how express my ideas and impressions upon such a subject? It would be a hopeless task.

I was standing with my men behind the traverse spoken of, near the inlet, when the first shot was fired. This was according to our time twenty minutes before 8 o'clock. According to Commodore Stringham's account it was 8 o'clock. We were all ready and expecting it. As the report reached us, some one called out, "There they go, look out!" and all instinctively leaned closely against the traverse. The next moment the sharp, shrill whistle of the shell was heard. It came from the direction of the *Susquehannah* and passed right over us. It was followed in rapid succession by others, which fell in all sorts of directions, some of them falling short.

The flag was planted on the traverse next to the sally-port just beyond us, under my directions. It was found to afford a mark for the enemy and in about an hour was taken down. I sent John Blount to do it, but he called on W B. Willis, who mounted the parapet, flaunted it at the enemy and then brought it down. It was in the hottest of the fight.

The place where I was standing was very much crowded and I concluded to seek shelter elsewhere in a position convenient to my guns. I was told not to fire without orders, unless an attempt was made to force the inlet. I therefore sought the entrance to the magazine, a few feet distant, and directly opposite my guns. Lieutenant Carraway was in the magazine passing out the powder as it was called for. In the entrance with me were Lieutenant Norman, Colonel Martin and part of the time Lieutenants Whitehurst, Thomas, Shaw and others. It was a very dangerous place, but officers and men were continually coming and going. It was close and intolerably hot. We had to keep our hats going as fans to keep up a circulation of air.

The naval gun commanded by Lieutenant Murdaugh, and the guns commanded by Lieutenants Johnson and Grimes,

returned the fire of the enemy, but it was discovered that the greatest elevation we could get, our guns did not reach the enemy It was therefore a one-sided business. It became a question of endurance on our part. Could we hold out during the day we would take the enemy in Fort Clark at night.

While in the magazine I could readily distinguish between the enemy's guns, the explosion of their shells and our guns. When we fired the concussion shook the entire bomb-proof. We could tell when every shell was falling. Many of the fragments fell at the door. Had a shell fallen there we would have all been killed. We could hear them fall and explode all around and about us. Some came so near that I became alarmed for the safety of the magazine. The door beyond us had to be kept open to give air to Lieutenant Caraway, and to enable him to pass out the powder as it was called for.

While here, the news of the killing of one, and the wounding of another would be brought in by the men. Here I heard of Lieutenant Murdaugh's misfortune, and that Commodore Barron was killed. This proved to be a mistake. When a shell or ball would strike the bomb-proof or a traverse, it would be with a very peculiar thud and all would listen for the explosion. In this we would some times be disappointed. It was because some of the shells did not explode as they fell.

During all this part of the engagement W B. Willis had stood by his gun, and could not be induced to leave it. Colonel Martin once ordered him to leave. He stood upon the carriage and gave notice to the men whenever a shell was coming, fearless as to himself.

My men and Captain Johnston's were all ordered to leave their guns, and take care of themselves as best they could. They all remained behind the traverses. One of Johnston's men was killed, and one of mine knocked down behind one of these.

On leaving the magazine (having been there nearly an hour), I went where Grimes was firing his gun, on the front of the work. The shells were flying rapidly. I took shelter beneath the parapet. In a few seconds I was covered with

sand and earth. A shell struck the parapet just over me and covered me. I got up and retreated to the end of the adjoining traverse, where were Lieutenant Moore and others. I held my head down and brushed the dirt from my neck and head.

I went next to the end of a traverse near the southeast angle of the fort (towards Fort Clark), and back of Captain Cahoon's tent already spoken of.

Here were Commodore Barron, Major Andrews and others. The tents were all on this (east) side of the fort, and the enemy made a mark of them as afterwards learned. The shells now fell with fearful effect in all parts of the fort, and on the bomb-proof, but more especially on this side. The tents and wood kitchens were literally torn to pieces.

I remained at the traverse during the rest of the bombardment, some times in front of it, and once between it and the parapet. It was while I was there that it was damaged by three shells, and the top torn all to pieces.

While here there came over me a feeling of perfect security, not to say indifference. I could tell every shot that was to pass by and every one that was to fall. The one had a rapid, sharp, shrill sound; the other a dull, hoarse sound, as if almost exhausted. We would hear them strike with a thud and in a second look and listen for the explosion. Looking up I would see many of them fly rapidly over seemingly on an eager mission of destruction, fall just beyond the parapet, and send into the air a column of sand and water. Here the men were huddled together. I saw many pass in this way. The only uneasiness I felt was on account of the men, several hundreds of whom were on the outside unprotected, where most of the shells were falling and exploding. Almost every minute some one was brought in from there wounded, and taken to the bomb-proof, where the surgeon was dressing wounds. More persons were wounded here than anywhere else.

I was standing at one time at the corner of the traverse, and stooped down to say a word to Major Andrews. At that instant a rifle shot from Fort Clark passed through the corner of the traverse where my head had been but a second

before. It made a beautiful clean, round hole. It was while here that a shell exploded on the traverse above me, and a fragment tore my coat from my left shoulder and penetrated to the tail, tearing it badly. While lying on one side of this traverse, leaning on my elbow, very much at ease, a large fragment of shell fell from the air on the platform at my side, when there had been no explosion for some seconds. It came like an aerolite, seemingly without cause and very much surprised me. While here another shell struck a gun near by, glanced off, bounded over the parapet, exploded, and sent up an awful column of sand and water.

I was at one time in conversation with the officers in command at the end of the traverse, when a bomb fell with tremendous noise and force near our feet and exploded. I fell round the end of the traverse and all the rest huddled together. No one was hurt.

For the last hour the enemy seemed to have got our range exactly and almost every shot fired from their ships fell into and about the fort. We had long ceased to fire, as we could not reach the enemy, and to man the guns was a useless exposure of the men. It became apparent that in an hour or two every man must be either killed or wounded.

It was now nearly 11 o'clock and matters were becoming momentarily worse. Commodore Barron called a council of all the staff officers and Captains, at the end of the parapet I have so long been speaking about. He said: "You see how it is. We cannot do the enemy any harm. Our guns do not reach them. Our men are all exposed and we cannot protect them. What shall be done?" We discussed the propriety of a retreat. All favored this if it were practicable, in preference to a surrender. There were serious doubts of this. All the vessels were a mile or more from us and we had no boats. They would be exposed to the enemy's shells if they came in, and the men would suffer dreadfully in getting to them. Commodore Barron and Colonel Martin were both very reluctant to surrender.

In deference to their wishes it was at first resolved to try to effect a retreat, and to spike the guns. Lieutenant Johnston was ordered to make a signal from the top of the bomb-

proof to the vessels and steamers in the sound to come in. He performed this duty, and reported that the signal had been answered by Captain Muse. Lieutenant Johnston was then ordered with such means as were at his command to spike the guns. He went to a gun on the east side of the fort towards the wood, and began his work, and was ordered to desist.

Just at this stage of affairs it was reported that the magazine was on fire. The men came pouring out of the bomb-proof panic stricken. It is said that they ran over the wounded in getting out. I saw just here Wm. H. Harvey, one of my men, picked up dead as I thought. It turned out otherwise, as his hip was only dislocated. It was in this stage of affairs that the council resolved that it would be the best to surrender. All were unanimous in this final, but reluctant conclusion. Accordingly a white flag was ordered to be raised upon the parapet. Lieutenant Johnston, I think it was, got a piece of white canvas or sheet—a sort of streamer, and waved it on the parapet fronting the ocean. No notice of it was taken by the enemy. Some one then got a large Confederate flag, tore all but the white bar from it, attached this to a pole and planted it on the bomb-proof. Two shots only from the enemy were fired after this. Both fell, I think, into the fort. The firing then ceased.

The bomb-proof was not on fire, but a shell had penetrated through one of the ventilators and exploded, falling among the men below. The smoke caused them to think it was on fire. It fell between two of my men. None were injured.

A feeling of sadness prevailed on every countenance after the firing had ceased. Lieutenant Carraway, Ordnance Officer, of Martin County, raved like a mad man. He swore he wanted to die right there and never surrender. Two of my men, Schenck and Hall, both Northerners, wept like children. Many would have run for the shore to escape, but I forbade them. E. B. Shaw and W J Pedrich did so.

As soon as the firing ceased the land forces at Fort Clark, under Colonel Max. Weber and Hawkins, both Germans, came over the beach with the "Star Spangled Banner" towards Fort Hatteras. They planted their two flags in the

sand and formed about them at the distance from the fort of several hundred yards.

General Butler, in the steamer *Fanny,* carrying two rifle guns, ran into the inlet and fired a gun at the *Winslow. This was an outrage, as it was taking undue advantage* of a flag of truce. Had the negotiation failed he never would have got out again.

During the morning the *Colonel Hill* had come down from Portsmouth before the firing began, but not in time, I suppose, to land more of my men, who were no doubt on board. After the surrender she with the *Winslow* and all the other steamers and vessels made the best of their way up the sound. They were spectators of the whole bombardment, and a very grand spectacle it must have been to them.

Colonel Martin and Major Andrews went out to the nearest flag of the enemy to bear Commodore Barron's terms to them. It was a long time before an answer was received, as they had to send to the flag-ship to General Butler and Commodore Stringham.

In the meantime the enemy sauntered about the beach in some order, and our officers and men strolled about the fort looking at the damage done in various quarters. A cut of this in one of the pictorial papers of New York is tolerably correct.

During this interval the Chaplain from Fortress Monroe, C. W Denison by name, was going about the fort, notebook in hand, examining everything, asking questions of officers and men, picking up and begging relics, and talking very patriotically. There was a wounded man in one of the tents, thought to be dying (as he was), and for him this Chaplain offered up a prayer, a crowd around him. He told me he was a special correspondent of the New York *Tribune.* The articles in that paper are no doubt from his pen. Like every man connected with the press North, he deals in falsehoods, knowing them to be such.

Finally Colonel Max. Weber, a tall, sharp-featured Dutchman, that could hardly speak English, came into the fort, went into the officers' tent and carried General B. F. Butler's answer. It was a refusal to grant our terms.

Commodore Barron called a council of officers and submi ted the matter. He drew a final proposal and submitted i We discussed it. There was no alternative but to surrende unconditionally, except that we were to be treated as priso ers of war. The terms were to be arranged on the flag-shi Commodore Barron, Colonel Martin and Major Andrew were taken by one of the smaller steamers off to the *Minneso* to arrange the particulars. They then surrendered thei swords to Commodore Stringham and did not return to th fort.

GENERAL B. F. BUTLER.

This worthy, with his blue coat and brass buttons, his lo eyelids, and swaggering, fussy, waddling mien, came to r ceive the surrender of the fort and to embark the prisoners.

The *Adelaide* and another large passenger boat came int the inlet for this purpose, besides several of the tug boats.

I was introduced to General Butler at the door of the o fiers' tent. Forgetting myself, and indulging in my usua politeness, I said, when shaking his hand, "I am glad to se you, sir." He replied in a familiar manner, "That is no true; you are not glad to see me." "Oh! no," said I, slap ping him on the shoulder, "I forgot myself. I am not gla to see you. I beg your pardon."

Major Andrews (who had returned) ordered all the Cap tains to form their companies for the General's inspection and to stack arms. We formed on the parapet facing th inlet near the sally-port. Formed in two ranks and stacke arms. Companies formed in different parts of the forts The enemy landed near a thousand of their forces and forme from the sound side up to the sally-port, on one side of th causeway.

The General (Butler) inspected my men, as also the rest I offered him my sword. He refused to receive it, and tol me to hang it on the muskets, which I did. The other officer did the same.

Some one asked him if he were not going to march hi men in before we marched out. His reply was, "No, I wil never take possession until the men who have made so gallan

a defence have marched out." The only honorable sentiment I have ever heard attributed to him. *I heard the remark.*

My company was about the second that left the fort. We also formed in two ranks in the causeway from the sally-port to the sound. The gun-boat *Fanny* was at the landing to receive us and take us to the *Adelaide,* anchored in the roadstead. General Butler superintended the embarkation himself—stood at the landing—passing and giving orders, boatswain's mate or boss workman totally destitute of all dignity or propriety.

It was an hour before we were all on board. While standing in line I gave C K. Gallagher my torn coat to carry home, and wrote a hasty note to my wife. He had been released by General Butler and they promised to set him across the inlet. This they never did, but took him as prisoner to Fortress Monroe.

As we embarked on the *Fanny* the German mercenaries marched in. They raised the Stars and Stripes in several places on the bomb-proof, and formed on the parapet from sally-port to sally-port, one dense mass. Cheer after cheer rent the air, and they fired a salute of thirteen guns, some of them as they had been shotted by ourselves. I saw the grape scatter across the water from one on that face of the fort.

The *Adelaide* is one of the Norfolk and Baltimore bay steamers, a fine boat and the one on which I traveled with my family on the way to Illinois. She was anchored about half a mile from the shore. The forces were taken on the gun-boat *Fanny* and taken off to her, I went in the first boat. The men were confined to the lower deck, and the officers and wounded were assigned to the upper or berth saloon.

Officers and men had been without food since early morning, and were very hungry, an unfortunate circumstance, as no arrangements had been made to feed us on the *Adelaide,* Even water was scarce, and this we were greatly in need of. Servants were scarce, there being only one man servant for the whole force. After an hour or two we had a tolerable supper, rather *scant,* and the men had to be content with a little bread. They were glad to get this.

General Butler busied himself in chuckling and talking familiarly to the officers in the after saloon. His aim seemed to be to make himself free and easy with everybody, and to appear to be very clever.

The wounded were brought to the after part of the upper saloon, and arranged in beds as comfortable as possibly, with passage ways between. There were fourteen or fifteen, some of them very badly wounded. Only one made much ado, most of them lying perfectly quiet. They were heroes.

The state-rooms were assigned to the officers, but it was a late hour before many of them could get to bed. The *one* servant having more than he could do. When I got hold of him there was not a room to be had. The servant, however, told me to follow him. I did so, through various apartments of the ship, and finally found myself in the ladies sleeping saloon, where the berths and sheets were very nice. An old negro woman was there in her night clothes and seemed very much astonished at our advent. She rubbed her eyes and shifted her quarters. Lieutenant Allen, Ordnance Officer, was with me. We were soon asleep, and had a good night's rest.

THOMAS SPARROW.

HATTERAS, N. C.,
29 August, 1861.

NOTE.—At the date of this action Major Sparrow was Captain Company G, Seventeenth Regiment N. C. T.—ED.

CHICAMACOMICO

4 OCTOBER, 1861.

By E. C. YELLOWLY, Lieutenant-Colonel Sixty-Eighth Regiment North Carolina Troops.

"Sure enough off we went Friday morning last. We got on board our steamers and transports the evening before and lay at anchor off the island until 2 o'clock next morning. Our forces consisted of the Second Georgia and our regiment, and a small detachment of the Seventh North Carolina Volunteers (later Seventeenth Regiment. Ed.), all under command of Colonel A. R. Wright, of the Georgia Regiment, as senior officer. At daylight, we were in sight of Chicamacomico, where it was supposed that the enemy was encamped. Our steamers, commanded by Commodore Lynch, took position about three and a half miles from the shore, as near as he could get, and commenced firing towards the woods with his rifled cannon to drive the enemy from cover. This firing was kept up for an hour, when Colonel Wright, with his Georgians on some boats, commenced to land. The enemy saw him coming and began to run, leaving everything behind them, except their arms and accoutrements. We took everything, besides, they had. Their tents, camp equipages, haversacks, blankets, provisions, etc. This paper I am writing on was taken from them. You must keep it as a relic.

Our boys found Bibles, likenesses, paper and a great many things of like character. They found great numbers of letters, which they kept and read. Some were funny, some vulgar, some from sweethearts, fathers, mothers, sisters, brothers and friends. And some written by the soldiers,

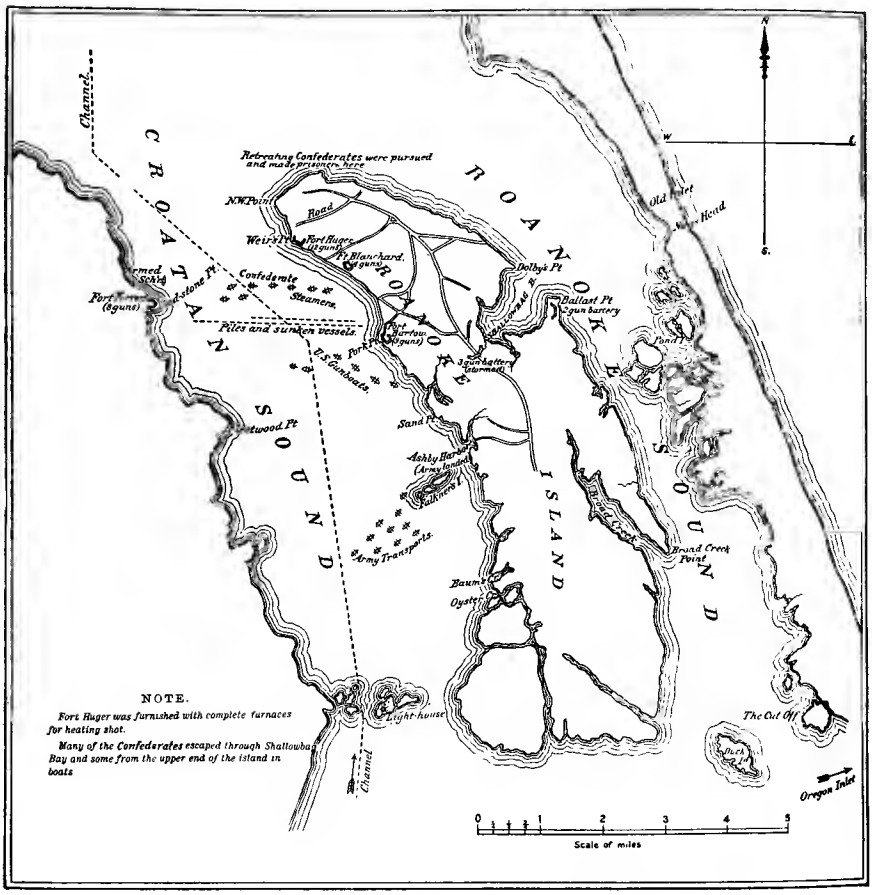
Note.—At the time Yellowly was Captain Company G, Eighth Regiment. He was promoted to Major, August, 1863 and to Lieutenant-Colonel Sixty eighth Regiment October, 1863. He was a leading lawyer in Greenville. N. C., and died some years since. This article is taken from a letter he wrote to a relative 8 October, 1861, four days after the events he narrates.—Ed.

which they did not have time to finish and mail. They all breathed hostility to the South.

Our regiment tried to head off the enemy We could not get nearer to the land where we were sent, than two miles. We got out of our boats and tried to get ashore, but after wading about a mile, the water got too deep, and we had to go back. Our boys hated to go back. We were close to Hatteras light house, and in sight of the enemy's shipping at Fort Hatteras. Night overtook us by the time we re-embarked and we could not try to land any more that day. We were about twenty-five miles distant from the Yankees' camp at Chicamacomico. The Yankees had named it Live Oak Camp. They were the Twentieth Regiment of Indiana troops, commanded by Colonel Brown. We heard next day that they saw our regiment trying to land, and being broken down running from the Georgians, who were pursuing them, they prepared to surrender to us, by stopping and shooting off their guns. The people on the island told this. They got rested before the Georgians came up with them and went on and were reinforced from Fort Hatteras next day. Had we landed, we would have taken them all prisoners and blown up Hatteras light house. Bad generalship on the part of Colonel Wright prevented it. He had made boats, but would not let us have them to land in. He kept them to make good his retreat. Next day the Pawnee steamship came up from Hatteras and commenced firing at the Georgians. We could see it all from our boats out in Pamlico Sound. She fired about 200 guns at them, but never killed a man. The bombs would sometimes fall among them, but did not burst. Colonel Wright got back at night and all his men got off safely except one, who died from fatigue. It was a warm day. We got back here on Sunday night last, hungry, dirty and greatly fatigued. We had the enemy completely in our power, but owing to his bad management and want of military skill, we failed to catch them."

E. C YELLOWLY

ROANOKE ISLAND,
8 October, 1861.



BATTLE OF ROANOKE ISLAND, FEB. 8, 1862.

LOSS OF ROANOKE ISLAND

8 FEBRUARY, 1862.

REPORT OF INVESTIGATING COMMITTEE CONFEDERATE CONGRESS.

The committee to whom was referred a resolution of the House of Representatives, instructing them to inquire and report the cases and circumstances of the capitulation of Roanoke Island, have had the same under consideration and have given all the facts and circumstances connected with the defences of said Island and its adjacent waters, and of the capitulation on 8 February, a most elaborate investigation. The committee find that on 21 August, 1861, Brigadier-General Gatlin was ordered to the command of the Department of North Carolina and the coast defences of that State. On 29 September Brigadier-General D. H. Hill was assigned to duty in North Carolina and charged with the defences of that portion of said State lying between Albemarle Sound and the Neuse river and Pamlico Sound, including those waters, and was directed to report to Brigadier-General Gatlin. On 16 November Brigadier-General L. O'B. Branch was directed to relieve Brigadier-General Hill in command of his district in North Carolina. On 21 December that part of the North Carolina coast east of the Chowan river, together with the counties of Washington and Tyrrell, was, at the request of the proper authorities of North Carolina, separated from the remainder and constituted into a military district under Brigadier-General H. A. Wise, and attached to the command of Major-General Huger, commanding the Department of Norfolk.

At the time therefore of the surrender of Roanoke Island on 8 February, 1862, it was within the military district of

NOTE.—This is the report made by the Roanoke Island Investigating Committee by its Chairman, Hon. Burgess S. Gaither, to the House of Representatives in the Confederate Congress —ED.

Brigadier-General Wise and attached to the command of Major-General Huger.

The military defences of Roanoke Island and its adjacent waters on the said 8 February, 1862, consisted of Fort Bartow, the most southern of the defences on the west side of the island, a sand fort well covered with turf, having six long 32-pound guns in embrasure and three 32-pounders en barbette.

The next is fort Blanchard, on the same side of the island, about two and a half miles from Fort Bartow, a semi-circular sand fort, turfed, and mounting four 32-pounders en barbette.

Next on the same side and about 1,200 yards from Fort Blanchard, is Fort Huger. This is a turfed sand fort, running along the line of the beach and closed in the rear by a low breastwork with a banquette for infantry. It contained eight 21-pound guns in embrasure, two rifled 32-pounders en barbette and two 32-pounders en barbette on the right.

About three miles below Fort Bartow on the east side of the island was a battery of 32-pound guns en barbette, at a point known as Midgett's Hammock. In the center of the island about two miles from Fort Bartow and a mile from Midgett's Hammock, was a redoubt or breastwork thrown across the road, about 70 or 80 feet long, with embrasures for three guns, on the right of which was a swamp, on the left a marsh, the redoubt reaching nearly between them and facing to the south. On the Tyrrell side on the main land nearly opposite to Fort Huger, was fort Forrest, mounting seven 32-pounders.

In addition to these defences on the shore and on the island, there was a barrier of piles extending from the east side of Fulker Shoals towards the island. Its object was to compel vessels passing on the west of the island to approach within reach of the shore batteries, but up to 8 February there was a span of 1,700 yards open opposite Fort Bartow. Some vessels had been sunk and piles driven on the west side of Fulker Shoals to obstruct the canal between that shoal and the main land, which comprised all the defences, either upon the land or in the waters adjacent.

The entire military force stationed upon the island prior to and at the time of the late engagement consisted of the

Eighth Regiment North Carolina State Troops under the command of Colonel H. M. Shaw; the Thirty-first Regiment of North Carolina Volunteers, under the command of Colonel J. V. Jordan; and three companies of the Seventeenth Regiment North Carolina Troops under the command of Major J. H. Gill. After manning the several forts, on 7 February, there were but 1,024 men left and 200 of them were upon the sick list. On the morning of 7 February, Brigadier-General Wise sent from Nag's Head, under command of Lieutenant-Colonel Henderson, a reinforcement numbering some 450 men—this does not include the commands of Lieutenant-Colonel Green and Major Fry, both of whom reached the scene of action after the battle was closed. The committee do not think there was any intentional delay in the landing of the commands of Colonel Green and Major Fry. The former, Colonel Green, exhibited great anxiety to get into the fight, when he did land, and acted with great gallantry in the skirmish he did have with the enemy in the vicinity of the camps. The whole was under the command of Brigadier-General Wise who, upon 7 and 8 February was at Nag's Head, four miles distant from the island, confined to a sick bed and entirely disabled from participating in the action in person. The immediate command, therefore, devolved upon Colonel H. M. Shaw, the senior officer present.

On 6 February it was discovered that the enemy's fleet was in Pamlico Sound, south of Roanoke Island, and apparently intending to attack the forces upon the island. Colonel Shaw immediately communicated the fact to Brigadier-General Wise, and issued orders for the disposition of his troops preparatory to an engagement. The points at which it was supposed the enemy would attempt to land troops were Ashby's and Pugh's Landings. Ashby's is situated on the west side of the island about two miles south of Fort Bartow, and Pugh's on the same side about two miles south of Ashby's. On the night of the 6th, or early on the morning of the 7th, a detachment of one piece of artillery was sent to Pugh's Landing and one with two pieces of artillery, was sent to Ashby's, and the remainder of the forces was stationed in the immediate vicinity of Ashby's. On the morning of the

7th, the enemy's fleet passed by both of the landings and proceeded towards Fort Bartow, and the detachment of infantry stationed at Pugh's immediately fell back to the vicinity of Ashby's Landing and joined the detachments there, all under the command of Colonel J. V Jordan.

In the sound between Roanoke Island and the main land, upon the Tyrrell side, Commodore Lynch with his squadron of seven vessels had taken position, and at 11 o'clock the enemy's fleet consisting of about thirty-nine gun-boats and schooners, advanced in ten divisions, the rear one having the schooners and transports in tow. The advance and attacking division again subdivided, one assailing the squadron and the other firing upon the fort, with 9-inch, 10-inch and 11-inch shell, spherical case, a few round shot and every variety of rifled projectiles. The fort replied with but four guns, which were all that could be brought to bear, and after striking the foremost vessels several times, the fleet fell back so as to mask one of the guns of the fort, leaving but three to reply to the fire of the whole fleet. The bombardment was continued throughout the day and the enemy retired at dark. The squadron under command of Commodore Lynch, sustained their position most gallantly, retired only after exhausting all their ammunition, and having lost the steamer *Curlew* and the *Forrest* disabled. Fort Bartow sustained considerable damage from the fire of the day, but the injuries were partially repaired by the next morning, and the fort put in a state of defence. About 3:30 o'clock on the evening of the 7th, the enemy sent off from their transports about twenty-five men in a launch, apparently to take soundings, who were fired upon and retreated. Whereupon, two large steamers having in tow, each thirty boats filled with troops, approached the island under the protection of their gun-boats, at a point north of Ashby's Landing, known as Haymon's, and did effect a landing. The point selected was out of the reach of the field pieces at Ashby's, and defended by a swamp from the advance of our infantry, and protected by the shot and shell thrown from their gun-boats. Our whole force thereupon withdrew from Ashby's and took position at the redoubt or breastwork, and placed in battery the three field

pieces with the necessary artillerymen, under the respective commands of Captain Schermerhorn, Lieutenants Kinney and Selden. Two companies of the Eighth and two of the Thirty-first were placed at the redoubt to support the artillery; three companies of the Wise Legion deployed to the right and to the left as skirmishers—the remainder of the infantry in position 300 yards in the rear of the redoubt as a reserve.

The enemy landed some 15,000 men with artillery, and at 7 o'clock a. m. of the 8th, opened fire upon the redoubt, which was replied to immediately with great spirit and the action soon became general and was continued without interruption for more than five hours, when the enemy succeeded in deploying a large force on either side of our line, flanking each wing. The order was then given by Colonel Shaw to spike the guns in the battery and to retreat to the northern end of the island. The guns were spiked and the whole force fell back to the camps.

During the engagement at the redoubt, the enemy's fleet attempted to advance up Croatan Sound, which brought on a desultory engagement between Fort Bartow and the fleet, which continued up to 12:30 o'clock, when the commanding officer was informed that the land defences had been forced and the position of the fort turned. He thereupon ordered the guns to be disabled and the ammunition destroyed, which was done, and the fort abandoned. The same thing was done at Forts Blanchard and Huger, and the forces from all the forts were marched in good order to the camps. The enemy took possession of the redoubts and forts immediately, and proceeded in pursuit, with great caution, towards the northern end of the island, in force, deploying so as to surround our forces at the camps. Colonel Shaw arrived with his whole force at his camps in time to have saved his whole command, if transports had have been furnished, but none were there, and finding himself surrounded by a greatly superior force upon the open island, with no field works to protect him, and having lost his only three field pieces at the redoubt, had either to make an idle display of courage in fighting the foe at such immense disadvantage, to the sacrifice of his com-

mand, or to capitulate and surrender as prisoners of war. He wisely determined upon the latter alternative.

The loss on our side in killed and wounded and missing, is as follows: Killed, 23; wounded, 58; missing, 62. The loss of the Forty-ninth and Fifty-ninth Virginia Volunteers is: Killed, 6; wounded, 28; missing, 19; that of the Eighth and Thirty-first North Carolina and Second North Carolina Battalion, is 16 killed, 30 wounded, 43 missing. Of the engineer department, Lieutenant Selden killed, who had patriotically volunteered his services in the line and was assigned to the command of the 6-pounder which he handled with so much skill as to produce immense havoc in the enemy's ranks, and to elicit the unbounded admiration of all who witnessed it. Unhappily, however, that gallant officer received a rifle ball in the head and he fell without a groan.

* * * * * * * * * *

The committee are satisfied that Colonel Shaw held possession of that post as long as he could have done without useless sacrifice of human life; that on the 7th and 8th the officers and men in Fort Bartow displayed great coolness, courage and persevering efforts to sustain their position and drive back the enemy's fleet. In the battle of 8 February, at the redoubt, the officers and men exhibited a cool and deliberate courage, worthy of veterans in the service, and sustained their positions under an uninterrupted and deadly fire for more than five hours, repulsing the enemy in three separate and distinct charges, and only withdrew from the deadly conflict after exhausting their ammunition for their artillery, and being surrounded and flanked by more than ten times their number. Instead of the result being "deeply humiliating" it was one of the most brilliant and gallant actions of the war; and in the language of their absent commanding general, "both officers and men fought firmly, coolly, efficiently and as long as humanity would allow."

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BURGESS S. GAITHER,
Chairman.

RICHMOND, VA.,
May, 1862.

THE FALL OF ROANOKE ISLAND

8 FEBRUARY, 1862.

By E. R. LILES, Lieutenant-Colonel Thirty First Regiment, North Carolina Troops

About two weeks before the enemy made his appearance, my company (B) and the Hatteras Avengers (Company F), Captain Charles W Knight, of Martin County (both of the Thirty-first Regiment), were ordered to Ashley's Landing, a distance of eight miles from our camp, and nearly two miles below our lowest battery, Fort Bartow. Two brass field pieces, 12 and 18-pounders, were put in my charge, and I was ordered to defend the Landing and, *at every hazard*, to save the artillery An officer from the Eighth Regiment was detailed to drill squads from Captain Knight's and my company on the cannon, but he only visited us twice, spending each time about half an hour. All that our men really learned of artillery was taught them in an hour by Colonel Jordan and one or two short *lessons* by Lieutenant Kinney, of Wise's Legion, who came to the island about three days before the battle. I had no horses, and the mongrel "bank ponies" which Colonel Shaw ordered me to press into service were untractable and of little use. We felt that our position was an important and responsible one. This landing, where vessels drawing eight feet could land at any time, had been neglected to the last moment, and the ninety men, badly prepared as above shown, were placed to defend it as long as possible, with strict orders to carry away the artillery in case of a retreat being unavoidable. On Thursday morning, 6 February, at a very early hour, W Riley Diggs, of Company B, being on the lookout, discovered two of the enemy's vessels coming up the Sound, some ten or twelve miles away. By aid of a glass, I soon made out four large steamers, and immediately dispatched a message to convey the news to camp. One by one the vessels, of all sorts and sizes, rounded

the point and come in view until the number reached *sixty-four*. They were drawn across the sound in a long line. One of our little gun-boats went down to take observations, but did not, of course, venture within shot. There they lay, forming a picture rare and beautiful, though probably not so fully appreciated by us as it might have been under different circumstances. At 8 o'clock on Friday morning, they began to move, and coming cautiously along, by 10:30 o'clock were nearly abreast of us, when the "ball opened." The men under my command were ordered to keep concealed, so as not to draw the enemy's fire, but it seemed impossible for them to do so. *Look we must,* and in looking, the wild grandeur and sublime novelty of the scene drew us unconsciously from our hiding places. The Yankee vessels lay from one to two and a half miles from us, and a few shells would have played havoc with us. But we received no attention, and we had nothing to do for several hours, but eagerly watch the conflict. Fort Bartow replied most nobly to the thunders directed against her, and our little fleet did good service. From my position I could see the effect of nearly every shot. I saw many strike the vessels, and often found myself hurrahing for the gallant Hill and the men at the fort.

About 3 o'clock, p. m., when three or four vessels had been disabled and hauled off, a small boat, containing some twelve or fifteen men, left one of the steamers and made for the shore at a point nearly half a mile above us, evidently with a view of trying the soundings and the landing, which had been represented to us as utterly insufficient for any but very small boats. Colonel Jordan, who had arrived at our post some time before, ordered Lieutenant Lindsay and myself to take twenty men each, and proceed through an intervening swamp, and capture or kill the boat's crew. This marsh was almost impassable, but we got through at last, and were advancing cautiously, in sight of the Yankees, who had just landed, when two men, one attached to the Thirty-first Regiment, and the other unknown to me, rushed forward, hallooing loudly, firing their guns at the enemy, and, of course, giving them the alarm. Lieutenant L's detachment and my own (all from Company B), were now together and within 100

yards or less of the enemy, and but for this piece of imprudence, we would have easily captured them. As they turned to flee, we rushed through mud and water, firing as we went, but all were got into the boat, and the living pushed off, and were soon out of range. We killed four and wounded two. We immediately fell back under cover, expecting a shelling, which, however, still did not come. On the arrival of the small boat at the flag-ship, two very large steamers having some thirty small boats in tow, all packed with men, started for the landing above us. Knowing they must cut us off from the rest of our forces, it being impossible to get the artillery through the marsh, and considering it folly for his small force to attack the thousands of the enemy with musketry, Colonel Jordan ordered a retreat. Our heaviest gun was hauled off by two ponies and two old mules, the other we carried off by hand under a storm of shot and shell from vessels in the sound, none of which, however, did any damage.

We retreated about one mile and a half to the small battery, or redoubt, across the road, and placed one cannon, together with a brass 6-pounder, in battery It was near night, raining slowly, the men were weary and hungry We bivouacked then for the night, having some refreshments sent us from camp.

Early on the morning of the 8th, the advance guard of the enemy made its appearance, the Richmond Blues and McCullough Rangers were thrown out on either flank as skirmishers, and firing commenced. Several regiments of the enemy were now drawn up at three or four hundred yards distance upon which our artillery opened, and as they came nearer, our small arms. There were in the battery my company, numbering forty-three; Captain Knight's, about fifty (including detachments from each for the artillery); a detachment from the Eighth of say ten in charge of the 6-pounder, and about forty Rangers from Wise's Legion, Colonel Shaw in command, and Colonels Anderson, Jordan and Price being also present. Gallantly, nobly and gloriously did every man fight (except ———, who ran like a whipped dog). As far as the eye could reach the enemy stood in compact mass, and we mowed them down by hundreds. Often did they at-

tempt to advance, but as often was death spread in their ranks, and they were repulsed. Like a hail shower their minie balls fell around us while shell and shot hurtled over us going wide from their mark, and placing our reserve force, portions of the Thirty-first and Eighth, half a mile in our rear, in more danger than ourselves. Not a cheek blanched among us with fear, and as I watched most particularly my own gallant boys, not a trembling hand or faltering eye could I see.

Nor was it different with the "Hatteras Avengers," (Company F), who fought with the spirit and determination of brave men, under a brave leader, and a braver man than Captain Knight no men ever fought under. His voice was heard at all times cheering his men, and his example, with that of his First Lieutenant, S. J Latham, inspired all with courage. After about two hours, our skirmishers being hard pressed by overwhelming numbers, were gradually falling back fighting most gallantly, when the lamented Wise fell. His men bore him off and I saw them no more. The enemy pushed regiment after regiment into the swamp on either side to flank us, but they were for a long time driven back. For over three hours the numbers above mentioned kept at bay at least 10,000 of the enemy (as acknowledged by themselves), and when at last we were flanked, as a Major of one of the regiments who did it, told me, they crossed that miry swamp on a bridge of dead men.* Only three men of ours were killed at the redoubt, one of them the brave Seldon, who fell near me, shot through the head. He, Captain Schermerhorn and Lieutenant Kinney (all of Wise's Legion), had command of our three guns. Captain Schermerhorn, who has been fighting ever since he was old enough, and has five balls now in his body, had charge of Company B detachment and complimented them very highly, particularly James Flowers, who, he said, though much exposed, fought with the firm courage and unflinching coolness of a veteran. A compliment from such a man is worth something. But all did well, and their country

* General Burnside's Official Report shows his loss was 5 officers and 32 men killed; 10 officers and 204 men wounded. 13 missing, total 264.—ED.

ought to be proud of them. Probably had others been in their places, the same might be said justly, but this is certain, the "O. K. Boys," of Anson County, and the "Hatteras Avengers," of Martin County, fought four hours and twenty minutes, and only retreated when the whole Yankee force was close upon them, and the field officers had left our battery. In ten minutes more the enemy would have surrounded us and cut us to pieces. Just before the retreat, reinforcements arrived, swelling our numbers to probably four hundred men, who did but little good. The retreat was conducted in good order, no guns were thrown away, as has been stated, and our whole force, except a few stragglers, proceeded slowly up the road expecting every minute to hear the order to "Fall in" for another fight, than which no order could have been more welcome. But this came not, and they went sullenly and silently to our old encampment, where about an hour after our arrival, we saw the white flag borne by us to meet the enemy The surrender of all the forces on the island was made and a strong Federal guard placed around us. The victorious army treated us with kindness, particularly General Foster and the officers of the Eighth and Fifty-first New York, the Pennsylvania, New Jersey and Twenty-first Massachusetts Regiments. We were deprived of all small arms, upon a promise of having them returned whenever we were exchanged, which promise was only partially complied with on our release. We had the mortification of seeing many of the articles prepared for the use of our sick and wounded by the kind women of Anson, seized by the rascally Zouaves, but as soon as complaint was made to General Reno, he promptly ordered any man trespassing thus to be placed in irons.

Our beautiful flag was gallantly borne away from the battlefield by Corporal H. M. May, but to our great regret was taken by the enemy after the surrender, and by Dr. Cutler, Surgeon of the Twenty-first Massachusetts Regiment, was sent as a present to the Governor of that State, a brother-in-law of my informant. *It was never disgraced,* and bore many marks in the shape of bullet holes. We remained on the Island much crowded and closely guarded, until the

Wednesday morning following, when we were removed (the officers only), to the steamer *Spaulding* in the sound, fully expecting to start immediately for New York. We were allowed to take our baggage and servants. The ten days following were the most miserable I ever passed. Confined to the damp, dark and dirty lower deck greatly crowded, fed on hard crackers, fat pork (which they said was cooked before leaving the North, but which seemed to us raw), and coffee twice a day, you may imagine our condition. On Sunday, the 16th, General Burnside came aboard and announced that we could all be released on a parole of honor, of which the following is a copy:

"Having been taken a prisoner of war by the forces of General A. E. Burnside, on Roanoke Island, I do solemnly pledge my sacred word and honor, that if released, I will give no one any information I may have derived, or mention anything I may have heard or seen since my capture, *that might injure the Government of the United States of America,* or aid their enemies by word or act until I am regularly exchanged according to the usages of war; the information to me, of said exchange to be beyond the possibility of a doubt."

This was about the first intimation we had of anything of the kind and upon the assurance that the same privilege should be offered to our men, we gladly accepted the proposition. But it was not until the next Thursday that they moved with us, then steamers, bearing all the prisoners taken, started for Elizabeth City where, on Friday, we landed, and after a tedious process of verifying rolls, we were released. The meeting here between officers and men was in some instances very affecting. You may be sure that we gladly took up our line of march homeward, and bore the many hardships and privations of the journey with more cheerfulness than under other circumstances. At Portsmouth we were furnished with a good meal. At Weldon, Colonel O. H. Dockery most kindly prepared for and entertained my company, on Tuesday morning, from which time until our arrival at Florence—thirty-six hours—we had nothing to eat. At the latter place a bountiful repast was spread for us, Mr. Gamble, the proprietor of the hotel, only

charging us half price—to his credit be it spoken. We are all now safely at home with one exception, and impatient to hear of our exchange. Joseph E. Liles has not been seen or directly heard from since the fight, though we have the strongest reasons for believing that he was alive on the island, though sick when we left. He was quite unwell with the mumps on the day of the battle, though he fought most bravely, and was with us when we started to retreat. He was doubtless taken prisoner, and I fully hope and believe, for various reasons, that he will soon be returned to his home and friends. May this be so—for a nobler boy, or one more beloved, never pulled trigger on an enemy. I had several men wounded, though none seriously. Our whole loss, killed and wounded, is about forty—that of the enemy but little, if any, under two thousand killed, and I know not how many were wounded. This information was gained in various ways, as it was most studiously kept secret by most of the officers, but is reliable. Captain Knight's men and the others in the battery, fired thirty to forty rounds of buck and ball cartridges, and for a large portion of the time, the enemy was just where we wanted them to make our shots tell, and every discharge of our artillery opened a perfect lane through the enemy's ranks. When we saw them advancing the last time upon us, the order to "Fix bayonets" was given, and I never saw it obeyed more cheerfully on drill—though every man expected a hand-to-hand conflict. All those pretty stories about crying and breaking swords, are gammon. I could not make this communication shorter and do the North Carolina companies engaged justice.

E. R. LILES.

LILESVILLE, N. C.,
1 March, 1862.

NOTE.—At the time of this battle E R. Liles was Captain Company B, and later Lieutenant-Colonel of the Regiment. His estimate of the enemy's loss is very far above the mark (see Burnside's report above) as perhaps was natural at the time.—ED.

SHARPSBURG (OR ANTIETAM)

17 SEPTEMBER, 1862.

By WALTER CLARK, Lieutenant-Colonel Seventieth N. C. T.

After the "seven days fight" around Richmond in July, 1862, when McClellan took refuge from utter destruction in his gun-boats it was resolved that we should return the unsolicited visit which had been made us.

A few weeks later, with blare of bugles and roll of drums, we set our faces northward. At Cedar Mountain we crushed the enemy, Chantilly saw our victorious columns and the field of Manassas a second time welcomed us to victory. When

> "August with its trailing vines
> Passed out the gates of Summer,"

we were in full march for the Potomac, which was crossed simultaneously at several points, the bands playing "Maryland, My Maryland." Walker's Division, to which I belonged, with McLaws' and A. P Hills' Divisions, recrossed the Potomac to surround Harper's Ferry, while the rest of the army, moving towards Hagerstown, was suddenly attacked at Boonsboro 14 September, and falling back the hostile lines again confronted each other about noon on 16 September, the Federals lining Antietam creek while the Confederates held the village of Sharpsburg, hence the double name of this famous battle. For a similar reason the great battle known to the English-speaking people the world around as Waterloo, is called the battle of Mont St. Jean by the French and La Belle Alliance by Germans.

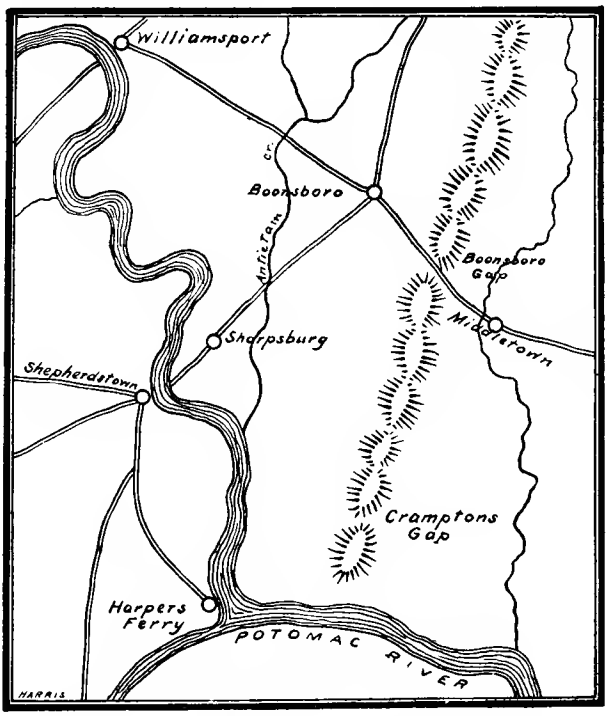
The battle of Antietam (commonly known at the South as the battle of Sharpsburg), was one of the bloodiest of the whole Civil War. It was fought 17 September, 1862, between the Federal army commanded by General George B. McClellan, and the Confederate army under General R. E. Lee.

The Federal army was composed of six Corps: First (Hooker's), Second (Sumner's), Fifth (Porter's), Sixth (Franklin's), Ninth (Burnside's), Twelfth (Mansfield's), besides Pleasanton's Cavalry Division.

On the Southern side were two Corps: Longstreet's and Jackson's, with Stuart's Cavalry The morning reports for that day of the Federal army show 101,000 "effective;" but General McClellan, in his report of the battle, places his number of men in line at 87,000. General Lee, in his report simply puts his force at "less than 40,000." General Longstreet estimates them at 37,000, and General D. H. Hill at 31,000. The best estimate of numbers actually in line would be 87,000 Federals and 35,000 Confederates. Of the latter, only 27,000 were in hand when the battle opened. The arrival of the divisions of McLaws and A. P Hill from Harper's Ferry during the battle, raised Lee's total to 35,000. Over a fourth of these were from North Carolina, which had thirty-two regiments and three batteries there.

The battle was fought in a bend of the Potomac river, the town of Sharpsburg, Md., being the center of the Southern line of battle, whose right flank rested on the Antietam creek, just above where it flows into the Potomac, and the left flank on the Potomac higher up. General Lee had braved all rules of strategy by dividing his army in the presence of an enemy treble his numbers. He had sent Jackson, with nearly half the army, to the south side of the Potomac to invest Harper's Ferry, while with the other part of the army he himself advanced on Hagerstown. General McClellan, who slowly and with caution was following Lee's movements, found at Frederick, Md., a dispatch from Lee to General D. H. Hill, which had been dropped in the latter's encampment. This disclosed to him Lee's entire plan of campaign and the division of his army. With more than his usual promptness, McClellan threw himself (on 14 September), upon Turner's (Boonsboro) and Crampton's Gaps. These were stubbornly held till next day, when Lee fell back to Sharpsburg. Fortunately for Lee, Harper's Ferry surrendered with 12,000 prisoners early on the morning of the 15th, releasing the besieging force. Of these, Walker's Division, with Jackson

himself, rejoined Lee north of the Potomac, at Sharpsburg, on the afternoon of the 16th. McLaws and A. P Hill joined him there during the battle on the 17th—McLaws at 9 a. m., and A. P Hill at 3 p. m.—and each just in time to prevent



SHARPSBURG AND VICINITY.

the destruction of the army. With 87,000 men in line, as against Lee's 35,000, General McClellan should have captured the Confederate army, for fighting with the river at its back any disaster could not have been retrieved. Besides, till 9 a. m., Lee had only 27,000 men, and this number was not finally raised to 35,000 till the arrival of A. P Hill after 3 p. m. There were no breastworks and neither time nor opportunity to make any. General McClellan was an excellent General, but his over-caution saved Lee's army He greatly overestimated the numbers opposed to him. He telegraphed to President Lincoln during the battle that Lee had 95,000 men. Had he known that in truth Lee had only 27,000 men when the battle opened, the history of the war and General McClellan's fortunes would have been essentially different.

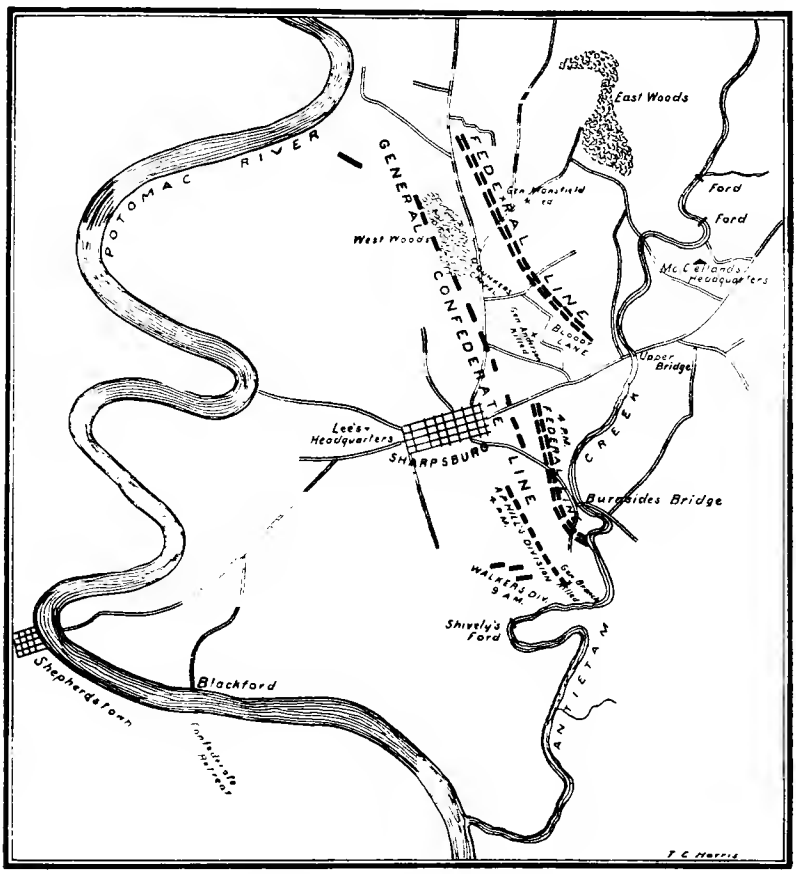
During the battle General McClellan telegraphed President Lincoln "one of the greatest, and probably the greatest battle, in all history is now in progress."

This much has been said to give a general idea of the "situation" before and during the battle. I was Adjutant of the Thirty-fifth North Carolina Regiment commanded by Colonel M. W Ransom (afterwards Brigadier-General and United States Senator.) The brigade was commanded by his brother, General Robert Ransom, a West Pointer, and hence a personal acquaintance of most of the Federal leaders. The division was commanded by General John G. Walker, another old army officer. We were at the taking of Harper's Ferry, where our division held Loudon Heights, and we were the first to recross the Potomac and join General Lee at Sharpsburg, on the afternoon of the 16th.

I was then a mere boy, just 16 a few days before, and have vivid recollections of the events of the day. About an hour before day, on the 17th, our division began its march for the position assigned us on the extreme right, where we were to oppose the Federals in any attempt to cross either the bridge (since known as Burnside's) or the ford over the Antietam below it, near Shiveley's. Along our route we met men, women and children coming out from Sharpsburg, and from the farm houses near by. They were carrying such of their household belongings as were portable; many women were weeping. This, and the little children leaving their homes, made a moving picture in "the dawn's early light." On taking position, we immediately tore down the fences in our front which might obstruct the line of fire. About 9 a. m., a pressing order came to move to the left; this we did in quick time. As we were leaving our ground, I remember looking up the Antietam, the opposite bank of which was lined with Federal batteries. These were firing at the left wing of our army to the support of which we were moving. The Federal gunners could be seen with the utmost distinctness as they loaded and fired. Moving northwards, we were passing in rear of our line of battle and met constant streams of the wounded coming out. Among them I remember meeting Colonel W L. DeRosset, of the Third North Carolina,

being brought out badly wounded, and many others well known in North Carolina.

All this time there was the steady booming of the cannon, the whistling of shells, the pattering of fire-arms, and the occasional yell or cheer rising above the roar of battle as some advantage was gained by either side. Soon after passing the



BATTLE-FIELD OF SHARPSBURG.

town the division was deployed in column of regiments. Around and just beyond the Dunkard church, in the center of the Confederate left, our line had been broken and was completely swept away. A flood of Federals were pouring in; we were just in time—ten minutes' five minutes' delay, and our army would have ceased to exist. We were marching up behind our line of battle, with our right flank perpendicu-

lar to it. As the first regiment got opposite to the break in our lines it made a wheel to the right and "went in." The next regiment, marching straight on, as soon as it cleared the left of the regiment preceding it, likewise wheeled to the right and took its place in line, and so on in succession. That is, we were marching north, and thus were successively thrown into line of battle facing east. As these regiments came successively into line they struck the Federal lines which were advancing; the crash was deafening. The sound of infantry firing at short distance can be likened to nothing so much as the dropping of a shower of hail-stones on an enormous tin roof. My regiment wheeled to the right about 150 yards north (and west) of the Dunkard church. In the wheel we passed a large barn, which is still standing, and entered the "West Woods." Being a mounted officer, I had a full view; our men soon drove the Federals back to the eastern edge of these woods, where the enemy halted to receive us. The West Woods had already been twice fought over that morning; the dead and wounded lay thicker than I ever seen on a battlefield since. On the eastern edge of these woods the lines of battle came close together and the shock was terrific; here Captain Walter Bryson, of our regiment, was killed, along with many others in the brigade. All the mounted officers in the division instantly dismounted, turning their horses loose to gallop to the rear. It being the first time I had been so suddenly thrown in contact with a line of battle, and not noticing, in the smoke and uproar, that the others had dismounted, I thought it my duty to stick to my horse; in another moment, when the smoke would have lifted (so the Federal line of battle, lying down fifty yards off, could have seen me) I should have been taken for a general officer and would have been swept out of my saddle by a hundred bullets. A kind-hearted veteran close by peremptorily pulled me off my horse. At that instant a minie ball, whistling over the just emptied saddle, struck the back of my left hand which was still clinging to the pommel, leaving a slight scar which I still carry as a memento. The Federal line soon fell back. We then charged in pursuit as far as the post and rail fence at the turnpike. It was Gorman's Brigade,

Sedgwick's Division, of Sumner's Corps our brigade was fighting. This was composed of troops from Massachusetts, New York and Minnesota, and from their returns they left 750 killed and wounded by our fire; this was about 10 a. m. A terrific shelling by the enemy followed, which was kept up for many hours, with occasional brief intermissions, caused probably by the necessity of letting the pieces cool. The shelling was terrible, but owing to protection from the slope of the hill, and there being a limestone ledge somewhat sheltering our line, the loss from the artillery was small.

In the brief intermission, after the Federal infantry had fallen back and before the artillery opened, a cry for help was heard. Lieutenant (later Captain) Sanford G. Howie and myself going out in front of our line, found the Lieutenant-Colonel of a Massachusetts regiment—Francis Winthrop Palfrey—lying on the ground wounded, and brought him and others into our lines. With some reluctance he surrendered his very handsome sword and pistol and was sent to the rear. The sword bore an inscription that it had been presented to him by the town of Concord, Mass. He remarked at the time, he wished them preserved, and sure enough, after the war he wrote for them, and they were restored; he was exchanged and became subsequently General Palfrey He has published a volume, "Antietam and Fredericksburg."

There was another intermission in the shelling about 12 o'clock, when we were charged by the Second Massachusetts and Thirteenth New Jersey of Gordon's Brigade, who advanced as far as the post and rail fence at the Hagerstown turnpike, about 100 yards in our front, but were broken there and driven back, leaving many dead and wounded. There was another intermission about 2 o'clock probably. Word was then brought us that we were to advance. It was then that Stonewall Jackson came along our lines; his appearance has been so often described that I will only say that I was reminded of what the Federal prisoners had said two days before at Harper's Ferry, when he rode down among them from his post on Bolivar Heights: "My! boys, he ain't much on looks, but if *we* had had him, we wouldn't have been in this fix." Stonewall remarked to Colonel Ransom, as he

did to the other Colonels along the line, that with Stuart's Cavalry and some infantry he was going around the Federal right and get in their rear, and added "when you hear the rattle of my small arms this whole line must advance." He wished to ascertain the force opposed, and a man of our regiment named Hood was sent up a tall tree, which he climbed carefully to avoid observation by the enemy; Stonewall called out to know how many Yankees he could see over the hill and beyond the "East Woods," Hood replied, "Who-e-e! there are oceans of them, General." "Count their flags," said Jackson sternly, who wished more definite information. This Hood proceeded to do until he had counted thirty-nine, when the General told him that would do and to come down. By reason of this and other information he got, the turning movement was not attempted, and it was probably fortunate for us that it was not.

During the same lull, our Brigadier-General (Robert Ransom) received a flag of truce which had been sent to remove some wounded officers, and by it sent his love to General Hartsuff (if I remember aright), who had been his roommate at West Point; but Hartsuff, as it happened, had been wounded and had left the field. Soon after our regiment was moved laterally a short distance to the right, and we charged a piece of artillery which had been put in position near the Dunkard church; we killed the men and horses, but did not bring off the artillery, as we were ourselves swept by artillery on our left posted in the "old corn-field."

Just to the right of the Dunkard church was the "peach orchard" lying between the church and the town of Sharpsburg, where General D. H. Hill held our line for hours with a line of men four feet apart. A half mile in front of the orchard, early in the day, Anderson's Brigade had made the name of the "Bloody Lane" forever famous. Its position thrust out in front resembled that of the "Bloody Angle" at Spottsylvania later. It was overwhelmed by Richardson's Division, losing its Brigadier, Geo. B. Anderson, mortally wounded, Colonel Tew killed, Colonels Parker, Bennett and others wounded. Its loss was great, but the fame of its deeds that day will abide with North Carolina forevermore.

About 3 p. m., Burnside on our right (the Federal left) advanced, having crossed the bridge about 1 p. m., until which hour his two corps had been kept from crossing the bridge by Toombs' Brigade of 400 men. Though it crossed at 1 p. m., Burnside's Corps unaccountably did not advance till 3 p. m. Then advancing over the ground which had been abandoned by our division early that morning, utter disaster to our army was imminent. Just then A. P Hill's Division arrived from Harper's Ferry, where it had been paroling prisoners. A delay of ten minutes by Hill might have lost us the army; as it was, the division arrived just in time. The roll of musketry was continuous till nightfall and Burnside was driven back to the Antietam. Here General L. O'B. Branch was killed. About dark our brigade was moved to the right a half mile and bivouacked for the night around Reel's house near a burning barn. As we were moving by the right flank, we were seen by the Federal signal station on the high hills on the east bank of the Antietam. A shell sent by signal fell in the rear company of the Forty-ninth North Carolina Regiment, just ahead of us, killing Lieutenant Greenlea Fleming and killing or wounding thirteen others. It rained all next day We were moved back that morning to our old position of the Dunkard church; neither army advanced. That night our whole army quietly moved off and crossed the Potomac, the passage of the river being lighted up by torches held by men stationed in the river on horseback. The army came off safely without arousing the Federal army, and left not a cannon nor a wagon behind us. On the 19th Fitz John Porter's corps attempted to follow us across the river at Shepherdstown, and was driven back with disastrous loss.

During the battle of the 17th, McClellan's headquarters were across the Antietam at the Fry house. There he had his large spy-glasses strapped to movable frames, and could take in the whole battlefield; besides, from his signal station on the high hills, which border the Antietam on the east side, he could learn all the movements of our army. With this advantage and his great preponderance of numbers, 87,000 to 101,000 as against our 35,000 to 40,000 (giving the margin to each allowed by the official reports), it is clear that he

should have captured Lee. The latter had committed a grave military fault by dividing his army by a river and many miles of interval in the presence of an enemy greatly his superior in numbers. Besides, he ought not to have fought north of the Potomac. Lee was saved from the consequences of his boldness by the opposite quality of over-caution in McClellan; the latter erroneously estimated Lee's force at 95,000, when it was a little more than one-fourth of that number at the time the battle opened. Then, when the Federals fought it was done in detail. At daybreak Hooker's Corps went in; he was wounded, and his corps badly cut up and scattered. Then Mansfield with the Twelfth Corps, came on; he was killed and his corps was driven out. Then Sumner's Corps was launched at us and came on in good style; it broke our line, and was only driven back by fresh troops—Walker's Division taken from the right, as above stated, and by McLaws' Division, just arrived from Harper's Ferry. Sumner's Corps was driven back but fought well, as is shown by the fact that its loss, which was over 5,000, was more than double that of any other corps. When they went back Franklin's Corps came up, but had small opportunity, as is shown by its loss of less than 500 in the whole battle. By 11 o'clock the battle on the left wing was practically over, except by artillery; on the other wing at 1 p. m., Burnside's Corps crossed the Antietam over the bridge, but his corps did not move forward till 3 p. m., at which instant A. P. Hill's Division, arriving from paroling prisoners at Harper's Ferry, met and overthrew it. The other corps (Fitz John Porter's) was in reserve and did not fire a gun, except some detachments sent to other commands during the battle. With six corps the weight of McClellan's fighting at any moment was that of one corps only. Had he, with Napoleonic vigor, dropped his four corps—full 60,000 men—simultaneously on our thin left wing of 15,000 men like a massive trip hammer, it must have shattered it. Had he moved his other two corps of 30,000 at the same moment in rear of our right, the fight would have been over by 9 a. m., and Appomattox would have been antedated two years and a half. The star of the Confederacy would have set in night,

and Sharpsburg might have taken its place in the history of our race by the side of Hastings and Flodden. The loss of that army, with Lee, Jackson and the other Generals there, would have been fatal. We know what happened when the same glorious army, even with smaller numbers, disappeared at Appomattox. From this fate the leadership of our Generals and the superb valor of our soldiers could not have saved us, had not McClellan singularly overrated our numbers. But he should have known that if Lee and Jackson had really had 95,000 men they would not have waited for him to attack; they would have taken possession of his army

Thirty-nine years after the event it is hard to realize the misapprehension which then existed in the minds of others as well as General McClellan as to the size of Lee's army. As an example, read the following from the 28 (Serial No.) *Official Records Union and Confed. Armies, 268.* from the war Governor of Pennsylvania, Andrew G. Curtin:

"HARRISBURG, PA., 11 September, 1862.

"*His Excellency the President*:

* * "You should order a strong guard placed upon the railway line from Washington to Harrisburg to-night, and send here not less than 50,000 disciplined forces, and order from New York and States east all available forces to concentrate here at once. To this we will add all the militia forces possible, and I think that in a few days we can muster 50,000 men. It is our only hope to save the North and crush the rebel army * * * The enemy will bring against us not less than 120,000, with large amount of artillery. The time for decided action by the National Government has arrived. What may we expect?

"A. G. CURTIN."

To this President Lincoln very sensibly replied, at p. 276, same volume:

"* * If I should start half of our forces to Harrisburg, he enemy will turn upon and beat the remaining half and hen reach Harrisburg before the part going there, and beat it oo when it comes. The best possible security for Pennsylva-

nia is putting the strongest force possible into the enemy's rear.

"September, 12, 1862. A. LINCOLN."

The same day (12 September), Governor Curtin telegraphs the President that he has reliable information as to the rebel movements and intentions, which he details, and says: "Their force in Maryland is about 190,000 men. They have in Virginia about 250,000 more, all of whom are being concentrated to menace Washington and keep the Union armies employed there while their forces in Maryland devastate and destroy Pennsylvania."

In fact, as we now know from the *Official Records,* Lee, by reason of his losses at Second Manassas and from sickness and straggling, had only about 40,000 men in Maryland, and there were probably 10,000 more in Virginia, exclusive of the stragglers from his army, around Richmond, a total of 50,000 effective, while opposed to them was McClellan immediately in front with an army of 101,000 "effective," 12,000 more Federals (afterwards captured) were at Harper's Ferry, 73,000 "effective, fit for duty" were in the intrenchments round Washington, 10,000 under General Wool at Baltimore—total, by morning reports, of 195,000 effective, besides the Federal and State troops under arms in Pennsylvania.

Such are the illusions and confusion which disturb even the clearest minds under such circumstances.

Singularly enough, too, General McClellan gave as his reason for not putting in Fitz John Porter's Corps and fighting on the 18th, that it was the only force that stood intact between the Capital and possible disaster. Yet on that day 73,000 other soldiers were behind the ramparts around Washington. The publication of the *Official Records* has thrown a flood of light on the history of those times.

RALEIGH, N. C.,
17 September, 1901

Walter Clark

BATTLE OF WHITE HALL.

13 DECEMBER, 1862.

By COLONEL S. D. POOL, Tenth Regiment (1 Art.) N. C. T.

The winter campaign of 1862 was initiated early by the Federal commander.

In the months of October and November feints were made along the Confederate lines from North Carolina to the Blackwater. These movements were instituted to divert forces from the Army of Northern Virginia to the apparent points of attack previous to the decisive assault on General Lee's position at Fredericksburg, and which, they expected, would work the overthrow of the Confederacy. Shortly before that attack should take place, a subordinate, though real, attack was to be made on Goldsboro, North Carolina, by the advance of General Foster from New Bern, which, while weakening General Lee by the division of his forces, would also, if successful, interrupt his communications, and further the general plan. Great activity was shown in Suffolk, where General Peck had command. Large reinforcements were sent to that garrison in November. The Blackwater was the Confederate line; and the twenty miles between the river and Suffolk, covered with low brushwood, and of level surface, intersected by innumerable roads, constituted a neutral ground traversed by the foraging parties of both armies, and became the theatre of frequent skirmishes of cavalry Colonel Leventhorpe, of the Eleventh North Carolina Regiment, in command of two North Carolina infantry regiments, Ferrebee's Cavalry (Fifty-ninth North Carolina) and a Petersburg Battery (Captain Graham's), had charge of this line from September to the end of November. Towards the end of November an attack in force was made upon Franklin—the Confederate headquarters—and a flank attack at a fort on the Blackwater, on the left of, and seven miles from, Franklin. Marshall's Regiment (Fifty-second North Carolina)

was stationed to guard the ford. The enemy crossed the river at that point, and formed a line to cover the passage of their artillery. They were repulsed there and at Franklin. Colonel Leventhorpe was reinforced by several additional regiments of infantry, and two Virginia batteries; and some heavy guns were sent from Richmond and placed in position. The works about Franklin were enlarged and strengthened. General Pryor assumed the command on the Blackwater about 1 December. Soon after his arrival the General learned by his scouts that the enemy had left Suffolk in large force, and that Franklin was the supposed object of attack. Subsequent information was received that the enemy was marching into Gates County, North Carolina. The design of this movement was not understood; but it was imagined, either that a large foraging party had been sent into Gates, or that the General was making a reconnoissance in person. With a view to determining this question, and diverting the enemy from his object, whatever it might be, General Pryor made a night advance towards Suffolk. At about 2 a. m., and whilst the troops were in bivouac, heavy cannonading was heard in the rear, and apparently at Franklin, which was partially uncovered. General Pryor withdrew towards his own lines. The cannonade, it was afterwards discovered, originated with a party of cavalry from Suffolk, 500 strong, which had run a battery to the bank of the Blackwater to shell a Confederate regiment encamped on the low-lands on the opposite side. This party learned that General Pryor was in the field in force, and retreated precipitately on Suffolk, affording, with the withdrawal of the Confederates towards Franklin, the somewhat singular incident of the retreat of two parties, by contiguous roads, each urged by the apprehension that their separate fastnesses had been attacked during their absence

On the following day it was known that the large Federal force, last traced to Gates County, had embarked on the Chowan, and that it was destined to aid General Foster in an expedition into North Carolina. Immediately after this reinforcement reached him, General Foster marched from New Bern. He was encountered by General N. G. Evans be-

tween New Bern and Kinston, and delayed for several days by the obstinate stand made by that officer at every point where it was possible with his limited numbers, to oppose, with any advantage, the overwhelming strength of the Federal advance. Intelligence of this movement was sent to General Pryor, who was ordered to dispatch Leventhorpe's Regiment immediately to Goldsboro. As General Evans was in need of reinforcements General Robertson, commanding at Garysburg, was ordered to dismount Evans' (Sixty-third North Carolina) and Ferebee's (Fifty-ninth North Carolina) Regiments of cavalry, and proceed to his assistance. At Goldsboro, Colonel Leventhorpe received instructions to report to General Evans, who, rumor stated, was contending successfully with General Foster. The train conveying the Eleventh North Carolina, was met on its way by an up train which the President of the road was conveying out of danger, and, then, for the first time, the true condition of affairs was known, and that General Evans, who had bravely disputed every inch of ground, had been attacked by irresistible numbers, defeated, and driven from Kinston, which was then occupied by the enemy. General Evans had been well aware, from the first that he could only delay the Federal columns. But he appreciated justly that every consideration should be subordinate to this object. This resistance gained time for General Gustavus W Smith, and enabled the latter to procure those reinforcements, which placed it in his power to meet Foster successfully, and defeat the aim of his expedition.

When the train had gone as far as its safety would warrant, it was stopped, and the troops bivouacked by the road. General Robertson and Colonel Leventhorpe proceeded together on the engine to seek General Evans, who was quartered at a house on the bank of a small creek a few miles distant from Kinston, his late headquarters. General Evans explained his disaster to the two officers who visited him. His little band of about two thousand men had been crushed by the enemy, numbering twenty-two thousand men, and having eighty pieces of artillery. When General Evans' force was broken it was partly dispersed, and the position of his

artillery was uncertain. General Evans had kept up the unequal contest so long that his troops had barely time to reach Kinston by the bridge ere they were overtaken and scattered by Foster's forces. Evans' South Carolina Brigade could alone be mustered, and was picketing the banks of the small stream which he had chosen for a stand should Foster advance from Kinston. General Evans was made aware that General Smith intended to reinforce him largely on the morrow, and he expressed his resolution to send Leventhorpe's Regiment forward in the morning to feel the enemy. But this determination was changed on the following day as it was thought probable that Foster might recross the river, march up the Neuse on its southern bank to White Hall and, passing the river on the bridge, interpose his force between General Evans and Goldsboro. General Robertson was, therefore, ordered to march with Evans' (Sixty-third North Carolina) and Ferebee's (Fifty-ninth North Carolina) Regiments of dismounted cavalry, and Leventhorpe's (Eleventh North Carolina) and Jordan's (Thirty-first North Carolina) Regiments, prevent the enemy from crossing at White Hall and, in furtherance of that object, destroy the bridge there, if necessary. White Hall was, at that time, a small hamlet on Neuse river which was spanned by a substantial county bridge. The river, though much narrower at White Hall, is deep and navigable. On the northern side the river has a gentle slope to the stream, which, in 1862, was bordered by a swamp in which there was a somewhat dense growth of tall timber. A quantity of this timber had been felled and cut into logs, which lay around the bank of the river, and through the swamp, affording admirable protection for riflemen, of which good use was made on the following day. A gun-boat was in course of building, and stood, propped on rollers, in the upper end of the swamp, and near the river not far from the bridge. A bridge road ran through and about equally divided the swamp. There was perhaps a depth of rather less than a hundred yards of timbered swamp land on the left side of the bridge road, and between it and the river. The little hamlet of White Hall, built on the southern bank of the Neuse, consisted of two or three stores

and warehouses, and a straggling street with some neat dwellings and enclosures. The warehouses were on the bluff which is lofty on the southern side; and some eminences further from the river, and commanding the much lower level of the northern shore, gave great advantage to the former as a military position. The Confederate troops reached the neighborhood of the bridge about sunset and stacked arms whilst the mounted officers rode over the bridge to the village. Some scouts were sent out immediately on the Kinston road. They returned at sunset reporting the enemy advancing, and his scouts quite near. The bluffs were crowded with piles of crude rosin, and barrels of spirits of turpentine. By General Robertson's orders these combustibles were arranged on the bridge and a party detailed to fire them when the order should be given. As subsequent reports convinced General Robertson that the whole force of the enemy was advancing on him, he considered that it would be impossible, with his small force to prevent his crossing should the bridge remain undestroyed. It was therefore fired after nightfall, as the enemy came up and the burning fabric, thoroughly saturated with turpentine, fell into the Neuse and floated down its waters a blazing wreck. This work was scarcely accomplished when the enemy entered and occupied the village. A strong picket from the Eleventh North Carolina was posted in the swamp fronting White Hall. The Confederate troops bivouacked within short distance. The enemy was active during the night, and could be heard throwing up works, and preparing for coming operations. Some sharp picket firing occurred during intervals, and an occasional shell disturbed the sleeping Confederates. About midnight the Federals burned the warehouses and some other buildings at White Hall. With what object this was done was uncertain, but, whether in order to avail themselves of the temporary light of this conflagration in directing their missiles of death, or whether from a wanton spirit of evil, the act proved highly disastrous to its perpetrators in the ensuing engagements, as it destroyed what would have been a safe shelter for skirmishers, and exposed the infantry, without cover, and on a high elevation, to the balls of the Confederate soldiers. In the

morning Colonel Leventhorpe relieved his two companies which had been engaged (Captains Bird and Small), with two other companies of the Eleventh North Carolina, which were placed under command of Captain M. D. Armfield, a noble old man, and a soldier of the purest type, who afterwards, as a Gettysburg prisoner, and in confinement at Johnson's Island, gave his life for the cause which he had espoused.

The enemy's preparations being complete his guns began to open quite briskly upon the pickets in the swamp. General Robertson formed his troops in line, and within easy support of the pickets should there be any intention exhibited, on the part of the enemy to cross the river on pontoons. Some casualties occurred amongst the dismounted cavalry, and two men of Captain Bryce's company, Colonel Ferebee's Regiment, were killed by a shell. General Robertson ordered Jordan's Regiment into the swamp to relieve Leventhorpe's picket companies. This intention, however, was changed. Colonel Jordan was counter-ordered, and Colonel Leventhorpe instructed to join his two picket companies, with his eight remaining companies, and to use his judgment as to the best mode of engaging the enemy, but, in any event, to resist the crossing of the Neuse river to the last extremity. The Eleventh Regiment moved forward at the double-quick, filed to the right through the timber on the river bank. It was halted, and fronted towards White Hall in rather extended order, to meet the large front shown by the enemy, as well as to lessen, by the extension of the files, the danger of loss by his artillery. In the meantime, although there was no vantage ground for artillery in the Confederate position, General Robertson placed two small guns, his sole ordnance, and directed the Lieutenant (Nelson McCleos) who commanded, to engage the enemy's batteries. Some seven hundred men, therefore, of the Eleventh Regiment and two small howitzers of this North Carolina battery (Company B, Third North Carolina Battalion), formed the only fighting force opposed to thirty pieces in position, and Foster's whole command. The other Confederate troops, which were present, are nevertheless entitled to their full share of the credit

of this engagement, as they were placed under circumstances of peril highly trying to their steadfastness, without that stimulus of action which renders most men insensible to danger. A lull in the firing enabled the officers and men of the Eleventh to hear the order of their commanding officer, which was to keep their order, but avail themselves of such shelter as the ground afforded, and to commence independent firing. The answer came in that wild cheer, which many have heard and know as the Southern soldier's expression of ardor and determination. The enemy's guns were arranged on the heights at and around White Hall in a kind of semi-line so as, without actually enfilading the swamp, to expose those who held it to a direct and oblique fire. The infantry which engaged the Eleventh Regiment was drawn up in line. on the high ground fronting the swamp. The thirty guns opened at once, and fired as fast as they could be loaded and fired, for four hours without intermission. The Federal infantry fired by volleys and at the word of command. They were answered by the file-firing of the Confederate Regiment and by the section of a battery which might be heard occasionally through the din of battle in its unparalleled struggle against odds. The position of the enemy's infantry, as well as that of his batteries, although commanding that of the Confederates, had this disadvantage that it was necessary to depress the aim. In fact the Southern riflemen were too near their enemy, and his artillery and infantry overshot the mark. Had the thirty guns been more depressed, or had the Southern infantry been a hundred or even fifty yards further to the rear, it really seems impossible that any troops could have endured such a fire. The enemy's infantry fought well for four hours under a destructive fire. Their line, however, was frequently broken, and as frequently reformed. Some regiments faltered and withdrew in disorder, as their files were thinned by the Confederate rifles, but others supplied their place. At length the Federal commander conceded a repulse, withdrew his guns, and then his infantry, and was seen moving in the distance, with a long ambulance train containing the wounded. Leventhorpe's Regiment, the men's cartridges all spent, was relieved by Jordan's,

which engaged and drove away the skirmishers which General Foster had thrown out to cover his retreat.

Such, on 6 December, 1862, was the engagement at White Hall between the Confederate and Federal forces.

An examination of the field next day resulted in the discovery of one hundred and twenty-six of the Federal dead, and nineteen horses left on the field. It is not probable that this was the sum of the killed, but only comprehended those whom it was inexpedient to remove under a galling fire.

The exact object of General Foster in this engagement is doubtful. It seems nevertheless, as a pontoon train accompanied him that it was his design to cross the Neuse at White Hall, and advance from that point on Goldsboro. It is hardly to be supposed that, in order to overcome an unlooked for resistance only, he should have sacrificed a day's time, and subjected himself to a loss of probably a thousand men in killed and wounded, with a vast expenditure of ammunition.

The writer deeply regrets that General Robertson's report of this engagement,* which resulted so honorably to North Carolina soldiers, fighting on their native soil, as well as the general orders of Major-General G. W Smith and Major-General S. G. French, which were in his possession until lately, have been destroyed by fire, The section of artillery gave excellent aid in this fight. One of the two small guns was dismounted early in the fight, and the gunners killed; but despite this discouragement the remaining howitzer was fought to the last against the thirty opposing guns of large calibre, and made havoc amongst the enemy, particularly his horses, which were found lying thick around those batteries which received the special attention of this gallant subaltern.

The Confederate loss was slight in the engagement at

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*The report of General B. H. Robertson will be found in *26* (*Serial Number*) *Off. Rec. Union & Confed. Armies 121.* General Smith's at p. 109, General Evans' at p. 112, and the Federal General Foster's at p. 54, all in same volume. They cover the entire operations from Kinston to Goldsboro and contain interesting information upon an important campaign on our soil. The casualties on each side are given. U. S. 92 killed, 487 wounded, 12 missing. C. S. 71 killed, 268 wounded, 400 missing, though the Federal reports state they paroled 496.—ED.

White Hall (10 killed and 42 wounded), including few men killed and wounded in the force present, but not actually engaged. Of those engaged the writer believes that two men were killed in the command of the Lieutenant of artillery when his gun was dismounted, and that the casualties in the Eleventh North Carolina were seven men killed and forty wounded. The total number of Confederate soldiers present was fifteen hundred.

STEPHEN D. POOL.

RALEIGH, N. C.,
16 December, 1874.

FLANK MARCH AT CHANCELLORSVILLE.

2 AND 3 MAY, 1863.

By BRIGADIER-GENERAL JAMES H. LANE.

On the morning of 1 May, 1863, my Brigade moved from its position, near Hamilton's Crossing, in the direction of Chancellorsville. That night we formed line of battle with skirmishers thrown forward on the right of the road, about a mile and a half from Chancellorsville. Next morning between 8 and 9, I think, after the artillery duel on the road to our right, where one of our caissons was blown up and the Eighteenth North Carolina suffered a slight loss, we were ordered to the left on that memorable flank movement.

General Jackson's front line was composed of Rodes' Division, his second of Colston's and his third of A. P Hill's, with the exception of McGowan's Brigade and mine. Our two brigades moved by the flank along the plank road immediately in rear of our artillery—mine being in front.

We crossed the plank road where Generals Lee and Jackson were sitting on their horses, and took the road to Welford's Furnace, on a part of which we were in full view of the enemy who shelled us vigorously From Welford's Furnace we took a circuitous route across fields and along roads until we struck the road on the enemy's right flank, where Rodes and Colston were forming their lines of battle. This was between 5 and 6 in the afternoon of the same day. McGowan's Brigade and mine moved down the road, mine being in front and close behind the artillery. After the enemy had been swept back to Chancellorsville, and we had reached their last breastworks, the artillery halted, as did my command. This was a little before dark.

We remained standing in the road for some time. General A. P Hill then ordered me to form across the road—two regiments to the right, two to the left, and one thrown forward as a strong line of skirmishers—for the purpose of

making a night attack; but soon after the order was given our artillery opened and the enemy's replied. I at once ordered my men to lie down, as I was unwilling to attempt to manœuver them in the dark, and in such a woods, under such a deadly fire. Colonel William H. Palmer gallantly crossed the road to know why I did not move my command. I requested him to tell General Hill that if he wished me to do so successfully he must order his artillery to cease firing. The order was given and the firing ended on both sides. I now formed my brigade as I had been ordered, putting the Seventh and Thirty-seventh on the right of the road, and the Eighteenth and Twenty-eighth on the left, *the right of the Eighteenth resting on the road,* while the Thirty-third under Colonel Avery, was thrown forward as skirmishers. On account of the artillery fire the line was not formed till about 9 o'clock. The woods in front of our right consisted of large oaks with but little undergrowth; in rear of our right there was a pine thicket, and to the left of the road there was a dense growth of scrubby oaks, through which it was very difficult for troops to move. Our skirmish line occupied the crest of the hill, separated, on the right of the road, from the Chancellorsville hill by a deep valley I cautioned all of my field officers to watch closely the front, as we were then occupying the front line and were expected to make a night attack. After forming my line I rode from my right to the road to ask General A. P Hill if we must advance or wait for further orders, and on reaching the plank road I met General Jackson alone, I think, and he at once wished to know for whom I was looking. It was too dark to recognize any one, and when I was calling and asking for General A. P Hill, General Jackson recognized me, as I have always thought, from my voice, I having been a cadet under him at the Virginia Military Institute. I told him, and to save further delay, I asked for orders. In an earnest tone and with a pushing gesture of his right hand in the direction of the enemy, he replied, "Push right ahead, Lane," and then rode forward. On reaching the right of my command to put it in motion I found that a Lieutenant-Colonel Smith, of the One Hundred and Twenty-eighth Pennsylvania Regi-

ment, had come up between our line of battle and the skirmish line, with a white handkerchief tied to a stick, to learn, as he stated, whether we were friends or foes. This officer seemed surprised at my not allowing him to return after he had gratified his curiosity I was still further delayed by officers of the Seventh Regiment reporting that during my absence troops of some kind had been talking on our right. Lieutenant Emack, with four men, was at once sent out to reconnoitre, and he soon returned with the One Hundred and Twenty-eighth Pennsylvania Regiment, which had thrown down their arms and surrendered on being told that they were cut off. Just as Captain Young (our gallant boy-captain, about 18 or 19 years old) was ordered with his company to take this regiment to the rear, the right of the skirmish line fired, as I afterwards learned from Colonel Avery, at a person who rode up from the direction of the enemy and called for "General Williams." This unknown person escaped, but the firing at him caused the whole skirmish line to open, and the enemy responded. Much heavier infantry firing was heard immediately afterwards in the direction of the plank road, followed by a reopening of the enemy's artillery. General Pender now rode up and advised me not to advance, as General Jackson had been wounded, and, he thought by my command. I did not advance, but went to the plank road, where I learned that General Hill had also been wounded. I there, moreover, learned from Colonel John D. Barry, then Major of the Eighteenth North Carolina Regiment, that he knew nothing of Generals Jackson and Hill having gone to the front; that he could not tell friend from foe in such woods; that when the skirmish line fired there was heard the clattering of approaching horsemen and the cry of cavalry, and that he not only ordered his men to fire, but that he pronounced the subsequent cry of friends to be a lie, and that his men continued to fire upon the approaching party. It was generally understood that night, by my command and others, that the Eighteenth Regiment not only wounded Generals Jackson and Hill, but killed some of their couriers and perhaps some of their staff officers, as some of them were missing. Colonel Barry, who was one of my bravest and most ac-

complished officers, always thought that Generals Jackson and Hill were both wounded by his command.

After the wounding of these two Generals, General Heth assumed command of Hill's Division, countermanded the order for an advance, and directed me to form the whole of my brigade on the right of the plank road. We were the only troops in line on the right of the road until after we had repulsed Sickles' formidable midnight attack, in which we captured a few prisoners and the colors of the Third Maine Regiment. McGowan's Brigade then prolonged our right, and we rested on our arms until the next morning. I did not see General Stuart that night, but understood he did not arrive to take command of Jackson's Corps until after my brigade had repulsed Sickles' midnight attack.

On the morning of the 3d we were ordered to make a direct attack upon the enemy's works, which were composed of logs hastily thrown together the night previous, in our front and on the slope of the hill facing the Chancellorsville hill. We carried the works, but could not hold them on account of the concentrated, murderous artillery fire from the Chancellorsville hill, under which the enemy threw forward fresh infantry. The brigade that was to have supported us did not come to our assistance, and before General Ramseur (then a Brigadier), could get up with his North Carolinians, we were driven back with a loss of over nine hundred out of about twenty-seven hundred carried into action. Of the thirteen field officers of my command that participated in this charge, only one—Barry—was left for duty. General Ramseur would go forward, though I advised him against it. His command reached the same works, but had to retire with a similar terrible loss.

The enemy was finally driven from the Chancellorsville House by the Confederates carrying the salient to our right, where General Stuart, in command of Jackson's Corps, elicited loud shouts of admiration from the infantry as he in person gallantly rushed them over the works upon Hooker's retreating columns.

JAMES H. LANE.

AUBURN, ALA.,
2 May, 1901.

THE WOUNDING OF JACKSON

2 MAY, 1863.

By SPIER WHITAKER, Adjutant Thirty-third Regiment N. C. T.

Early on the morning of 2 May, 1863, Gen. Jackson marched by the Furnace and Brock roads and reached the old turnpike about three miles in the rear of Chancellorsville, at 4 p. m. As the different divisions arrived they were formed at right angles to the road, Rodes' in front, Trimble's under Colston in the second, and A. P Hill, marching down the turnpike in column of fours in the third line, with the Thirty-third North Carolina, of Lane's Brigade, at the head of the column. At 6 p. m. the advance was ordered. The enemy were taken by surprise and fled after a brief resistance. Rodes' men pushed forward with great vigor and enthusiasm, followed closely by the second and third lines. Position after position was carried, the guns captured, and every effort of the enemy to rally defeated by the impetuous rush of our troops. In the ardor of pursuit through the thick and tangled woods, the first and second lines at last became mingled, and moved on together as one. The flight and pursuit continued until our advance was arrested by the abatis in front of the line of works near the central position at Chancellorsville. It was now dark, and General Jackson ordered the third line, under General A. P Hill, to advance to the front and relieve the troops of Rodes and Colston, who were completely blended and in such disorder from their rapid advance through intricate woods and over broken ground, that it was necessary to reform them. Lane's Brigade was formed across the road, the Eighteenth and Twenty-eighth on the left, the Seventh and Thirty-seventh on the right, and the Thirty-third in skirmish line in front of the entire Brigade, Colonel Avery being at the center of his line, at the road. It was so dark and the woods so thick that the men could not be properly located or

deployed by a mere word of command, and I was sent by the Colonel to the left to see that this was done. When I had attended to this, I returned to Colonel Avery and informed him that the line was ready to move forward, when he told me that Generals Jackson and Hill with their staffs, had just gone forward in front of our line reconnoitering and that we must wait until their return. Soon we heard firing in front; the Generals and their staffs came galloping back and across our line bearing to the right of the road to escape the artillery fire. We, of course, permitted them to pass us, but the Eighteenth Regiment in our rear shouted, "Yankee cavalry!" and under orders from their officers, fired on them. As the bullets were coming from the front and the rear at the same time, our line protected themselves by lying down. We soon learned that Jackson had been terribly wounded by our own men and taken to the rear. There was no further advance that night and the battle for that day had about ended. Thus was the greatest of our Generals killed by his own men while in the midst of a glorious victory and on the point of capturing an army three times as large as the one which was commanded in part by himself.

SPIER WHITAKER.

RALEIGH, N. C.,
2 May, 1901.

ANOTHER ACCOUNT

BY ALFRED H. H. TOLAR, CAPTAIN COMPANY K, EIGHTEENTH REGIMENT NORTH CAROLINA TROOPS.

As an eye witness to the affair I desire to make some statement of facts as they have impressed themselves on my mind and to call as witnesses for concurrence the gallant Major T. J. Wooten, of the Eighteenth North Carolina Troops, the chivalrous Captains V V Richardson and Thomas L. Lewis, of the Eighteenth North Carolina Troops, and other officers

of that regiment who were in line at the time this sad affair was enacted.

Under the circumstances it would have been utterly impossible for any one to know who fired the fatal bullet or bullets. That the wounds were from the firing line of the Eighteenth North Carolina troops, officers and men of that regiment will testify with regret. If my memory serves me true, the Eighteenth regiment was the only regiment on the left of the Turnpike, the remainder of the brigade (Lane's) being on the right of the road as we faced the enemy at Chancellorsville. About dark, General Jackson and staff, accompanied by General A. P Hill and staff, rode down the Turnpike in advance of our line of battle, and, coming closer to the enemy's line than they expected, were fired on from a regiment of infantry; and then some batteries of artillery turned loose with a heavy firing, sending shot and shell down the pike. The General and staff left the road, and the two Generals (Jackson and Hill), with staffs and couriers, came down on the Eighteenth at a rapid gait. The night was calm and the tramp of thirty horsemen advancing through a heavy forest at a rapid gait, seemed to the average infantryman like a brigade of cavalry Noting the approach of horsemen from the front, and having been advised that the enemy was in front, with no line of pickets intervening to give the alarm, the brave Colonel Purdie gave the order "Fix bayonets; load; prepare for action!" as fast as the command could be given. When the supposed enemy was within 100 yards, perhaps, of our line, the Colonel gave the command, "Commence firing," and from that moment until notified by Major Holland (or Harris) of General Jackson's staff, that we were firing on our own men, the firing was kept up by the entire regiment with great rapidity. The horse of Major Harris (or Holland) was knocked down with a blow from the butt of a gun in the hands of Arthur S. Smith, Company K, Eighteenth North Carolina Troops, and at that moment we were notified by the Major of the sad mistake that had been made.

It was during this continuous firing that General Jackson received his wounds, and if any other troops except the Eighteenth fired a shot I did not hear of it. The soldier on the

firing line knows how impossible it would be for any one to know who fired the fatal shot, and the man who would attempt to set up such a claim would certainly presume on the intelligence of the average Confederate soldier.

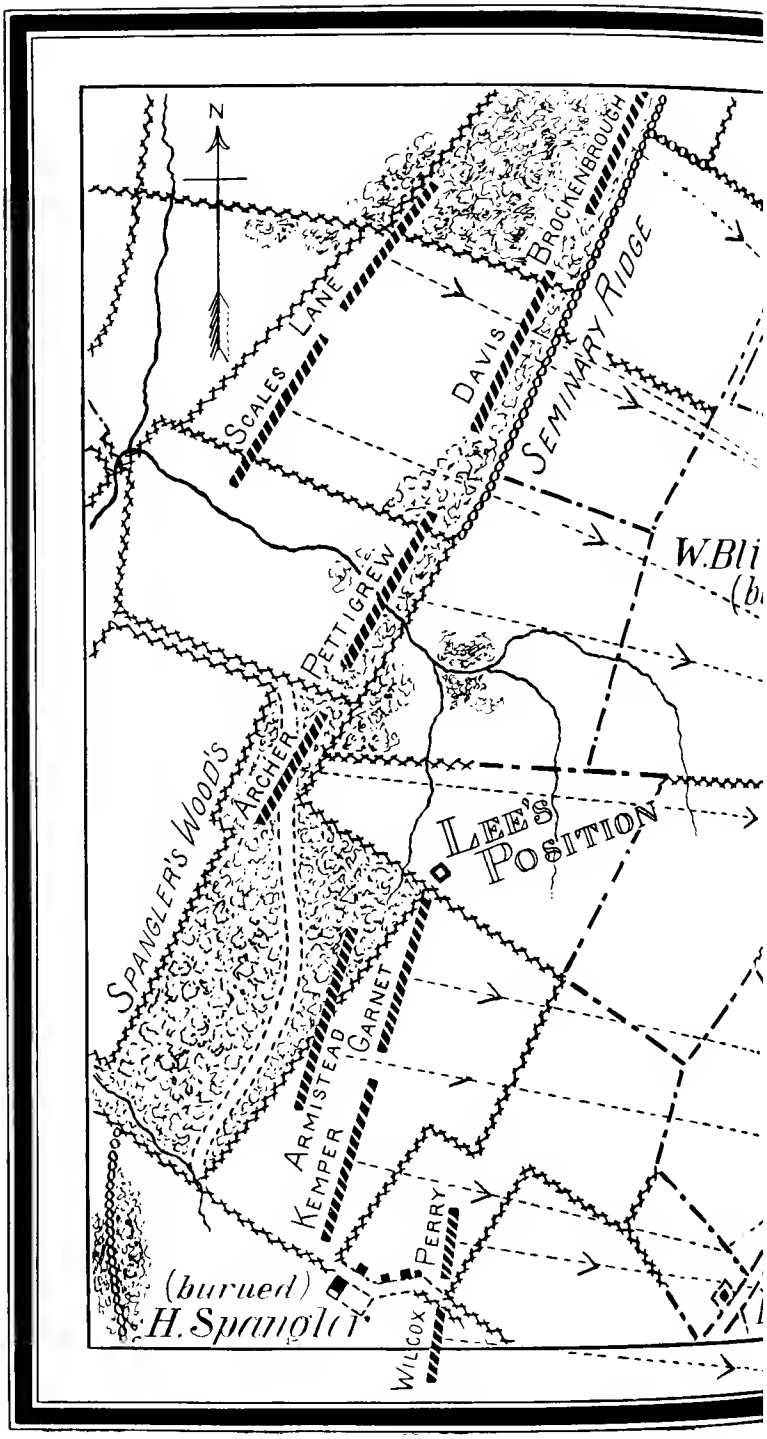
ALF. H. H. TOLAR.

DAMON, TEX.,
2 May, 1901.

NOTE.—Thus fell in the glory of his prime the greatest soldier the war produced, when the war was only half through. What heights he might have reached if he had lived, we know not for he was constantly growing.

It is a singular reflection that notwithstanding the countless tons of bullets, cannon balls and shell fired during those four eventful years two minie balls, in all human probability, decided the result as it was. The bullet that slew Albert Sidney Johnston when in another hour he would have captured the Western Army with Grant and Sherman at its head and that other bullet which prostrated "Stonewall" Jackson when on the eve of capturing Hooker's army destroyed our hopes of success. There were other occasions when mismanagement intervened, among them the failure to push our success on the second day at Gettysburg, and Whiting's failure to capture Butler when "bottled up" at Bermuda Hundreds, but the deaths of Jackson and Johnston were *fatalities*.

The splendid courage of our soldiery and the patriotism of our people would have conquered success, but, as Napier said of Napoleon, "Fortune, *that name for the unknown combinations of an infinite power*, was wanting to us and without her aid, the designs of man are as bubbles upon a troubled ocean."—ED.



Confederate Lines

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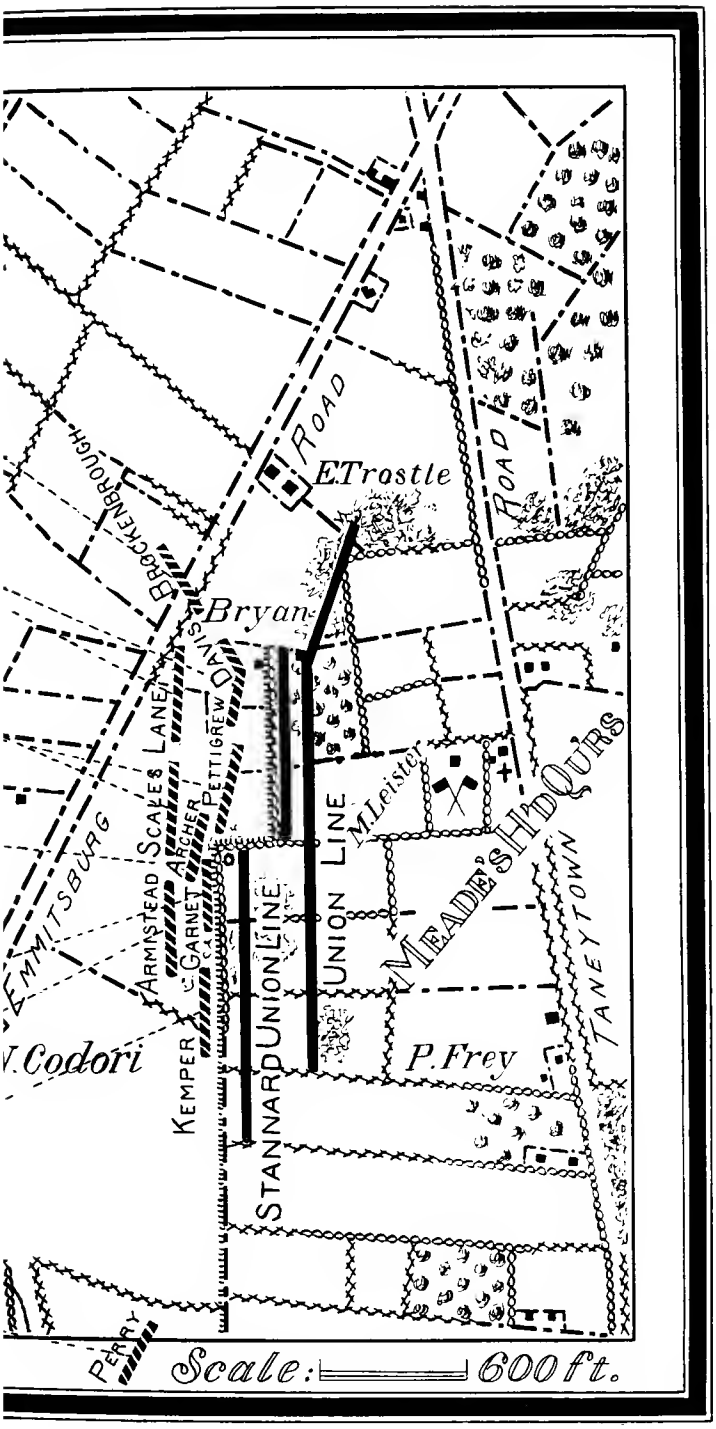

Federal Lines

AULT.

LONGSTREET'S ASSAULT AT GETTYSBURG

3 JULY, 1863.

By MAJOR W M. ROBBINS.

It is not singular that students of history should feel a deep interest in the story of Gettysburg and especially of the final assault made by the Confederates on the third day of the battle, the result of which foreshadowed the issue of the war between the States and the fate of the Southern Confederacy. So much has already been written concerning it that only urgent solicitations, from a source which I cannot disregard, have moved me to make this brief contribution to the story.

The number of Confederates engaged in the assault was about 14,000, composing nine brigades, Kemper's, Garnett's, and Armistead's of Pickett's Division; Archer's, Pettigrew's (under command of Colonel J K. Marshall), Davis' and Brockenborough's of Heth's Division, commanded by General Pettigrew; and Scales' and Lane's of Pender's Division, commanded by General Trimble. They formed two lines of battle, the front line composed of Kemper's, Garnett's, Archer's,

NOTE.—This valuable article was written by my request for this work by Hon. W. M. Robbins who since 1894 has been one of the "Gettysburg National Park Commissioners" and therefore possessed of the fullest information from the thousands of participants, coming from both armies, who have visited the grounds. He himself was in the battle, though not in this charge He was on that day Major Fourth Alabama Regiment on our right. After the war, Maj. Robbins returned to North Carolina, his native State, and served with high distinction in the State Senate and the Federal Congress. He is one of the ablest and most cultured men the State has produced, and is of the highest character. Though his article is entirely uncontroversial the facts are placed beyond controversy that in front of Pickett the rock wall was 80 yards nearer the Confederate line and the brave General Armistead, the foremost of Pickett's Virginians, fell 31 yards beyond it while by reason of a change in the course of the wall, that part in front of Pettigrew was 80 yards farther off, and Capt Satterfield, and other North Carolinians of the Fifty-Fifth North Carolina fell within 9 yards of that wall. This settles that the men from this State fairly earned the title "*Farthest at Gettysburg.*" A copy of the map, printed after the most careful investigation, by the U. S. Government accompanies this sketch and corroborates Maj. Robbins.—ED.

Pettigrew's (under Marshall), Davis' and Brockenbrough's Brigades in the order named from right to left; and the second or supporting line composed of Armistead's, Scales' and Lane's Brigades. In the front line were thirteen Virginia Regiments and one battalion in Kemper's, Garnett's and Brockenborough's Brigades; five North Carolina Regiments, four of them in Pettigrew's Brigade (under Marshall), and one of them in Davis' Brigade; three Mississippi Regiments in Davis' Brigade; three Tennessee and one Alabama Regiment and Battalion in Archer's Brigade, making twenty-five regiments and two battalions in this line. In the second line were five Virginia Regiments in Armistead's Brigade and ten North Carolina regiments in Scales' and Lane's Brigades, making fifteen regiments in this line.

The ridge on which the Confederates formed their lines for the assault is called Seminary Ridge and is 1,400 yards westward from Cemetery Ridge, which was occupied by the Union army. These ridges are parallel with each other, the last named being somewhat the higher of the two, and between them are cultivated fields with many fences running hither and thither about them. The Emmitsburg Road also passes obliquely in front of the Union line, enclosed on both sides by post and rail fences which are almost immovable and constitute a formidable obstacle to the orderly advance of a charging line of battle.

Codori's house and barn just east of that road also disturbed the compactness and continuity of Kemper's line as he advanced.

The Union position on Cemetery Ridge was exceedingly strong and formidable. From the elevated plateau, called Cemetery Hill, where the National Cemetery is, the ridge extends southward towards Round Top, a distance of more than two miles, and overlooks and dominates every foot of the ground over which the Confederates charged. Along its crest from Cemetery Hill to Round Top was a line of Union batteries which General Hunt, Chief of Artillery, shrewdly divining what the great cannonade meant, had kept in reserve until the crucial moment and hurried into position when he saw the Confederate infantry begin its advance.

All along the front where the assault was made there was also a double line of Union infantry ready to resist the assault, and the front line of that infantry was posted behind a stone fence which served as an almost impregnable barrier against assailants. Strong details of skirmishers were out along the fences of the Emmitsburg road and also along the fence running westerly from that road past the Confederate left flank. Another point in relation to the Union defences should be stated, which is, that the stone fence above mentioned as a strong defense for the Union forces does not run in an unbroken straight line north and south, but after running from its southern terminus due north for several hundred yards, it turns due east at what is called "The Angle," and runs 80 yards in that direction, and then turns again and runs due north for several hundred yards to the Bryan barn. Its length from north to south almost exactly equaled the length of the Confederate front line when it reached there. The important influence of its angular course upon the issue of the Confederate assault will be shown later on.

The cannonade preceding the advance of the Confederate infantry opened about 1 o'clock, p. m., and continued nearly two hours. It was one of the greatest cannonades of modern times, but it nevertheless failed to accomplish the results expected. Artillery will do to batter down fortifications, shell towns, sink ships and cut in pieces with grape and canister advancing lines of infantry; but every old soldier knows that ordinarily it is much less to be dreaded than the "blue whisters" from the musketry. So it was at Gettysburg. A number of Union gun carriages were ruined, caissons blown up, and now and then a soldier hugging the ground was struck and torn to pieces; but there was no important weakening of the Union infantry lines, and the manner in which General Hunt saved his artillery for the crisis he foresaw has already been mentioned.

As soon as the cannonade ceased the Confederate infantry moved forward to the assault. Only the three brigades of Pickett were fresh troops. All the other brigades had participated in the fighting of the previous days, and suffered heavy losses. Both their division commanders, Heth and

Pender, had been wounded, the latter mortally. Three brigades were without their Brigadiers, Scales having been wounded, Archer taken prisoner, and Pettigrew placed in command of Heth's Division. Many Colonels and other field officers and a long list of company officers had been killed and wounded, and the losses from the ranks had been heavy in most of the regiments and extraordinary in some, the Twenty-sixth North Carolina, for instance, having lost over 71 per cent. of its numbers in killed and wounded in the first day's fight. As the lines moved out in that fatal, final charge, a number of the men wore bloody bandages on account of wounds received in the first day's fight, and it is said that General Lee observed and spoke of this with much feeling and moistened eyes. No wonder his soldiers loved their noble commander and were ready to march under his orders even into the cannon's mouth.

Many Union officers and soldiers who were there and saw it have stood with me on Cemetery Ridge and spoken with admiration of the magnificent spectacle presented by the lines of Confederate veterans as they advanced deliberately, with muskets at right shoulder shift, across those broad fields. A storm of shells, grape and canister, poured upon them and cut wide gaps in their ranks, but these were promptly closed up without retarding the advance. The duty of indicating the general direction to be followed by the whole force was very properly assigned to Pickett's fresh division. The others were ordered to dress to the right and keep in touch with his left and he was ordered to move directly towards a small unbrella-shaped copse of chestnut oaks inside the Union lines a short distance south of "The Angle." That copse of trees is still there, looking exactly as it did thirty-eight years ago. It is enclosed by an iron fence to keep people from carrying off every splinter of it as a "relic." A large tablet has been erected near by containing the inscription, "The High Water Mark of the Rebellion." I often remind our Union friends good humoredly that the waves dashed up pretty high several times afterwards, at Chickamauga, Wilderness, Spottsylvania, Cold Harbor and elsewhere. They take the reminder

pleasantly and, to tell the truth, are almost as proud of our Southern soldiery as we are.

When Pickett's line had advanced to the summit of the ridge which had sheltered it during the great cannonade, he perceived that his center was not moving directly towards the above-mentioned copse of trees as intended, but to the right and south of it. Thereupon he very properly ordered his brigades to incline considerably to the left, which they did and they continued on the same course until they reached the enemy's lines. The order to the other brigades from the first was "Guide right, and keep in touch with Pickett's left;" and therefore, on starting they inclined somewhat to their right so as to join his left. His change of direction being unforeseen by them and occurring whilst the whole line was in motion, the result, for which none of them can be censured, was that very considerable crowding and intermingling of the ranks on Pickett's left and Pettigrew's right took place by the time they reached the Union breastworks, the effect of which will be noticed hereafter.

One of the great obstacles encountered by the Confederates in their advance was the Emmitsburg road with its post and rail fences on each side and, as heretofore mentioned, running obliquely to the lines of battle. Where Pickett's right crossed these fences is about 600 yards from the Union line and where Pettigrew's left crossed them is about 150 yards from that line. The reader can imagine how difficult it was to preserve an orderly alignment of the men crossing these fences in succession from the right flank to the left under a fierce storm of grape and canister and, on the left, of musketry also, for the Emmitsburg road there is in easy musket range of the Union lines. Another important fact which should not be omitted is that the Eighth Ohio Regiment and a large detail from Willard's New York Brigade, having been thrown out from the Union right as skirmishers beyond the Emmitsburg road, did not withdraw to their main battle line as the Confederates were advancing, but formed in compact ranks under cover of the fence west of the Emmitsburg road, perpendicular to the Confederate line and near its left flank. From this shelter they poured in a severe and unex-

pected enfilade fire on that flank of Pettigrew's Division, consisting of Brockenborough's and Davis' Brigades. This occurred while the Confederate brigades further to the right were crossing the Emmitsburg road, but it was followed up by those flankers with energy and not without considerable effect on Pettigrew's left, even to the close of the battle.

As soon as the Confederate front line had crossed the Emmitsburg road it raised the well-known battle yell and pressed forward against the Union breastworks. Kemper and Garnett were met by the fire of Harrow's and Hall's and part of Webb's Brigades in front, and Kemper also received an oblique fire on his right from two regiments of Stannard's Vermont Brigade which had been moved out somewhat in advance of the main line. This caused Kemper's men to incline still more to their left, whereupon Stannard wheeled those two regiments to his right and struck Kemper's right flank, inflicting severe losses in killed and wounded and capturing over 200 men. General Kemper also fell desperately wounded about this time 75 yards from the Union works; but his brigade, though much disorganized by its losses, especially of officers, pushed on until it reached the stone fence or wall behind which was the Union front line, just west of the copse of trees heretofore mentioned as the guide point for Pickett's Division. Garnett's Brigade, though suffering fearful losses, also pushed on to the stone wall, General Garnett himself falling dead from his saddle twenty-five yards west of it. Pettigrew and his division, with heavy losses and himself painfully wounded, had kept on a line with the brigades of Kemper and Garnett and reached the stone wall at the same time; but this stone wall, as has been previously stated, turns squarely eastward near the point reached by Garnett's left and Pettigrew's right, forming what is known as "The Angle," and after running 80 yards in that direction turns again and runs northward to the Bryan barn near the left of the Confederate front line. It is not amiss to state that this last-mentioned section of the wall is much higher than the section running from the angle southward, the latter being about three feet high and the other five feet, coming up to one's chin on its western side. The wall is there still, preserved just as it was

in 1863 for the inspection of visitors. Behind this wall and close to it from its last turn northward, was a double line of Union infantry composed of Webb's right regiment and Smyth's and Willard's Brigades. There were also two Union lines from the Angle southward, but only one of them was near the wall and the other was 80 yards to the east of it.

As already intimated, Kemper's and Garnett's Brigades and Pettigrew's Division when they reached the Angle were greatly weakened and almost disorganized by their heavy losses of men and officers. Their ranks on Garnett's left and Pettigrew's right had also become much intermingled from the crowding together of their flanks during the advance, by reason of their different understanding, heretofore alluded to, as to how their march was to be guided. After crossing the Emmitsburg road, Archer's small brigade had been almost absorbed by the left of Garnett and the right of Pettigrew's North Carolina brigade.

It was but a few minutes after the weakened front line reached the Angle when the brigades of Armistead, Scales and Lane rushed forward and mingled with it. And now we come to the last act of the great tragedy which only an inspired pencil could worthily paint. Armistead sprang on the wall with his hat on the point of his sword, called to his men to follow, and leaping down on the other side, pushed forward towards Cushing's battery He was followed by two or three hundred Virginians, a number of Archer's Tennesseeans and Alabamians, and a few of Pettigrew's North Carolinians. Judge Joseph J Davis, of blessed memory, was one of them; so he told me years ago. Some Confederate flags were planted on the wall and a few beyond it within the Union lines, but only for a very short time. General Armistead soon fell mortally wounded just forty steps east of the wall. The spot is marked with a Memorial stone. A number of the men who followed him over the wall were killed, most of them were captured, but a few made good their escape. Among these was Captain F S. Harris, of the Seventh Tennessee Regiment, Archer's Brigade, who has shown me the spot where he was knocked down but rose again and made off and, for a wonder, got clear away. Armistead sent his watch,

purse, and some keep-sakes to his old comrade, General Hancock, to be forwarded to his family, and then passed "over the river to rest under the shade of the trees."

And while Armistead and his heroic followers were over in the Angle, where were Pettigrew's and Trimble's thinned but gallant battalions? They were making a desperate effort to storm the high stone wall eighty yards east of the Angle and were being mowed down like grain before the reaper by the double line of infantry behind that wall. A few men reached it, but finding it too high to leap over, could do nothing but surrender. Others made a near approach to it, but found their ranks so thinned that further effort was plainly useless. The larger proportion, both of officers and men, were stretched upon the ground killed or disabled about half way between the Angle and the stone wall which they were assailing. General Trimble, Colonel Marshall and Colonel Fry were wounded and made prisoners. General Pettigrew had his horse killed under him. Brockenborough's Brigade, weak in numbers, and a few companies of the left of Davis' Brigade, forming the Confederate line north of the Bryan barn, had been from the first vigorously assailed by flankers, as has been already mentioned, and when they were charging on the main Union line posted there on a high embankment, the One Hundred and Twenty-sixth New York Regiment was wheeled to its left and thrown upon their left flank, inflicting heavy losses, and a terrific fire from the line of infantry in their front and a storm of grape and canister from Woodruff's Battery soon cut them to pieces and rendered further efforts hopeless. By this time the entire line under Pickett, Pettigrew and Trimble, was overwhelmed and repulsed. The defeated Confederates fell back shattered and disorganized across the fields over which they had advanced so gallantly and proudly and the famous assault was over.

I have not mentioned Wilcox's Alabama, and Perry's Florida Brigades because they, in fact, and without any fault of theirs, really had no part in the assault. About twenty minutes after Pickett's Division started, they were ordered to advance and support it on its right. But the dense cloud of smoke over the field concealed from them the left oblique

course which Pickett had taken after passing them, and so they marched straight forward, which caused a wide, wedge-shaped gap between them and Pickett's right, into which Stannard threw one of his Vermont regiments and captured the flag and about 100 men of the Eighth Florida. Colonel David Lang, who commanded the Florida Brigade, once visited Gettysburg and went with me over the ground; and he told me that when they reached the Emmitsburg road near the Rogers House, he saw through a rift in the smoke that Pickett's and Pettigrew's forces were being overwhelmed, and he would have turned back at once, but he thought it safer for his brigade to go forward at a double-quick and thus reach the bushy swale on Plum Run and escape by going down that southward to the Trostle Place and thence westward, as this route was not so directly swept by the Union artillery; and both his and Wilcox's Brigades did this, with the above-mentioned loss to the Eighth Florida and considerable losses also to the other regiments of both brigades.

A few more words will close this paper, and those words will be devoted to showing how unwise and undeserved it is for any of the magnificent heroes who took part in that final bloody struggle at Gettysburg ever to impugn each other's chivalry on that occasion. I was not myself a participant in it; I was away over at Round Top with the Fourth Alabama, hammering away at the Yankee infantry and cavalry and, strange as it may seem, we did not even know of that fatal episode two miles north of us until about sunset, and could scarcely believe it then.

I have re-affirmed the well-known and truthful account of how gallantly Pickett's men fought, what they did, and how far they went. They had not been in the battle on the previous two days and were fresh and well organized with all their officers in their places. Their losses in that assault in killed, wounded and captured were a fraction over 63 per cent., which is much above the average losses of troops in battle.

I have also stated whither and how far the faithful veterans of Pettigrew and Trimble advanced, which was near the high stone wall before mentioned eighty yards farther east than

the Angle and to the left and northward of the spot where the noble Armistead fell. Does any one doubt the accuracy of that statement? If so, I must suggest the undisputed fact that the best proof of where a line of soldiers went to is where they left their dead; and where that was in this case is established beyond question by multitudes of disinterested witnesses. A great many officers and soldiers of the Union Army, who were in the battle here and went over the ground where that final struggle took place, very soon afterwards, have talked with me about it and emphatically confirmed the facts as stated above. For instance, (to name one of them), Colonel E. B. Cope, the Engineer of our Gettysburg Park Commission, a gentleman of the highest character and a Union officer in the battle here, has often told me of how he was invited by one of General Meade's staff officers in the evening of that third day, to go with him up on the ridge and (to quote the words of the officer who invited him), "see such a sight as he had never before seen on a battlefield." The Colonel says he went and was deeply impressed by what he saw. The dead, he says, were very numerous in the Angle around the spot where Armistead fell and between that and the stone wall over which he and his men had charged south of the Angle; but they were much more thickly strewn on the ground in front of the high stone wall which Pettigrew's and Trimble's men had tried to storm and which runs northward to the Bryan barn.

In 1895, Colonel John K. Connally, of Asheville, who was Colonel of the Fifty-fifth North Carolina Regiment of Davis' Brigade, Lieutenant T. J Falls, of Cleveland County, and Sergeant J A. Whitley of Martin County, N C., who had also served in that regiment and been in the battle here, made a visit to Gettysburg and went with me over the field. Colonel Connally had lost an arm in the first day's fight; and (by the way) Lieutenant-Colonel M. T. Smith had been killed and Major A. H. Belo had been wounded on that day, so that the regiment on the third day was under command of a Captain. Lieutenant Falls and Sergeant Whitley showed me the ground over which they had charged and the point they reached, which point, as noted on our maps and in my journal,

is twenty steps south of the Bryan barn and just nine yards west of the stone wall which Pettigrew and Trimble tried to storm. Whilst we were driving stakes to mark the exact spots reached by them and also where Captain Satterfield, of Person County, had fallen dead near by them, several officers and men of the Thirty-ninth New York Regiment of Willard's Brigade, who were on a visit to the battlefield, came up to the stone wall near us and said that while, of course, they could not identify the men, they could swear that a thin line of "rebels" did reach the very spot where we were driving those stakes, and that it extended all along in front of the wall and about the same distance from it all the way to the Angle; which was the whole front of Pettigrew's and Trimble's column.

By reason of the death or disability of their generals and other officers, very imperfect reports have come down to us as to the numbers of men in the six brigades under Pettigrew and Trimble in that final assault and of the losses they suffered; and the reports we have do not discriminate between the losses of the first and third days. We have, however, some scant data from which one can in a measure divine how those battered battalions of the first day suffered also on the third. For instance, the Twenty-sixth North Carolina, of Pettigrew's own brigade, had entered the battle of the first day with 820 muskets, and lost in killed and wounded 584 men (71 per cent.), and also its Colonel, the gallant Burgwyn. It went into the fight of the Third day with 236 men and had but 80 left, a loss of over 66 per cent. Its brigade (Pettigrew's own) lost its commander, Colonel Marshall, mortally wounded and captured, and came out commanded by Major John T. Jones, the only field officer left, and its regiments led by Lieutenants. Archer's Brigade lost five out of seven field officers, and its commander, Colonel Fry, was wounded and captured. All the field officers of Davis' Brigade were disabled, and the losses of Scales' and Lane's were as heavy as those of the other brigades. But why prolong this story, already much longer than I had intended? As the old Quaker once remarked at the close of the meeting, "A suf-

ficiency has been said. That is my opinion. I feel that way."

The simple, honest truth is that Pickett's Virginians did as nobly as they and their friends have ever claimed, and the North Carolinians, Tennesseeans, Alabamians and Mississippians, under Pettigrew and Trimble, did fully as well.

All old soldiers know that in the thick of a great battle men are too entirely absorbed in their own part of it to look much about them and observe what others are doing. Furthermore, when a battle ends in defeat, everybody knows how prone men are to lay the responsibility for it on other shoulders than their own. So it has been in this case. Correspondents of the press of Richmond, the capital of the Confederacy, where they had the ear of the world, reported that the failure of Longstreet's assault and our defeat at Gettysburg was chargeable to Pettigrew's and Trimble's men. This is a great mistake and a bitter wrong. That defeat was inevitable, as one can readily see now as he stands on the ground and observes how strong, how advantageous, how impregnable the Union position was. When the shattered remnants of that heroic column were falling back, our beloved commander, General Lee, met them and said: "This is all my fault. It is I who have lost this battle. Fall in, men, and help me out of it." He was too magnanimous and too truthful to blame any of them. Let his noble example be followed. Let history be just and place a wreath of *immortelles* on the graves of them all.

WM. M. ROBBINS.

GETTYSBURG, PA.,
3 July, 1901.

PETTIGREW'S BRIGADE AT GETTYSBURG.

1-3 JULY, 1863.

By CAPTAIN LOUIS G. YOUNG, A. A. G.

The battle of Gettysburg was not a victory for either side, yet paradoxically, but rightly, it goes into history as one of the decisive battles of the war between the States, for it checked the conquering career of the Southern army, and revived the broken spirit of the North at a most critical time. A great battle, replete with valiant deeds, heroic efforts, and fatal mistakes, on the part of the Army of Northern Virginia, it has been more written of, and has produced more controversy, than all the other battles of the war; and many able, some brilliant, accounts have been put forth, for the most part by non-participants, in all of which vital errors are to be found; and while truth, with its proverbial slowness, has been taking time to put on its boots, many a falsehood has run its league and obtained credence. Against some of these my efforts will be directed, with statements of what I saw and what I know to be true. Before beginning my narrative, however, it will be well to recall some of the incidents connected with the campaign into Pennsylvania, which are so striking that it seems as if an unseen hand had directed them.

General Lee expecting from General Stuart, in command of his cavalry, a report of the movement of the Army of the Potomac, and not receiving it, supposed the enemy was still on the south side of the Potomac, and only on 28 June did he learn from a scout that they had crossed into Maryland and were then at and about Frederick. Hitherto General Lee's march had been northward with Harrisburg as the objective point for concentrating his columns. Now, the position of the enemy's forces was a menace to his line of communication

and he turned to the east and ordered his columns to concentrate near Gettysburg. At the same time fateful changes had been made in the Army of the Potomac. Hooker, who had not shown himself an able commander at Fredericksburg and Chancellorsville, but who had wisely asked for the withdrawal of the troops from Harper's Ferry, to be united with a portion of his army to operate against Lee's rear, tendered his resignation, because his request was refused; and Lincoln, apparently glad to get rid of him, contrary to his theory and saying, "Never swap horses while crossing a stream," accepted Hooker's resignation, and gave to the Army of the Potomac an abler commander in Meade, who was waked up late on the night of 27 June, only three days before the battle he was destined to direct, to receive his appointment. This change of commanders meant a change of plans, and Meade, a cautious commander, determined to manœuver so as to force Lee to attack him; and in making disposition for the defense of the line he had selected, ordered a portion of his army to Gettysburg as a mask to his movements. Thus it was that the two armies were nearing each other, neither of them ready for or expecting the impending conflict, and not aware that Gettysburg like a highly charged magnet was drawing them to it.

On the night of 30 June, without thought of battle on the next day, Hill's Corps was in bivouac eight miles to the west of Gettysburg, the town was occupied by Buford's Division of cavalry; and four miles to the southwest were the corps of Reynolds and Howard; with that of Sickles in calling distance, these three under command of Reynolds, a Kentuckian, and perhaps the most capable officer in the Army of the Potomac.

Now to my narrative, which will be chiefly of Pettigrew and his brigade. I was then General Pettigrew's Aide-de-Camp with the rank of First Lieutenant.

Pettigrew's Brigade was composed of the Eleventh, Twenty-sixth, Forty-fourth, Forty-seventh and Fifty-second North Carolina Troops. The Forty-fourth was left in Virginia on duty at North Anna river so was not present at Gettysburg.

Hill's Corps had arrived at Cashtown, about eight miles

west of Gettysburg, on 29 June. On the following morning General Pettigrew was ordered by General Heth, his division commander, to go to Gettysburg with three of his four regiments present, three field pieces of the Donaldsonville Artillery, of Louisiana, and a number of wagons, for the purpose of collecting commissary and quartermaster stores for the use of the army General Early had levied on Carlisle, Chambersburg and Shippensburg, and had found no difficulty in having his requisitions filled. It was supposed that it would be the same at Gettysburg. It was told to General Pettigrew that he might find the town in possession of a home guard, which he would have no difficulty in driving away; but if, contrary to expectations, he should find any organized troops capable of making resistance, or any portion of the Army of the Potomac, he should not attack it. The orders to him were peremptory, not to precipitate a fight. General Lee with his columns scattered, and lacking the information of his adversary, which he should have had from his cavalry, was not ready for battle—hence the orders.

On the march to Gettysburg we were passed by General Longstreet's spy who quickly returned and informed General Pettigrew that Buford's Division of cavalry—estimated at three thousand strong—had arrived that day and were holding the town. This report was confirmed by a Knight of the Golden Circle who came out for the purpose of giving us warning. Buford's presence made it evident that the Army of the Potomac, or at least a portion of it, was not far off, and General Pettigrew sent immediately to General Heth, a report of what he had learned and asked for further instructions. The message received in reply, was simply a repetition of the orders previously given coupled with an expression of disbelief as to the presence of any portion of the Army of the Potomac. As the presence of Buford's Cavalry was certain, and it would not be possible for him to enter Gettysburg without a fight, which he was forbidden to make, General Pettigrew withdrew from before Gettysburg. This he did, not as was reported to General Lee, "because he was not willing to hazard an attack with the single brigade," (he had only three regiments of his brigade), though with Buford's

Cavalry, supported no doubt by a home guard, to fight, the cost of the stores when gotten would have been dear, still General Pettigrew was willing to make the attack had not his orders forbidden it. Buford's Cavalry followed us at some distance, and Lieutenant Walter H. Robertson and I, of Pettigrew's staff, remained in the rear to watch it. This we easily did, for the country is rolling, and from behind the ridges we could see without being seen and we had a perfect view of the movements of the approaching column. Whenever it would come within three or four hundred yards of us we would make our appearance, mounted, when the column would halt until we retired. This was repeated several times. It was purely an affair of observation on both sides and the cavalry made no effort to molest us.

My object in mentioning so minutely what might seem unimportant and purely personal will appear when I narrate what happened the next day, and will help to show how the great battle of Gettysburg was stumbled into. Blindness in part seemed to have come over our commanders, who, slow to believe in the presence of an organized army of the enemy, thought there must be a mistake in the report taken back by General Pettigrew, but General Heth asked for and obtained permission to take his division to Gettysburg on the following day, for the purpose of reconnoitering, and of making the levy which had been the object of the expedition on the day before. Neither General Heth nor General Hill believed in the presence of the enemy in force, and they expressed their doubts so positively to General Pettigrew that I was called up to tell General Hill what I had seen while reconnoitering the movements of the force which had followed us from Gettysburg. As a staff officer with General Pender, I had served under General Hill in the seven days fights around Richmond and at Cedar Run, and because I was well known to General Hill, General Pettigrew supposed that my report might have some weight with him. Yet, when in answer to his inquiry as to the character of the column I had watched I said their movements were undoubtedly those of well-trained troops and not those of a home guard, he replied that he still could not believe that any portion of the Army of

the Potomac was up; and in emphatic words, expressed the hope that it was, as this was the place he wanted it to be. This spirit of unbelief had taken such hold, that I doubt if any of the commanders of brigades, except General Pettigrew, believed that we were marching to battle, a weakness on their part which rendered them unprepared for what was about to happen. General Archer with his Tennessee Brigade, was to lead, and General Pettigrew described to him minutely the topography of the country between Cashtown and Gettysburg, and suggested that he look out for a road that ran at right angles to the one we were on, and which might be used by the enemy to break into his line of march. And, as he had carefully observed the configuration of the ground in the vicinity of the town, told General Archer of a ridge some distance out of Gettysburg on which he would probably find the enemy, as this position was favorable for defense. He found him there. General Archer listened, but believed not, marched on unprepared, and was taken by surprise, his command routed, a part captured and he himself taken prisoner. Davis' Mississippi Brigade, close on to Archer's, felt the impact, and a portion of it, carried away by the break in front, made the mistake of seeking shelter in an adjacent railroad cut, and about four hundred of them were captured there. For want of faith in what had been told, and a consequent lack of caution, the two leading brigades of Heth's Division marched into the jaws of the enemy, met with disaster, and, contrary to General Lee's wish, brought on an engagement with the Army of the Potomac before we were ready, and precipitated one of the greatest battles of modern times.

Buford, informed by his scouts of the approach of Heth, posted his command, dismounted and acting as infantry, on McPherson's Ridge to the west of Gettysburg, and notified Reynolds, who, according to the testimony before the committee on the conduct of the war, had just received orders to withdraw to Middleburg and Manchester, but who, Swinton says, "was with Wadsworth's Division moving on to Gettysburg according to prescribed orders." Be this as it may, Reynolds was up immediately; and Wadsworth's Division

arrived in time to strike Archer as he was crossing Willoughby Run, and to cause the disaster I have described. Blood now having been drawn, there seemed to be no calling off the battle; and disposition was immediately made by Heth for a charge upon the enemy's position. By this time Buford's Cavalry had been replaced by Wadsworth's Division, with the famous "Iron Brigade" posted directly in front of Pettigrew's Brigade. The other two divisions of the first corps arrived before the advance could be ordered, and were placed, Doubleday's to the left and Robinson's to the right of Wadsworth, forming a long line in front of, and overlapping the single division of Heth. It was scarcely prudent for this division, two of its brigades maimed in the start, to make an attack on so large a force, strongly posted on a commanding ridge, so Pender's Division was marched to supporting distance, and the attack postponed.

Pending these movements on our side, the Eleventh Corps of the Army of the Potomac had arrived, and the command of the two corps fell to Howard, Reynolds having been killed in the first engagement. More troops were therefore necessary to us, for we had only two divisions of infantry up against six of the enemy, and their cavalry hovered on our right, while we had none to oppose it. It was decided therefore to wait for R. H. Anderson's Division of Hill's Corps, not far off, and for Ewell's Corps, which under the instructions previously given to concentrate in the neighborhood of Gettysburg, was on the march for Cashtown, but on hearing our guns, was shaping its course for Gettysburg. Rodes' Division coming up first, immediately attacked Robinson on our left, and was followed soon by Early, who turned Howard's left and put to flight the army of the aliens—Schurz' Division of Germans. Acting in concert with Ewell's two divisions—his third did not arrive until later—Heth's Division was ordered to charge the enemy in its front. We had confronted each other from early in the morning until the afternoon had well advanced, both sides understanding that a conflict of arms was in store for them, we ready to make the attack and they prepared to receive it. Only a few hundred yards separated us; they were advantageously posted in three

lines on McPherson's Ridge, their right in a wood of large trees, no underbrush; and a wheat field lay between us with no other obstruction than the nearly ripe wheat.

As I have before stated, the "Iron Brigade" was posted directly in front of us. It was the finest brigade in the Army of the Potomac, and up to this time it had indulged in the proud boast that it had never been defeated. On the right of us, Archer's Brigade met with little opposition, and on our left Brockenborough's and Davis' Brigades were not so hotly engaged. Thus the brunt of the attack fell to Pettigrew's Brigade, more especially to its left. When the order came to advance, Pettigrew's Brigade about 3,000 strong, marched out in perfect alignment, and under as hot a fire as was ever faced, moved steadily through the wheat, reserved its fire for close range, which when delivered, it pressed on until it overcame its adversary It was a hotly contested field, and the stubborn resistance of the "Iron Brigade" was met with more than equal determination on the part of Pettigrew's Brigade. For a short time the battle raged at forty, then twenty, yards between the contestants.

In the Twenty-sixth North Carolina thirteen standard-bearers were shot down; and around a flag of the enemy, which was planted beside a large tree, the dead and wounded were piled up. At last with a rush the ridge was carried,* and the famous "Iron Brigade" nearly annihilated. Only a small remnant was left, to be easily driven from its second position on Seminary Ridge by Pender's Division.

Of this charge the prisoners testified, that in defence of their own country, they fought as they had never done before, but that there was no withstanding such an attack. Pettigrew's Brigade, although it took only twenty to thirty min-

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*When we occupied the wood recently held by the enemy my attention was attracted by the dreadful—not moans but—howls of some of the wounded It was so distressing that I approached several with the purpose of calming them if possible, and to my surprise I found them foaming at the mouth as if mad, and evidently unconscious of the sound of their voices This was the only occurrence of the kind which came under my observation during the war, and I attribute it to the effect upon the nerves of the quick, frightful conflict following several hours of suspense.

utes to cover the ground between it and the enemy, was more hotly engaged than were any of the troops that participated in the first day's fight, and more of the enemy were killed and wounded in front of it than on any other part of the field. I have taken part in many hotly contested fights, but this I think, was the deadliest of them all, not excepting the third day's charge on Cemetery Ridge; and never have I seen or known of better conduct on the part of any troops, under any circumstances, or at any time. The marked achievement of Pettigrew's Brigade on this occasion was accomplished only at great sacrifice of life. It lost not one prisoner, but its loss in killed and wounded was 1,000 to 1,100, including a number of its best officers. The Twenty-sixth North Carolina Regiment lost 549 out of 800. The Eleventh Regiment some 250 out of 550. The five field officers present with these two regiments were killed or wounded. The Inspector-General of the brigade was killed, and its Ordnance Officer wounded. In the many so-called histories of the battle of Gettysburg, which I have seen, I have found no record of these facts. The brilliant achievement of Pettigrew's Brigade on this day, its persistent courage, and its great sacrifice, have never met with merited acknowledgment.*

In the midst of the engagement General Heth was wounded and General Pettigrew was placed in command of the division. Colonel Burgwyn, of the Twenty-sixth, had been killed, and Colonel Leventhorpe, of the Eleventh, had been wounded, so the command of General Pettigrew's Brigade fell to Colonel Marshall, of the Fifty-second, a very able young officer.

I vividly recall my impression after the attack. The brilliant success of Rodes and Early on our left, ours in driving the enemy from our front into a position on Seminary Ridge

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* In some accounts it is stated that we were fighting for several hours. On the skirmish line there was firing for several hours, but the charge on the enemy's line was quick work. To confirm my impression of the time taken, which I remember as about twenty minutes. I took occasion at the Confederate reunion in Charleston to look up evidence, and I found two privates who had taken part in the charge. They were not together when I put the question as to the time occupied in the charge; both answered promptly, one said twenty minutes and the other about half an hour.

from which he was quickly driven by Pender, left us with troops enough to follow up our success, and I wondered that we did not do so and take possession of Cemetery Ridge, which I believed then, and believe now, we could have done easily. The troops which had been engaged, although they had suffered severe losses, were in high spirit and ready to go on. In Ewell's Corps, Johnson's Division had come up fresh, and in Hill's Corps, Pender's Division had been only slightly engaged, while Anderson was in bivouac a short distance away. That we did not continue the fight was the first opportunity frittered away. If Ewell's and Hill's Divisions had pressed forward when the enemy retired to Cemetery Ridge, the battle of Gettysburg would have ended on the day it began. Ewell did not advance when General Lee wished him, Hill's Corps was halted, and the enemy availed of our delay to hasten up fresh troops and to strengthen his position.*

The 2 July was also a day of lost opportunities for the Confederates. An early attack on either flank of the enemy could scarcely have failed of success. His line, three miles long, aptly described as resembling a fish hook, with Round Top Mountain to the south the end of the shank, and Culp's Hill, to the north the end of the curve, was a very strong defensive position if thoroughly fortified and manned with troops; but either end taken by us would have rendered it untenable, and would have enabled us to sweep down upon the enemy and destroy him before he could escape. It was evident that Meade's whole army could not all be up. The fact is, that only the First, Eleventh and a part of the Third Corps were present, the Second was distant thirteen miles,

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*General R. H. Anderson, of South Carolina, told me after the war, that hearing our guns early in the day, he was hastening with his brigade to join us; was not more than two miles away, when he was met by a messenger from General Lee with an order for him to halt and bivouac his brigade. Surprised at this, he first obeyed the order, and then rode on to Gettysburg to see General Lee and learn from him if this message was correctly delivered. General Lee replied that there was no mistake made, and explained that his army was not all up, that he was in ignorance as to the force of the enemy in front, that his (General Anderson's) alone of the troops present, had not been engaged, and that a reserve in case of disaster, was necessary.

the Fifth 23 miles, and the Sixth (16,000 strong) 34 miles. Here was an opportunity to crush the enemy in detail; and General Lee having nearly the whole of his army with him, was ready and anxious to avail of it. Meade's refused right on Culp's Hill, if driven in, would have placed Lee's left partly in rear of it; this therefore seemed to be the most vulnerable point, and General Lee at first wished Ewell and Hill to commence the attack, to be followed up by Longstreet, on Hill's right; but Ewell's and Hill's troops had been hotly engaged, and the enemy's position in their front would be very formidable if fortified during the night, which it was, so Longstreet was instructed to open the attack on the enemy's left, as soon as possible in the morning, (he was expected to do so at sunrise), while Ewell should make a demonstration on his right, so as to prevent reinforcements being sent to relieve the point of the main attack in front of Longstreet. Had this simple plan been carried out, one cannot doubt that the enemy's left positions would have fallen into our hands; and with little Round Top, which Meade said rightly was the key to his whole position, in our possession, three of the corps of the Army of the Potomac would have been crushed before they could have received assistance, we would have occupied Cemetery Ridge, and the battle of Gettysburg ended early on the second day But Longstreet's heart was not in the attack; his troops were near the battle field at day break, ready and waiting, while he "went to General Lee's headquarters at daylight and renewed his (my) views against making an attack." (Longstreet's words). Every moment lost by us was gain to the enemy, whose distant corps were hurrying to Gettysburg. Yet General Lee, not desiring to force Longstreet against his will, again reconnoitered the right of the enemy's position to see if it might not be better to make his main attack there; but he found that during the night Culp's Hill had been turned into a fort. He therefore at 11 o'clock ordered Longstreet to attack, which order was not obeyed, on the plea of waiting for Law's Brigade, which was on picket. The attack, therefore, instead of being at sunrise, or at 11 o'clock, was postponed to late in the afternoon, some nine hours later than it should have been. By this time Meade

had strengthened his left, new troops had arrived and what would, without doubt have been an easy and brilliant success in the morning, was a cruel failure in the afternoon.

Heth's Division was not engaged on the 2d.

The third day found the Army of Northern Virginia weakened by the hard fighting of the first day, and by the disjointed efforts of the second, but there was still left in its "incomparable Southern infantry" the spirit and strength to achieve success if a proper concert of action could be obtained. General Lee, therefore, decided to renew the attack, this time on the enemy's left center, his flanks being now too strongly fortified and guarded. The attack was again unfortunately intrusted to Longstreet, who, if he had little heart for the second day's fight, made no concealment of the fact, that he had none at all for the third day's; and to this cause, without seeking any other, may be traced its failure. The weight of evidence goes to prove that it was General Lee's intention that Longstreet should make the attack with his entire corps, to be supported by half of Hill's Corps, all of it if necessary, and should this force succeed in penetrating the enemy's line, all the troops on the right to be pushed forward. Meanwhile Ewell on our left, acting in concert, was to assail the enemy's right so as to prevent him from reinforcing his center, and to assist in crushing his right wing. The artillery was to prepare the way, and before the smoke of the guns should have cleared away the attacking column was to be started. All this required concert and prompt, spirited action. But this is what happened. "General Longstreet's dispositions were not completed as expected," (General R. E. Lee's report) and therefore Ewell could not be notified, his attack, which was to have been simultaneous with that of Longstreet's, was made and repulsed. Thus the object of the diversion on the enemy's right was defeated. At 11 o'clock Colonel A. P Alexander, in charge of the artillery, with nearly 150 guns ranged along Seminary Ridge, reported that he was ready; but not until 1 p. m. was the order given by Longstreet to commence firing. At the appointed signal our artillery opened on the enemy with its 150 guns, and kept it up for nearly two hours. Meanwhile the assaulting column had

been formed, but its composition was not on the scale contemplated by General Lee. Instead of its being the entire First Corps with the Third to support it, Longstreet had selected only Pickett's Division from his corps, to which were added from Hill's Corps Heth's Division, two brigades from Pender's and one from Anderson's. Pickett's Division of three brigades was posted in two lines behind a rise on which runs the Emmettsburg road, its right supported by Wilcox's Brigade. Heth's Division to the left of Pickett's, and fully one hundred yards further back, was in one line behind the crest of Seminary Ridge, with Lane's and Scales' Brigades under Trimble in rear of its right.

When Pettigrew, commanding Heth's Division, reported to Longstreet he was instructed to form in rear of Pickett as a support to his division, but before the order could be executed it was countermanded, and directions given to place the division under the nearest cover to the left of Pickett's Division, with which it would advance in line. The alignment of the divisions from right to left, was, Archer's Brigade of Tennesseeans under Colonel B. D. Fry; Pettigrew's North Carolinians under Colonel James K. Marshall; Davis' Mississippians under General Joseph Davis, and Brockenborough's Virginians under Colonel Robert Mayo. Pickett's was the directing division; when it moved, Heth's Division was to move and as soon as possible overtake Pickett and continue the advance in line with it on its left. After much delay and uncertainty as to whether the attack would be made at all, Longstreet at last, with a nod of the head, started Pickett, and immediately Archer's and Pettigrew's Brigades moved forward. Pettigrew had taken every precaution to insure concert of action in the division; but this was no easy matter, for the woods which concealed us from view of the enemy, and to some extent sheltered us from his shells, contained other troops seeking the same shelter, and it so happened that General Davis, who afterwards told me that he had been indignant with General Pettigrew for cautioning him so frequently to conform promptly to the movement of Pettigrew's Brigade on his right, mistook other troops for Pettigrew's and did not discover his mistake until the two

right brigades had advanced some distance. When we emerged from the wood into the plain, the absence of the two left brigades was discovered, and General Pettigrew instructed me to go for them with all speed, but I had scarcely turned to do so, when out came Davis from the woods with a rush, but not Brockenborough's Brigade, and I asked General Pettigrew if I should go for it. He replied, "No," that it might follow, and if it failed to do so it would not matter. This was a small brigade that had suffered from frequent change of commanders, and had been so badly handled that it was in a chronic state of demoralization, and was not to be relied upon; it was virtually of no value in a fight. Afterward it advanced to the protection of some rifle pits in front of Seminary Ridge, but it took no part in the charge.

The day was beautifully clear; the smoke from the guns of the artillery, which was to have concealed our start, had been blown away. Before us lay bright fields, and a fair landscape, embracing hill and dale and mountain; and beyond, fully three-fourths of a mile away loomed up Cemetery Ridge, for two miles, its heights capped with cannon, and behind them the whole Army of the Potomac waiting for our little band. Davis' Brigade with its impetuous rush soon caught up with the two brigades of Heth's Division which had preceded it, and then the three, pushing forward together, caught up with Pickett's Division, making one line of the two divisions, which first through shot and shell, then grape and canister, then a hail of bullets from the musketry, marched over the plain, surmounted every obstacle, and reached the enemy's position, the strength of which was all he could desire. From the crest upon which he was entrenched the hill sloped gradually, forming a natural glacis and the configuration of the ground was such that when the left of our line approached his line it must come within the arc of a circle, from which an oblique and the enfilade fire could be, and was, concentrated upon it. On the right Pickett's Division, Archer's and a part of Pettigrew's Brigade had penetrated the works, and so would all of it have done, but in the advance the pressure had been from right to left, and when the line reached the ridge, it was slightly oblique; consequent-

ly the left of Heth's Division was thrown back somewhat. When not far from the stone fence behind which the enemy's infantry was entrenched, Davis' Brigade, reduced to a line of skirmishers, broke. It had suffered a great deal in the first day's fight; and in its rush from the wood on Seminary Ridge, it had arrived right oblique on Pettigrew's left, and in process of forcing its line back to the left, in order to get into position, there was for a little while a huddling of the men together, which exposed them to greater loss than should have been, but the line was soon straightened out, and no troops could have done better until they broke; but this brigade was on the extreme left, not a support of any kind to brace it up, and exposed to flank, oblique and direct fire, what hope or confidence could be left to the few men, that if they held on they could succeed. General Fitzhugh Lee, in his work entitled "General Lee," says of the left brigades of our assaulting columns, which includes Davis', Pettigrew's and Archer's:

"They made their assault in front of Hay's and Gibbon's Divisions, Second Corps, in the vicinity of Ziegler's Grove. Stormed at with shot and shell this column moved steadily on, closing up the gaps made, and preserving the alignment. 'They moved up splendidly,' wrote a Northern officer, 'deploying as they crossed the long, sloping interval. The front of the column was nearly up the slope, and within a few yards of the Second Corps' front and its batteries, when suddenly a terrific fire from every available gun on Cemetery Ridge burst upon them. Their graceful lines underwent an instantaneous transformation; in a dense cloud of smoke and dust, arms, heads, blankets, guns, and knapsacks were tossed in the air, and the moans from the battlefield were heard from amid the storm of battle. Sheets of missiles flew through what seemed a moving mass of smoke; human valor was powerless, and the death-dealing guns were everywhere throwing blazing projectiles in their faces.' No troops could advance and live. The fiery onslaught was repulsed as Pickett's Division had been, and then the survivors of both came back to their former positions, but not one-half of the fourteen thousand. The famous charge was over."

General Pettigrew had assigned me to the left of the division, and my duty was to see that the proper alignment was kept and if necessary to encourage the men, should there be any sign of faint-heartedness. At first I found it difficult to keep the men from crowding, and to make them give way to the pressure from the right, and this may have given the impression to some lookers on that our line wavered, but this trouble was soon remedied by the thinning of the ranks, done by shot and shell. As to my second duty, that of encouraging the men to move forward, there was no need of a word from me. When gaps were made in the line the ranks closed up of their own accord, and continued to advance, until the catastrophe, which I have described. Of course no troops, it matters not what their straits, should retire from an attack without orders to do so; but there is certainly mitigation for those who had none of their company officers to look to, and there were many companies, reduced to a few men, whose officers had all fallen. When what was left of Davis' Brigade broke it did so in an instant, there was none of the before-hand wavering reported by Longstreet and others, who were looking on from afar or not at all. This, like many others of the reports concerning the charge, was wholly imaginary. When Davis' Brigade broke, I reported to General Pettigrew and he immediately sent me to General Trimble to ask him to hasten forward to our support. I was then on foot. My gallant mare—and that she was gallant, her groom,* who was with me all during the war, and who has been my friend and servant for forty years, can testify—had succumbed to three wounds; and do not think me heartless, when I tell you, that when I placed a wounded soldier on her and sent them out, the thoughts of my heart were more with the spirited animal which had borne me bravely through many perils, than with my hurt comrade. I ran as fast as I could to deliver the message entrusted to me. General Trimble and his brigade were not and had not been in supporting distance; they also must have been delayed, as was Davis' Brigade in the wood on Seminary Ridge. Be this as it may, they were too late to

* James R. Norwood, a colored man.

give any assistance to the assaulting column. When I delivered my message, I knew it was too late, and I recall my sad reflection, "What a pity that these brave men should be sacrificed." Already had the remnants of Pickett's and Heth's Divisions broken. They broke simultaneously. They had together struck the stone fence, driven back the enemy posted behind it, looked down on the multitude beyond; and in the words of General McLaws, who was watching that attack, "rebounded like an India rubber ball." The lodgment effected, was apparently only for an instant. No twenty minutes expired, as claimed by some, before the hand full of brave men was driven back by overwhelming numbers. Then Trimble's command should have been ordered to the rear. It continued its useless advance alone, only to return before it had gone as far as we had.

After delivering my message to General Trimble I returned to General Pettigrew. I found him walking out quietly; he too had been dismounted, and together we returned to our starting point, arriving there after most of the survivors from the two divisions. Thus ended the famous battle of Gettysburg. Notwithstanding the failure of its efforts, the army was still unconquered in spirit, and had Meade followed us back to Seminary Ridge, he would have found our troops ready to mete out to him what he had given us. But according to General Sickles, before the committee on the conduct of the war, "it was by no means clear, in the judgment of the corps commanders, or of the general in command, whether they had won or not," they therefore made no counter attack, and scarcely molested General Lee's army as it slowly and deliberately withdrew, and returned to Virginia.

The number composing the assaulting column on this last day is variously estimated at 13,500 to 18,000 men. The troops actually engaged were in reality, only Pickett's Division of 4,500 to 5,000, and three brigades of Heth's, which were at the outside not over 4,000. Wilcox on the right advanced only a small part of the way and was of no assistance to Pickett, and Trimble's advance was too late to be of the least support to our left. The little band of less than 9,000 men had traversed the wide plain, intersected with fences

running, some parallel, some oblique to our line, without shelter of any kind, without assistance from our artillery which had expended its ammunition, and had done no damage to that of the enemy or its infantry The charge was grand, but that is all it was. "Some one had blundered." Said General Lee, "had I had Stonewall Jackson at Gettysburg I would have won a great victory " So I believe, but the mantle of Elijah had not fallen on Elisha. Longstreet was not Jackson.

There was, now is and always will be given to Pickett's Division exalted praise for its part in this famous charge upon the heights of Gettysburg and it deserves it; but I claim for Pettigrew's and Archer's Brigade not only equal, but a larger share of the honors of the day; and even to Davis' Brigade, although the first to break, is due the tribute which is the meed of noble effort and heroic sacrifice in face of certain defeat. Whatever might have been the probabilities on the right and center of the assaulting column, there was no hope for the left, its flank stormed on by every conceivable missile of destruction. In its shattered condition it could have made no lodgment. Pickett on the right, although not supported by Wilcox as was intended, had the advantage of having been formed in two lines—two brigades on the front, one on the second line as a support; whereas Heth's Division, under orders, advanced in one line. Pickett's Division having been posted more than one hundred yards in advance of Heth's, had a shorter distance to go; and above all, Pickett's Division was fresh. It had not yet participated in the battle; its organization was complete, with a full roll of staff and field officers. Heth's Division had suffered great loss on the 1st, and General Pettigrew had with him as division staff, only the young volunteer aide, W B. Sheppard, and myself; therefore the brigades of Archer and Pettigrew, which did in all respects as well as did Pickett's Division, are entitled to more credit, whereas they have been often included in the number of those blamed for the failure of the charge on Cemetery Ridge.

No State in the Confederacy contributed braver, more devoted or better soldiers, or a greater number of them than did

North Carolina; and yet in this instance, for some unaccountable reason, they were made a mark for ignorant or vicious and false disparagement. In Heth's Division, of the sixteen regiments present at Gettysburg, only five were from North Carolina, yet such stuff as this, conceived in the brilliant imagination of Swinton, finds credence and is repeated in other histories of like kind. Says Swinton: "It happens that the division on the left of Pickett under command of General Pettigrew was in considerable part made up of North Carolina troops, comparatively green. To animate them they had been told that they would only meet Pennsylvania militia; but when approaching the slope they received the *feu d'enfer* from Henry's line, there ran through the rank a cry the effect of which was like that which thrilled a Greek army when it was said that the god Pan was among them: 'The Army of the Potomac.' Then, suddenly disillusioned regarding their opponents, Pettigrew's troops broke in disorder leaving two thousand prisoners and fifteen colors in the hands of Henry's Division." Brilliant rhetoric, but not truth. Think of the audacity of the manufacture. It says of Heth's Division, that it was "in considerable part made up of North Carolinians," when they were only as five to sixteen; and then that they were frightened at a cry, "The Army of the Potomac." This, two days after Pettigrew's Brigade of North Carolinians had nearly annihilated the best brigade in the Northern army

Another matter of no little importance. The division, even by such authority as Colonel Walter H. Taylor, of General Lee's Staff, is spoken of as "Pettigrew's Division." Pettigrew had no division. The division was Heth's, and should be so spoken of whether in praise or blame. "In war," said Napoleon, "men are nothing, a man is everything." Troops are what their commanders make them; and General Pettigrew had no hand in molding Heth's Division. Nor is it fair to blame Heth for the shortcoming of Brockenborough's Virginia Brigade, under Robert Mayo, the only troops on the ground which really behaved badly, for the division had been formed only a few weeks before, and had been constantly on the march since. There was not time for the influence of

the commander to be felt. In this matter not even a suspicion of blame must be attached to the name of Pettigrew, whose genius was such that its influence inspired and became a part of the humblest soldier in his command. He had in a few months made of his brigade as fine a body of infantry as ever trod the earth, and his men would have followed him wherever he led, or gone wherever he told them to go, no matter how desperate the enterprise. The brigade never lost the inspiration of his name, and from first to last was one of the very best in the army of the Confederate States. Its baptism of blood at Gettysburg prepared it for all subsequent hardships, and never, until included in the surrender of the 9,000 at Appomattox, did it fail to respond to the command to go forward. Its career was brilliant, and its history should be written and preserved. Its losses at Gettysburg attest its fierce struggle in that famous battle. On the morning of 1 July it numbered 2,800 to 3,000, on the 4th 935. All the field officers, save one who was captured, were killed or wounded; and the brigade was commanded after the repulse from Cemetery Ridge by Major Jones, of the Twenty-sixth North Carolina, who had been struck by a fragment of a shell on the 1st, and knocked down and stunned on the 3d; General Pettigrew was painfully wounded, two of his staff were killed,* and one so seriously wounded as to deprive the brigade of his services. On 1 July, Captain Tuttle, of the Twenty-sixth North Carolina, led into action two Lieutenants and 84 men. All of the officers and 83 men were killed or wounded. On the same day Company C, of the Eleventh, lost two officers killed and 34 out of 38 men killed and wounded. Captain Bird with the four remaining, participated in the fight of the 3d; of these the flag bearer was shot, and the Captain brought out the flag himself. These I give as examples to show how persistently our men fought. The losses in several other companies were nearly as great as these.

In the engagement of 1 July we lost no prisoners. After

* Captain W. W. McCreery, Inspector General, was killed on 1 July. Captain N. C. Hughes, A. A. G., was mortally wounded on the 3rd when with the Brigade under Colonel Marshall. Lieutenant Walter H. Robertson, Ordnance Officer, was wounded on the 1st.

the repulse of 3 July, the enemy advanced a heavy line of skirmishers and captured some of the brigade, but no blame is to be attached to these.

Lieutenant-Colonel John A. Graves, of the Forty-seventh North Carolina, whose courage often elicited comment and praise, would not permit those of his regiment in his hearing, some 150 men, to retire, telling them to wait the arrival of the supports, with which they would advance; they were then not far from the stone fence. The supports never reached this point, and the Lieutenant-Colonel and his men were taken prisoners.

It is said that the Northern soldiers cheered the gallant charge made by the assaulting column on the third day, and of Lincoln it is reported that, looking from the steeps of Cemetery Ridge, he said, "I am proud to be the countryman of the men who assailed these heights." Is it not a crying shame that while our very enemies do us honor, there should be some among our own people to slander our brave soldiers? The historian of the future will weigh the evidence in the scales of truth, and do justice to all.

Praise is due to their memory, and for ourselves it is good to render it, since "we in some measure take part in good actions when we praise them sincerely." Heroic deeds are torches to light the paths of our young, and—

> "Heaven doth with us as we with torches do,
> Not light them for themselves."

I would like especially to tell of General James Johnston Pettigrew, who was a soldier of the highest attainments; in strength of intellect approaching nearer the attributes of genius than any it has been my fortune to meet, and in character like Robert E. Lee. But this article is full long, and I can only say of our dead heroes, that—

> "They died
> As they wished to die, the past is sure;
> Whatever of sorrow may betide,
> Those who still linger by the stormy shore,
> Change cannot harm them now nor fortune touch them more."

LOUIS G. YOUNG.

SAVANNAH, GA.,
3 July, 1901.

PETTIGREW'S BRIGADE AT GETTYSBURG.

By JOHN T. JONES, Lieutenant-Colonel Twenty-Sixth Regiment North Carolina Troops.

Our division was in the front line on the left of Pickett, and a prolongation of the same line. Our brigade was on the right of the division—our regiment (Twenty-sixth) on the right of the brigade—consequently immediately on the left of Pickett. When we started, we were on the diameter of a circle, and as we advanced, Pickett following the arc of the circle, necessarily rather contracted the lines towards the center. We all moved off in as magnificent style as I ever saw, the lines perfectly formed. On we went. When we had crossed about half the intervening space the enemy opened on us with a tremendous shower of grape and canister, but on we dashed, our brigade and Pickett's men. I could see nothing of the rest of our division, as they were too far to the left. My whole attention was directed to our own brigade and Pickett's Division, as we had been ordered to keep dressed to the right. When we had gotten within about 100 yards of the enemy's works, we commenced firing, but still advancing. The storm of lead which now met us is beyond description. Grape and canister intermingled with minies and buckshot. The smoke was dense and at times I could scarcely distinguish my own men from Pickett's, and to say that any one a mile off could do so, is utterly absurd. On

Note.—This article is an extract from a letter to the father of Colonel Henry K. Burgwyn written from Culpepper C H., 30 July, 1863, by John T. Jones of the Twenty sixth North Carolina Regiment who as Major came out of the charge at Gettysburg in command of Pettigrew's brigade and was published in the *Fayetteville Observer* 18 April, 1864. It has the great merit of being cotemporaneous evidence from a most unquestionable source. This gallant young officer was promoted Lieutenant-Colonel to date from 1 July, 1863, and was killed at the Wilderness 6 May, 1864. —Ed.

we pushed, and were now right upon the enemy's works when we received a murderous fire upon our left flank. I looked to see where it came from, and lo, we were completely flanked upon our left, not only by infantry, but by artillery. Here candor compels me to admit that one of the brigades of our division had given way, the enemy had seized upon the gap, and now poured a galling fire into our left, which compelled the troops to give way in succession to the right. What could we do now? At the very moment I thought victory ours, I saw it snatched from our hands. With no support upon the left, I asked myself what we should do. I had only about sixty men left in my regiment, and that small number diminishing every moment. The others had suffered as badly. The order came from the right to fall back. We did so at the same time with Pickett. The day was lost. You must observe I do not attach any blame to Pickett. I think he did his duty, and if he did, we certainly did ours, because I know we went as far as he did, and I can safely assert some distance beyond, owing to the shape of the enemy's works, which ran backward in our front in the form of a curve, and which compelled us to go beyond where Pickett's men were already at their works in order to reach them ourselves. The color-bearer of my regiment was shot down while attempting to plant the flag on the wall. I will here mention a remark made to me afterwards by General Pettigrew. With tears in his eyes he spoke of the loss in his brigade, and then remarked: "My noble brigade had gained the enemy's works, and would have held them had not ———'s brigade given way. Oh! had they have known the consequences that hung upon their action at that moment, they would have pressed on."

It is well to be remembered that while Pickett's men were perfectly fresh, having never fired a gun and having just come up, our brigade had been terribly cut up on the 1st, especially two of the regiments. The Twenty-sixth, which went into action on the 1st 850 strong, on the 3d only had for duty 230 men, and not officers enough to command the companies. If some troops can gain so much credit for being defeated, is it not strange that nothing is said of us when we (on the 1st)

drove line after line of the enemy from their positions like sheep, and pursued them for two miles. What I say of our brigade I might say of the whole division. No troops ever fought better than ours. We were engaged for hours with five times our number, and routed them completely; but our loss was fearful—about 50 per cent.—among them our best officers. Our Major-General was wounded the first day. Captains and Lieutenants were in command of regiments on the 3d. Still we were put in the front rank, the post of honor, and not in support, as the *Enquirer* has it, when there were other troops comparatively fresh, who might have taken our place. Does not this show the confidence of our general in us?

Then look at our losses, which leaving out of account the first day, greatly exceed those of any other troops. Had General Heth not been wounded, or had the lamented Pettigrew lived they could have told a tale that would have made those blush who are now trying to bear off the honors so nobly won by others. But alas, we have not even enough left to refute the foul calumny of those who would basely endeavor to pluck from our brows the laurels placed there at the sacrifice of so many of our noble companions.

That we still retain the confidence of our commander is shown by our being placed as rear-guard, the post of honor, while the other troops were safely crossing the river (Potomac.) It was here in an attack made upon our lines that the brave Pettigrew fell, while setting an example of heroic courage and presence of mind to those who had followed him unfaltering through so many dangers and hardships. In him the brigade sustained its heaviest loss. In him our State lost one of her brightest stars, and the Confederacy one of her ablest defenders.

JOHN T. JONES.

CULPEPPER C. H., VA.,
30 July, 1863.

THE PETTIGREW--PICKETT CHARGE.

GETTYSBURG, 3 JULY, 1863.

By CAPTAIN S. A. ASHE, A. A. G., Pender's Brigade.

The third day of the struggle between the contending armies near Gettysburg opened clear and cloudless. The July sun beamed down on the battlefield of the previous day majestically serene—throwing into bold relief the outlines of the picture.

Standing on Cemetery Hill, a mile south of the little town of Gettysburg, one saw the range continue to the southward, now jutting out into the valley to the west, and then receding in strong curves eastward, now falling with even slopes and then swelling again in graceful contour—but further away breaking into precipitous promontories whose rocky knobs were veritable Round Tops and fitly associated with Devil's Dens.

Almost parallel and about a mile away to the west could be traced the course of Seminary Ridge, gently rising from the intervening valley and still covered with a growth of original forest trees. Along the slope are fences inclosing fields with patches of wood here and there and a little swale down the valley where it narrows as the ridge throws out a spur to the eastward.

Coming from the town is the Emmettsburg Pike which after passing the summit of Cemetery Hill swerves off along a lower and divergent ridge that trends across the valley. Overlooking the pike is a stone wall following along the upper slope of Cemetery Ridge and conforming generally to the line of its crest, but, at a point some six hundred yards away where the hill grows bolder and juts well out into the valley, this wall makes a right angle and comes straight towards the pike, and then again follows the crest, which soon

retreats and falls away, leaving a slight depression embayed in the general outline.

On this headland, that like a bastion front projects itself into the valley, stands a clump of trees which served to guide the right of the attacking column on that fateful day; and a quarter of a mile in front, but further down the valley, stood the farm house of Cordori on a little knoll surrounded by a sparse grove.

Beyond the Cemetery to the north the range bent sharply to the right, forming a difficult eminence known as Culp's Hill; and on the curve from Culp's Hill west to the Cemetery and thence south to Round Top, was massed the Federal army, some 100,000 strong: while on an exterior line of sister hills lay Lee's forces, with Ewell on the left in possession of a part of Culp's Hill, and Longstreet on the right towards Round Top, while A. P Hill covered the centre; a total force of about 60,000 troops.

Dispositions had been made for an early morning attack on the 3d, simultaneous by Ewell on the right and Longstreet on the left; and with that view the artillery had been massed against the Federal center, Colonel Alexander, acting as Longstreet's chief of artillery, having occupied, during the night, an advanced ridge that lay several hundred yards beyond Longstreet's front, and covered it with batteries.

But Meade himself had not been inactive, and, at 4 o'clock in the morning, he unsettled this plan of attack by driving back Early, whose lodgment on Culp's Hill was an essential part of Lee's proposed movement. Later in the morning, then, Lee determined on making that assault which has since been so famous in history.

General Long, the author of Lee's Memoirs and then on Lee's staff, says: "This decision was reached at a conference held during the morning on the field in front of Round Top, there being present Generals Lee, Longstreet, A. P Hill and Heth and Colonel Long and Major Venable."

Longstreet made some objection, his idea being to move farther to the right and entice Meade to abandon his position and give battle on more favorable ground; but the attack was ordered nevertheless and Longstreet was directed to carry

it into execution. The object of General Lee was to penetrate Meade's line in the depression on the south of Cemetery Hill and thus turning his position, move up and dispossess him.

When the morning broke and the Federal forces beheld so great an armament as one hundred and forty pieces of artillery in position on the crest of Seminary Ridge, they knew that an assault was intended on some part of their line and every preparation was at once made to receive it.

The batteries on Cemetery Ridge were strengthened by new ones from the reserve, and soon eighty pieces of artillery were in readiness to respond to the expected cannonade which was awaited with increasing solicitude as the morning wore on in ominous silence.

In early morning Pickett's fresh division had arrived and two of his brigades had been placed under cover of the advanced ridge which Colonel Alexander had seized the night before. Armistead's Brigade lay back protected by the main ridge in a line with Heth's Division, while the North Carolina brigades of Scales and Lane were still further in the rear. These were the troops selected to make the assault: Pickett's Division being fresh, and Heth's Division, commanded by Pettigrew, and Lane's and Scales' Brigades, although badly cut up on the first, not having been engaged on the second, and being troops of the highest reputation for constancy and endurance.

In Heth's Division were Archer's Brigade, composed of two Alabama and three Tennessee Regiments; Pettigrew's Brigade, which had present the Eleventh, Twenty-sixth, Forty-seventh and Fifty-second North Carolina Regiments; Davis' Brigade constituted of three Mississippi and one North Carolina Regiment, and Brockenborough's or Field's Brigade, which was composed entirely of Virginians. Pettigrew's Brigade was commanded by Colonel Marshall, General Pettigrew being in command of the division.

Lane's Brigade was formed of the Seventh, Eighteenth, Twenty-eighth, Thirty-third and Thirty-seventh North Carolina Regiments, and in Scales', then under Colonel Lowrance, were the Thirteenth, Sixteenth, Twenty-second,

Thirty-fourth and Thirty-eighth North Carolina Regiments. These troops had suffered so severely on 1 July that many companies were mere skeletons and some regiments were commanded by Captains.

Pickett's Division, composed entirely of Virginians, had just arrived and was in excellent condition in all respects.

The movement was in double column, the first line consisting of Kemper's and Garnett's Brigades on the right, with Heth's Division (under Pettigrew) on the left; and for the second line Armistead in the rear of Pickett's other brigades, and Scales' and Lane's Brigades of North Carolinians, under General Trimble, in the rear of Heth's division.

Wilcox's and Perry's Brigades were to move out on the extreme right and protect the column from any flanking force, while R. H. Anderson's Division covering the left, was to be in readiness to act as opportunity should permit. Preliminary to the movement, the artillery was to silence the enemy's guns and as far as possible demoralize their infantry before the attempt should be made to carry the works by storm.

At 1 o'clock two guns were discharged by the Washington Artillery as the signal for the cannonade to begin. Immediately the line of batteries opened with salvos of artillery evoking a quick reply from the enemy, and the engagement soon became one of the most terrific bombardments of the war. Its fury was inconceivable. "From ridge to ridge was kept up for near two hours a Titanic combat of artillery that caused the solid fabric of the hills to labor and shake, and filled the air with fire and smoke and the mad clamor of two hundred guns." The exposed batteries were greatly damaged. Both horses and men suffered fearful destruction. Caissons exploded, limbers were blown up and guns were crippled on every side. In particular was the Confederate fire, concentrated on the point of attack, very effective. But still the enemy's batteries were not silenced. Their fire did not slacken, for as fast as the Federal batteries expended their ammunition, they were replaced by new ones from the reserve, and the fire continued without abatement, until at length the Confederate ammunition began to run low.

Colonel Alexander, to whom had been committed the duty

of indicating the moment for beginning the charge, felt the awful responsibility of the dilemma that presented itself, and hurriedly communicated to Pickett that he should wait no longer, but should begin the movement at once, notwithstanding the terrific energy of the artillery that crowned the enemy's stronghold. But if the Confederate chests had been depleted, so at last had become those of their antagonists, and General Hunt, Meade's chief of artillery, finding it unsafe to move up new supplies, and anticipating that the assault would be made on the center, conceived it well to husband his resources and ordered the fire to slacken, and so, unexpectedly, the embarrassing difficulty of the Confederate situation vanished.

Immediately the order to advance was given along the whole line, and some twelve thousand veterans, with alacrity and high elation, moved forward over the crests that had sheltered them, and passed down the slopes of Seminary Ridge, their bright guns gleaming in the noonday sun and their innumerable battle flags flying in the breeze, making as fine a pageant as was ever seen on any field of battle. They moved in quick time and with admirable precision, as if on some gala day parade. It was a glorious spectacle, evoking admiration from foe and friend alike, and being the theme of unstinted praise from every one who witnessed it.

But hardly had the line reached the downward slope of that extensive valley when the Federal batteries were again unloosed and the carnival of death began.

"Though stormed at with shot and shell, it moved steadily on and even when grape and canister and musket balls began to rain upon it, the gaps were quickly closed and the alignment preserved."

The line of grey, a full mile in length, with its second line following at easy distance, marched indeed in fine style down that valley of death, reckless of peril and animated with that soldierly zeal and confidence which ever inspired the troops of Lee when moving in the immediate presence of that trusted commander.

From Pickett's advanced position down the valley the clump of trees which gave him direction bore far to the left,

and soon reaching the ridge on which the Turnpike ran, he wheeled to the left and moved up towards Cordori's House. By this movement he presented his flank to the batteries posted on Little Round Top and received a severe enfilading fire, while General Stannard, whose division was in his immediate front, threw out two Vermont regiments to contest the ground with him. But Colonel Alexander had himself hastily followed with a battery of artillery and opened on this force with spirit, in a measure dispersing it and neutralizing its power for serious work. But still it could not be entirely driven off, and when Kemper, on the extreme right, having passed to the east of Cordori's house, moved by the left flank to close up with Garrett's Brigade, the Vermonters also moved by the flank to keep pace with him, and continued to annoy him. As the line advanced there loomed up in the distance the works it was to assault.

Immediately in front of Archer's Brigade and Pickett's left lay the projecting stone wall standing out into the valley, and held by Webb's Brigade of Gibbon's Division; and opposite the Confederate left was the retired wall held by Hays' Division, with Smyth's Brigade towards the cemetery and Sherrill's Brigade between that and Webb. This part of the wall was eighty yards behind the front of the projection held by Webb.

South of the projection Hall's and Harrow's Brigades continued the Federal line, behind breastworks of rails covered with earth and with rifle pits and shallow trenches in their front. Further on were Stannard's and other brigades of Doubleday's Division. On the crest of the hill, a few yards behind the line of works, was thickly massed the artillery. Skirmishers lay out several hundred yards in front in the clover and grass, while a first line of infantry held a strong fence along the pike in front of Hays and a low stone wall further down the valley, and lay concealed in the grass in the intervening space. At the stone wall and breastworks was a second line in readiness to receive the attack, while behind the artillery, some thirty paces off, was still another, occupying higher ground and protected by the backbone of the ridge, and

further on the flanks were heavy masses of infantry ready to be concentrated if occasion required.

As the Confederate line moved forward, in constant sight, momentarily drawing nearer to the point of attack, all was expectation and anxiety along the Federal front. The heavy artillery fire of the Confederates had ceased and the demoralization incident to it rapidly gave place to a feeling of reassurance and determination. While it had destroyed the two batteries in the rear of Webb, leaving only one piece that could be worked, the guns in rear of Hay's division were in better condition, and Howard's fresh battery had been brought up and posted on the slope of Cemetery Hill. And so it happened that while the troops on the Confederate right were fortunately not subjected to an artillery fire from the front and were exposed only to an enfilading fire from the extreme left of the Federal line, it was far different with Pettigrew's command, the batteries in his front being well served, firing first solid shot, then shell and spherical case—and at last canister—double charged, as Pettigrew's line drew nearer and nearer.

The movement of the Confederates was made in quick time over a clear field, beneath the burning rays of a fiery July sun, and was attended with considerable fatigue and exhaustion. But those veterans who had been trained to the vicissitudes of war well knew that at the final assault, dash and vigor would be necessary, and they therefore husbanded their strength and moved forward steadily and resolutely under the galling fire that was rapidly thinning their ranks. Speaking of the troops in front of Hay's Division, General Bachelder says that when they had reached a position "half way across the plain they encountered a terrible artillery fire, but against which, as a man presses against a blinding storm, they moved steadily on as if impelled by a will greater than their own—some mighty unseen power which they could not resist.

"Solid shot ploughed through their ranks, spherical case rattled in their midst and canister swept them by hundreds from the field, yet on they pressed unflinchingly.

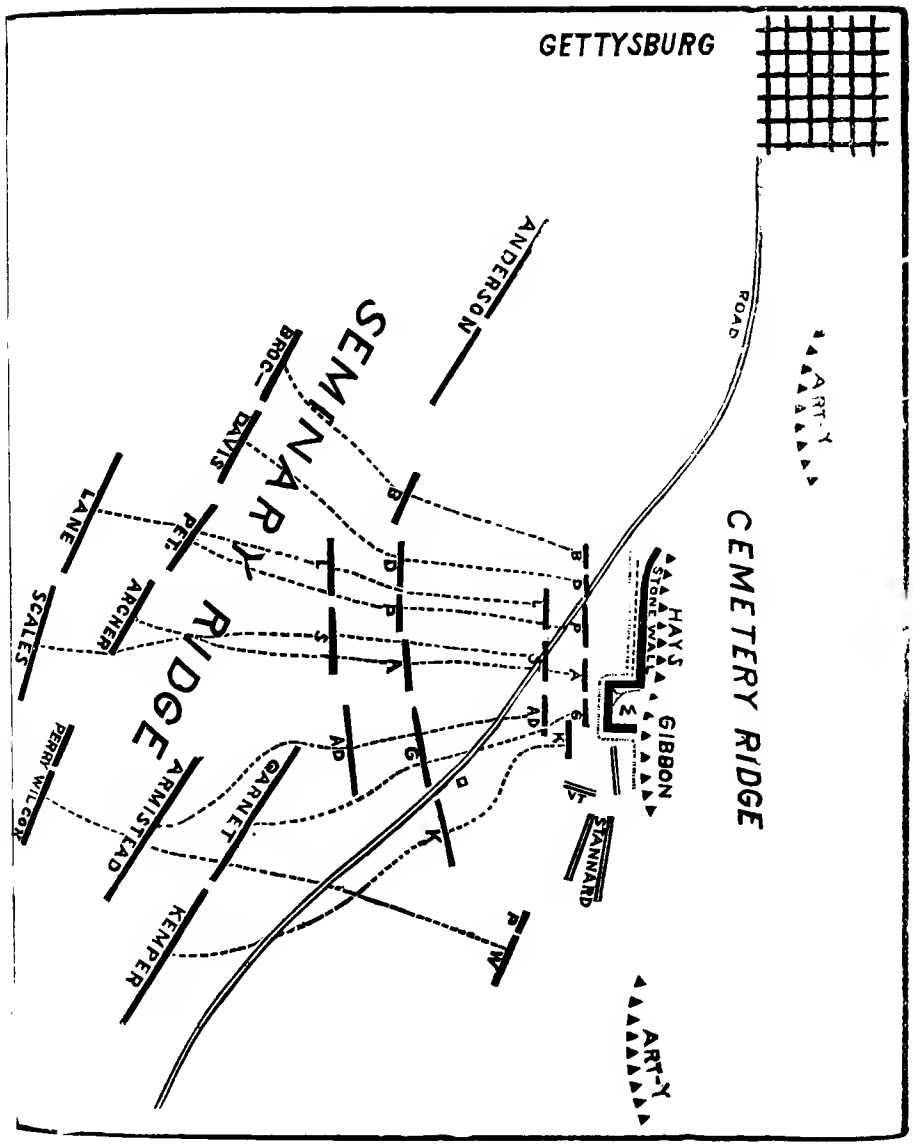
It was an awful experience to pass nearly a mile across an

open plain subjected to such a terrible fire, with no hope of protection and without power to resist. But each brave spirit in Pettigrew's command recognized the necessity of immolation if need be, and offered himself a willing sacrifice; and so closing up the great gaps in its ranks, the lines on the left continued to face the furious storm and silently moved on upon the deadly batteries.

At length having made two-thirds of the distance, and being only three hundred yards away, Pickett's troops with Garnett in front, Kemper on the right, but somewhat in rear, and Armistead a hundred yards behind, turned towards the point they were to assail. On Garnett's left was Archer's Brigade, under Colonel Fry, whose numbers had been largely reduced in the first day's fight—and which had moved directly forward as the brigade of direction. Close joined with it were Pettigrew's North Carolinians under Colonel Marshall, Pettigrew himself being in command of the division; and further on were Davis' Mississippians and Brockenborough's Virginia Brigade, all well aligned, while a hundred and fifty yards behind Trimble led Lane's and Scales' Brigades, the latter under Colonel Lowrance, Scales having been severely wounded two days before.

Although the right had not suffered greatly during its shorter progress up the valley and being somewhat protected by favoring ridges, heavy loss had been inflicted on the center and on the left, which were fearfully cut up during their long and exposed march. But though sorely distressed on front and flank, with ranks largely depleted, the left brigades maintained their original alignment and still pursued their onward course.

As the attacking column, now much narrowed, moved up the slope that formed a natural glacis to the enemy's works, the batteries opened still more rapidly with grape and canister, and the front line of the enemy that lay in advance, together with the second line at the stone wall, poured into the Confederate column volley after volley of musketry—sending out a perfect sheet of lead and iron—a storm of murderous fire The ranks of the first Confederate line, in the immediate front of Hays' artillery, were mowed down as grass by the



THE FIELD OF GETTYSBURG.

The first positions of the Confederate brigades are shown on the left and then two subsequent intermediate positions, while the final position attained is marked : by the thin line in front of the stone wall and within Gibbon's line on the south of it.

Webb's position in the angle is marked W Hall's and Harrow's brigades continued the Federal line towards Stannard's brigade.

scythe. The carnage was terrible. The piercing cries of the dying and wounded could be heard over the field amid the shrieks of shells and the roar of the cannon. Trimble, in command of the two North Carolina Brigades, says of Heth's Division, "that it seemed to sink into the earth under the tempest of fire poured into them."

"We passed over the remnant of their line and immediately some one close to my left sung out, 'Three cheers for the Old North State,' when both brigades sent up a hearty shout." It was the cry of brave men rushing into the jaws of death.

So furious was the fire and so murderous that it staggered the line—which "halted, returned the fire and with a wild yell dashed on." The first line of the enemy, which lay a hundred yards in front, was thrown back against the wall, many being captured and hurried to the rear without guard. But yet the roar and din of the conflict continued and, though the smoke of battle obscured the front, the carnage went on as the columns drew closer and closer to the enemy's works. A front that had been originally more than a mile in length had now been compressed into less than eight hundred yards and the concentrated fire of the enemy's artillery, as well as musketry, from the flanks as well as from the front, told with fearful effect.

As the line approached the enemy's works, Pettigrew seeing Brockenborough's Virginia Brigade and Davis Mississippians give way under the murderous fire that assailed them, hurried his aid, Captain Shepard, to rally them—but all of Captain Shepard's efforts were without avail. They had become separated some distance from Pettigrew's North Carolina Brigade and lacked the support imparted by the immediate co-operation of other troops. They could not be rallied, but broke and fell back at the critical moment of the ordeal. It was then that Trimble ordered his North Carolina Brigades to close up on the first column, and Lane bearing to the left, with well aligned ranks and in handsome style, covered the position made vacant on the left by the broken brigades, while Lowrance led Scales' brigade directly forward to unite with the front line then one hundred yards in advance.

In this hasty movement of Lane's, however, because of a

misunderstanding as to whether the guide was right or left, the Seventh North Carolina and a part of the Thirty-third, being on Lane's right, became separated from the larger part of the brigade, which continued its movement well to the left, leaving some space intervening between it and Pettigrew's Brigade.

The position of the troops just before the final charge was: Pickett's line was in front of a part of the projecting wall, with Kemper's Brigade extending to the right of it, covering the front of the Federal brigades of Hall and Harrow. Archer's Brigade was in front of the rest of the projection, and along with Pettigrew's North Carolina Brigade extended in front of the retired wall, with Scales' Brigade coming up in the rear, while Lane, with nearly four regiments, was some distance to the left.

On the right Pickett's command had crossed the pike, while the line further to the left had yet to pass it. General Pickett and staff, however, did not cross the pike and did not accompany the troops further in the charge.

As the troops in their progress reached the fences enclosing this road, the obstruction tended greatly to break up their alignment. Many were killed and wounded there and others sought protection from the fearful fire by lying in the road. The column advancing beyond the pike was thus considerably weakened, and especially was this the case on the center and left where the road ran closer to the stone wall and was stoutly held by the front line of the enemy. Pickett's troops, however, crossing at a point nearly a quarter of a mile distant from the enemy's works, escaped the full effect of this damaging obstacle and maintained a more perfect organization. And in like manner, the right of the Confederate column had the good fortune of not being subjected to a similar artillery fire to that which mowed down the ranks of Pettigrew's command.

It is narrated by General Doubleday that all of the artillery supporting Webb's brigade, being destroyed except one piece in Cushing's Battery which was in rear of Webb's right, and nearly all of the artillerymen being either killed or wounded, as the Confederates came close, Cushing, himself

mortally wounded, with his bowels protruding, exclaimed "Webb, I must have one more shot at them," and caused his piece to be run down to the stone wall and fired, immediately expiring. This incident not only illustrates how Pickett's Division during its advance fortunately escaped the artillery fire that was so effective against Pettigrew's troops, but accounts for the presence of a gun at the angle where Major Englehard subsequently found it. A few moments later a fresh battery reached Webb's left and opened a murderous fire on Pickett's charging column. Colonel Peyton, who came out of the fight in command of Garnett's brigade, in his official report, speaks of having routed the advanced line of the Federal infantry a hundred yards in front of the stone wall, and says:

"Up to this time we had suffered but little from the enemy's batteries with the exception of one posted on the mountain about one mile to our right, which enfiladed nearly our entire line with fearful effect. Having routed the enemy here, General Garnett ordered the brigade forward, which was promptly obeyed, loading and firing as they advanced. From the point it had first routed the enemy, the brigade moved rapidly forward towards the stone wall, under a galling fire, both from artillery and infantry, the artillery using grape and canister. We were now within about seventy-five paces of the wall, unsupported on the right and left; General Kemper being some fifty or sixty yards behind and to the right, and General Armistead coming up in our rear.

Our line, much shattered, still kept up the advance until within about twenty paces of the wall, when for a moment they recoiled under the terrific fire poured into our ranks, both from their batteries and from their sheltered infantry. At this moment General Kemper came up on the right and General Armistead in the rear, when the three lines joining in concert rushed forward. His strongest and last line was instantly gained, the Confederate battle flag waved over his defenses and the fighting over the wall became hand-to-hand and of the most desperate character, but more than half having already fallen, our line was found too weak to rout the enemy We hoped for a support on our left (which had

started simultaneously with ourselves), but hoped in vain. Yet a small remnant remained in desperate struggle, receiving a fire in front, on the right and, on the left many even climbing over the wall and fighting the enemy in his own trenches, until entirely surrounded, and those who were not killed and wounded were captured, with the exception of about 300 who came off slowly, but greatly scattered—the identity of every regiment being entirely lost, every regimental commander killed or wounded."

We have no official report from either Armistead's or Kemper's brigades. The latter was on the extreme right, extending south of the stone wall and in its advance suffered greatly from the flanking fire of the two Vermont Regiments thrown out by General Stannard against it. A Federal account says: "The Confederate line is almost up to the grove in front of Robinson's. It has reached the clump of scrub oaks. It has drifted past the Vermont boys. They move upon the run up to the breastworks of rails, bearing Hancock's line to the top of the ridge—so powerful their momentum.

Men fire into each other's faces not five feet apart. There are bayonet thrusts, sabre strokes, pistol shots, cool, deliberate movements on the part of some; hot, passionate, desperate efforts on the part of others; hand-to-hand contests; recklessness of life, tenacity of purpose, fiery determination, oaths, yells, curses, hurrahs, shoutings. The Confederates have swept past the Vermont regiments. 'Take them on the flank,' says Stannard. The Thirteenth and Sixteenth Vermont swing out from their trench line. They move forward and pour a deadly volley into the backs of Kemper's troops. With a hurrah they rush on to drive home the bayonets. Other regiments close upon the foe. The Confederate column has lost its power. The lines waver. * * Thousands of Confederates throw down their arms and give themselves up as prisoners."

Another Federal account of Kemper's attack says—"up to the rifle pits, across them, over the barricades—the momentum of the charge swept them on.

"Our thin line could fight, but it had not weight enough to resist this momentum. It was pushed behind the guns.

Right on came the enemy. They were upon the guns—were bayonetting the gunners—were waving their flags above our pieces. But they had penetrated to the fatal point. A storm of grape and canister tore its way from man to man and marked its way with corpses straight down its line. They had exposed themselves to the enfilading fire of the guns on the western slope of Cemetery Hill. That exposure sealed their fate.

"The line reeled back, disjointed already, in an instant in fragments. Our men were just behind the guns. They leaped forward in a disordered mass. But there was little need of fighting now. A regiment threw down its arms and with colors at its head, rushed over and surrendered. All along the field detachments did the same. Over the field the escaped fragments of the charging line fell back—the battle there was over. A single brigade, Harrow's, came out with a loss of 54 officers and 793 men. So the whole corps fought—so too they fought further down the line."

Colonel Fry, who so gallantly led Archer's Brigade, says: "I heard Garnett give a command. Seeing my gesture of enquiry he called out, 'I am dressing on you!' A few seconds later he fell dead. A moment later a shot through my thigh prostrated me. The smoke soon became so dense that I could see but little of what was going on before me. A moment later I heard General Pettigrew calling to rally them on the left. All of the five regimental colors of my command reached the line of the enemy's works and many of my men and officers were killed after passing over it." Colonel Shepherd, who succeeded Frye in command, said in his official report that "every flag in Archer's Brigade except one was captured at or within the works of the enemy."

Scales' Brigade closely followed Archer's, dashed up to the projecting wall and planted their battle flags upon the enemy's breastworks. Pettigrew's and the left of Archer's had surged forward beyond the projecting wall, and had firmly established themselves along the retired portion of the wall. General Bachelder, of the Federal army, who thoroughly studied the field for days after the battle, than whom no one knew so well the details of that affair, says: "The

left of the column continued to move on towards the second wall, threatening the right and rear of Gibbon's Division which held the advanced line. General Webb, whose brigade was on the right (in the projection), had hurried back to bring up his right reserve regiment from the second line. But before this could be accomplished the first line broke under the tremendous pressure which threatened its front and flank, and fell back upon the reserve."

Thus while Garnett was struggling for the possession of the stone wall on the Confederate right, and Kemper was engaged with Harrow and Hall still further to the right, seeking unsuccessfully to penetrate into the enemy's line and turn the left of the hill, the advance of Pettigrew's command beyond the projecting wall, taking Webb's exposed brigade on the right flank, caused it to give back from the wall and yield that part of the projection to the regiments of Archer and Scales that pressed them in front.

Captain McIntyre, acting Adjutant-General of Scales' Brigade, says: "My brigade, or a larger part of it, went inside of the enemy's works."

Captain Guerrant, acting as Brigade Inspector, says that "Scales' Brigade entered the breastworks and remained in possession until driven out by the enemy's advancing on their flanks." Major Engelhard, the gallant Adjutant-General of the two brigades of Pender's Division commanded by Trimble, says: "The point at which the troops with me struck the enemy's works projected farthest to the front. I recollect well, my horse having been shot, I leaned my elbow upon one of the guns of the enemy to rest, while I watched with painful anxiety the fight upon Pickett's right, for upon its success depended the tenableness of our position.

"Surrounding me were the soldiers of Pender's, Heth's and Pickett's Divisions and it required all the resources at my command to prevent their following en masse the retreating enemy, and some did go so far that when we were compelled to withdraw, they were unable to reach our lines, the enemy closing in from the right and left. We remained in quiet and undisputed possession of the enemy's works, the men flushed with victory, eager to press forward.

"But when the right of Pickett's Division was compelled by the overpowering attack upon its right flank to give way, there was nothing left for us to do but surrender ourselves prisoners or withdraw in confusion before the converging lines of the enemy, those in our immediate front not having rallied."

The retired wall in front of Pettigrew's North Carolina Brigade was higher and stronger than at the projection and along it skirted a lane enclosed by a strong fence.

Hays' Division clung to the wall with great pertinacity and the second line, protected by the high crest of the ridge, commanded it completely, while Howard's fresh artillery on the slope of Cemetery Hill swept the front with an enfilading fire. But while it was impracticable for any troops to carry it by assault, the Confederate line much weakened by the losses suffered in the march, silenced the batteries in their front and suppressed the infantry fire from the wall, and maintained the unequal contest there to the last.

Some of Pettigrew's North Carolinians advanced to the wall itself, doing all that splendid valor and heroic endurance could do to dislodge the enemy—but their heroism was in vain.

Major Jones, in command of Pettigrew's Brigade, says: "On we pushed and were now right on the enemy's works, when we received a murderous fire upon our left flank. I looked to see where it came from and lo! we were completely flanked upon our left not only by infantry, but artillery. One of our brigades had given way The enemy had seized upon the gap and now poured a galling fire into our troops, forcing them to give way in succession to the right. The color-bearer of the Twenty-sixth North Carolina Regiment was shot down while attempting to plant the flag on the wall." Gaston Broughton, commanding Company D, Twenty-sixth North Carolina Regiment, says: "We crossed the road and went to the enemy's works, where we continued firing until most of the regiment were captured, the enemy closing in on us from our rear." Lieutenant W N. Snelling, Company B, of the same regiment, says: "We went to an old road some ten steps from the rock fence behind which was the enemy."

Major Haynes, of the Eleventh North Carolina: "I was about fifty yards (I think nearer) of the wall when I was shot down. When shot we were in line going towards the cemetery wall. We were all cut down—no one but wounded left in my company, save two."

Captain J J Davis (since Judge): "My company was next to the extreme left of the regiment, Forty-seventh North Carolina Regiment, and when not far from the enemy's works, say not more than 100 yards, a sergeant of an adjoining regiment called my attention to the fact that the troops to the left had given away. I looked and saw that at some distance to the left, the troops had given way, but our supports were then advancing in admirable style. (Lane's Brigade.) Colonel Graves, who was to the right of me, had kept the regiment well in hand and was urging the men on." "And we advanced," says Captain Davis, "to the plank fence that ran alongside the lane just under the stone wall." Here he and part of his regiment were afterwards captured.

Lieutenant-Colonel B. F Little, of the Fifty-second North Carolina Regiment: "I was shot down when in about fifty yards of the enemy's works, and the ground between where I lay and the works was thickly strewn with killed and wounded, some of them having fallen immediately at the works. I do not think a single one of my men ever got back to the rear except those who were slightly wounded before they got to the place where I was wounded. And such was the case with the companies on either side of mine. When I was taken prisoner and borne to the rear, I passed over their works and found some of my men killed and wounded immediately at their works."

It is of Pettigrew's Brigade that Colonel Swallow writes as follows: "Pettigrew's Brigade now united with Archer's Regiment which had not entered the fortifications and attacked the enemy with the most desperate determination. While the writer (Colonel Swallow) lay wounded with General Smyth, of Hays' Division, at Gettysburg, that officer told him that Pettigrew's Brigade all along his front were within thirty or forty feet of his line and fought with a determination he had never seen equalled." This encomium,

so richly merited, is, however, to be shared by Lane's Brigade equally with Pettigrew's, for Smyth's front was the extreme left where Lane fought as well as Pettigrew's Brigade.

While such was the position of affairs on the right and center when the smoke of battle lifted somewhat, Brockenborough's Virginians and Davis' Mississippians not having rallied from the deadly discharge that had hurled them back, Lane's North Carolinians were alone on the left and bore the brunt of the conflict on that part of the field. In his report Lane says:

"My command never moved forward more handsomely. The men reserved their fire in accordance with orders until within good range of the enemy and then opened with telling effect, driving the cannoneers from their pieces, completely silencing the guns in our immediate front and breaking the line of infantry on the crest of the hill.

"We advanced to within a few yards of the stone wall, exposed all the while to a heavy raking artillery fire from the right. My left was here very much exposed, and a column of infantry was thrown forward in that direction that enfiladed my entire line."

This was a column of regiments that was thrown forward from Hay's right; and despite an enfilading artillery fire, Lane broke off a regiment from his left to face this threatened danger.

Captain Lovell, Company A, Twenty-eighth North Carolina, Lane's Brigade, says: "Some of my men were wounded and captured inside the works."

Captain Norwood, Company E, Forty-seventh North Carolina, says that regiment, along with the brigade, advanced to within thirty yards of the enemy's works, where they encountered a plank fence. Several officers, myself among them, sprung over the fence, followed by the whole command so far as I know. The cannoneers then left their pieces."

Lieutenant-Colonel Morriss, of the Thirty-seventh North Carolina, says: "Pettigrew's and Archer's men reached the enemy's works a little in advance of us and succeeded in driving the enemy from their works in their front, but were exposed to a flank fire both right and left. We drove the en-

emy from his position on the road and from behind the stone fence. The enemy having disappeared from our front, we became engaged with a flanking party on our left and were surrounded and captured. Six officers on the right of my regiment were wounded in the enemy's works and captured."

The brave Major Jos. H. Saunders, of the Thirty-third, says: "I went, by a subsequent measurement, to within sixty yards of the stone wall, where I was wounded. Just before I was shot I saw a Federal color-bearer just in front of the left wing of the regiment, get up and run waving his flag and followed by his regiment, so that there was nothing to keep our regiment from going right into the enemy's works. I was shot by the troops on our left flank. At the time I was acting as left guide to the line of battle, directing the line of march more to the right so as to strike the enemy's works in a straighter line."

Rev. Dr. George W. Sanderlin, who was Captain of Company E, Thirty-third North Carolina, says: "Our brigade being in the second line, advanced in fine style over the field. When we were about two hundred yards from the enemy's works, General Lane ordered a half wheel to the left and we continued our advance, our organization being excellently preserved, close up to the enemy's work. We were subjected to a rapid artillery fire from our front as well as a deadly musketry fire, and also an enfilading artillery fire from the left. My regiment, the Thirty-third North Carolina, rested at the enemy's works, the artillerymen being driven away from their pieces and the infantry having been driven from their breastworks. For some five minutes all was comparatively quiet in our front except a desultory firing here and there. We could hear the Federal officers just over the ridge trying to rally and reform their men. Attention was called to a piece of artillery just at hand which had been struck in the muzzle by a shell from a gun of like calibre from a Confederate battery, which remained fastened in the bore. We noticed the situation on the extreme right of the line and finally saw it driven off by the enemy. A column had been thrown out on the enemy's right that flanked us. We, being in danger of being cut off, were ordered back, Pickett's troops

on our right having in the meantime been repulsed. Just then the enemy opened on us a most heavy and destructive fire, and as we began to retreat the enemy in our front rallied and rushed down, crossing their breastworks, attacking us also on our right. Our line on the extreme right (Pickett's) had given away before this, and we made the best retreat we could. Our organization was well preserved up to the time we retreated. I am absolutely confident that Lane's Brigade held its position at the enemy's works longer than any other command, and that we did not move towards the rear until the rest of the line was in full retreat, the extreme right being well advanced to the rear."

The Seventh North Carolina and that part of the Thirty-third which became separated from the rest of Lane's Brigade moved forward gallantly, drove the enemy from the stone wall, silenced the guns in their front and lost officers and men at the stone wall, many being captured there.

In the brief minutes that had elapsed since the final rush on the enemy's works had begun the carnage had indeed been terrific. Garnett had fallen near the wall. Kemper was desperately wounded at the wall. Pettigrew was disabled by a ball. Trimble was knocked *hors du combat*. Fry, Marshall and Lowrance had fallen among the thousands of officers and men whose life-blood was ebbing on that bloody field.

But if the Confederates had suffered fearfully, they had also inflicted heavy loss upon their opponents. "Hancock lay bleeding upon the ground, Gibbon was being taken from the field wounded. Webb had been hit. Sherrill and Smyth both wounded, the former mortally. Stannard had received a painful wound, but his troops continued to pour volley after volley into Pickett's flanks."

When the front line of Webb's Brigade gave way under the pressure of Pettigrew's men on the flank, they had fallen back, some to the cover of a clump of trees in the rear and others to a stone wall that crossed the ridge. From these points they maintained a desultory firing upon the Confederates, who having possession of the wall now used it as a protection for themselves. The projection was practically cleared, but, though Archer's and Scales' and Pickett's men

held the angle next to Pettigrew, there was no general effort made to penetrate into the enemy's line. In the meantime regiment after regiment had hurried to cover the break in the Federal line until the men stood four deep, ready to hurl back the Confederates if they should seek to advance. Such was the condition of comparative repose when Armistead's Brigade reached the wall in Garnett's rear.

"Seeing his men were inclined to use it as a defence, as the front line were doing," Armistead raised his hat upon his sword, and springing upon a broken place in the wall, called on his men to follow him. Nearly one hundred of the gallant Fifty-third Virginia, led by Colonel Martin and Major Timberlake, responded with alacrity and entered the works, "only four of whom advanced with these officers to the crest, passing, as they advanced, General Webb, who was returning to his front line." Armistead there received his mortal blow, and forty-two of his men fell within the works as the enemy rushed forward to recover the position. It was the work of brief moments, for as the pressure on the Federal line had been sharp the recoil was quick and decisive.

On the right Kemper had been driven back, and the battle having now ceased in front of Hall's and Harrow's Brigades, these were hurriedly advanced, at the moment the force collected in the rear of Webb rushed forward, taking Garnett and Armistead's troops in the flank as well as front, and entirely routing and dispersing them.

As the right was hurled back and the fragments of General Pickett's Division were hurrying to the rear, the battle began to rage more furiously on the left. The artillery swept the front occupied by Pettigrew's command and Hays' Division renewed the contest with increased ardor. A Delaware regiment on Smyth's left sprang over the wall and penetrating the Confederate line opened a fire to the right and left and hurried the drama to its close.

The remnants of Pettigrew's and Archer's and Scales' Brigades that could not escape, were taken prisoners by the victorious columns closing in on them from the rear, while most of Lane's Brigade further to the left had the better fortune of avoiding a like fate by a speedy retreat; but they were the

last to relinquish their position in the immediate front of the enemy's works. As they withdrew they saw the field far down the valley dotted with squads of Pickett's broken regiments, while nearer were the fragments of the other commands in full retreat. Thus ended the events of those brief ten minutes—the gallant charge—the successful planting of the Confederate standards along the entire line of the Federal works—the comparative lull, save on the right, where Kemper made his fierce entrance into the enemy's line, his speedy repulse—and the overwhelming rally of Hancock's forces, enveloping and dispersing Pickett's Division—the terrible onslaught on the left, and the dispersal of the last of that splendid body of twelve thousand picked troops who had essayed to do what was impossible of accomplishment. Conspicuous gallantry had brought to the Confederate banner an accumulation of martial honor, but on no field was ever more devotion shown, more heroism, more nerve than on that day which has been justly considered the turning point in the tide of Confederate achievement.

It was indeed a field of honor as well as a field of blood, and the sister States of Virginia and North Carolina had equal cause to weave chaplets of laurel and of cypress. On their sons the heaviest blows fell, and to them is due the meed of highest praise. Archer's brave men doubtless suffered heavily, but the chief loss was borne by the three North Carolina and the three Virginia Brigades that participated in the assault upon the works.

The losses of the latter are easy of ascertainment—for they were fresh and had been in no other conflict; while the former having suffered heavily on the first day and having lost most of their regimental and company officers, made at the time no special return of the loss in this now celebrated charge.

Lane carried in 1,300 and lost 600, nearly all killed and wounded. Pettigrew's Brigade was about 1,700 strong, and lost 1,100, the greater part killed and wounded. Scales' Brigade suffered in the like proportion. These three brigades doubtless lost in killed and wounded 1,500 men.

The three Virginia brigades numbering over 4,700 strong, lost 224 killed and 1,140 wounded, a total of 1,364. They

had besides 1,499 missing. While the North Carolina brigades did not have so many captured as Pickett's troops, they doubtless suffered a heavier loss in killed and wounded, although they took into the fight a smaller force, and their organization was much disturbed by the severe loss in regimental and company officers in the battle of the first. But despite this drawback, they exhibited a heroism, a constancy and an endurance unsurpassed upon that field where they accomplished as much as any other troops, *suffered greater losses, advanced the farthest, and remained the longest.* Indeed it was to them a day of immortal glory as of mournful disaster.

S. A. ASHE.

RALEIGH, N. C.,
3 July, 1901.

DEFENCE OF FORT WAGNER.

MORRIS ISLAND, 8 JULY, 1863.

By E. K. BRYAN, Adjutant, and E. H. MEADOWS, Sergeant Co. K. Thirty-First N. C. Regiment.

The following sketch has been prepared largely from report of Major Robert C Gilchrist, together with the personal recollection of the writers, who were participants.

BATTERY WAGNER, S. C.

Skirting along ship channel, the main entrance into Charleston harbor, and commanding the only approach for large vessels to the city, is Morris Island, forever prominent in the history of the United States for being the site of the battery that fired the first shot in the war between the States; still later for giving to the world its first lesson in iron-clad armor, and more than all, for being the theatre of a defence of an earthwork more stubborn and grave, of a siege as memorable and bombardments the most formidable in the annals of war.

This island is three and three-fourth miles long, and varies in width from twenty-five to one thousand yards.

At its northern extremity it is flat, and with the exception of a low line of sand hills is only two feet above high tide.

At the northern extremity (Cumming's Point) was situated Battery Gregg. The marsh on the west, at a point about three-fourths of a mile from Gregg encroached upon the sea face of the island leaving a narrow strip of 250 yards. At this point was located the famed Fort Wagner. The island is composed of quartz sand, which has no cohesion and weighs when dry 86 pounds per cubic foot. To its power in resisting the penetration of shot and when displaced of falling back again to the very spot it had occupied, is due the comparative invulnerability of the works erected on the island, advantageous alike to its defenders and assailants. It is distant from

Fort Sumpter 2,780 yards. Wagner was an enclosed earthwork measuring within the interior slope from east to west six hundred and thirty (630) feet, and from north to south in extreme width two hundred and seventy-five (275) feet. The sea face measuring along the interior crest two hundred and ten (210) feet, contained a bomb-proof magazine, twenty by twenty feet, forming a heavy traverse to protect the three guns north of it from the land fire. Behind the sea face was the bomb-proof, thirty by one hundred and thirty, within which could not be accommodated more than 900 men, standing elbow to elbow and face to back (not 1,500 to 1,600 men, as General Gilmore said), and this capacity was further reduced by cutting off more than one-third for hospital purpose.

The Confederate force which had been doing such arduous service, were now relieved by the Fifty-first North Carolina Regiment, 687 men under Colonel H. McKethan; detachments from Captains Buckner's and Dixon's companies of the Georgia artillery; Captains Tatem's and Adams' companies of First South Carolina artillery; one section of howitzers, DeSaussure Artillery Captain DePass; one section Blake Artillery, Lieutenant Waties; Charleston Battalion, Lieutenant-Colonel P C. Gaillard, and Thirty-first Regiment North Carolina Troops; Brigadier-General William Taliaferro in command of the whole.

ASSAULT OF 18 JULY, 1863.

About daylight on 18 July, the Federal mortars commenced their practice which they kept up at intervals until noon. The new *Ironsides,* the monitors *Montauk Catskill Nantucket, Weehawken* and *Patapsco*, the gunboats *Paul Jones, Ottawa, Seneca, Chippewa* and *Wissahickon* steamed in and took position abreast of Wagner. At 12 o'clock M. all the land and naval batteries opened a *"feu d' enfer"* upon the devoted work. For eight long hours it was as a continued reverberation of thunder, peal followed peal in rapid succession. Nine thousand shells were hurled against Wagner —twenty each minute. It ceased only when darkness came on, as its further continuance would have involved the

slaughter of the assaulting column of the enemy, now massing in column in front of the fort. It now became evident that the assault would be made at dark, so all the guns were loaded with double charges of grape and canister, trained so as to sweep the beach about 500 to 600 yards in front. Thus the guns on the fort being prepared for the attack which was soon to come, paid no attention to the fleet, preferring to save their ammunition and their range for the more deadly conflict soon to be enacted. Battery Gregg and Fort Sumpter were made ready to fire over Wagner on the advancing column, and the batteries on James Island to enfilade its face. General Hagood was ordered to be in readiness to support or relieve General Taliaferro and proceeded to reinforce the garrison with the Thirty-second Georgia Regiment, Colonel Harrison.

On the part of the Federals Brigadier-General Strong's Brigade was to lead the assault. It was composed of the Fifty-fourth Massachusetts Regiment, Colonel Shaw; the Sixth Connecticut Regiment, Colonel J. L. Chatfield; a battalion of the Seventh Connecticut Regiment, Colonel Barton; the Third New Hampshire; the Forty-eighth New York Regiment, Colonel Jackson; the Ninth Maine Regiment, Colonel Emery; and the Seventy-sixth Pennsylvania Regiment, Colonel Strawbridge, and was to be supported by Colonel Putnan's Brigade, composing his own Regiment (the Seventh New Hampshire), Lieutenant-Colonel Abbott; the One Hundredth New York Regiment, Colonel Dandy; the Sixty-second Ohio Regiment, Colonel Pond; and the Sixty-seventh Ohio Regiment, Colonel Voris. Brigadier-General T. Seymour was to command the assaulting column and to arrange the details for attack.

Some time before sunset these regiments were formed on the beach in rear of their batteries, in columns of eight companies, closed at half distance. The Sixth Connecticut Regiment was to lead and attack the southeast salient angle of Wagner. The Forty-eighth New York was to pass along the sea front and facing inward, to attack there; the other regiments of the brigade to charge the south front, extending inward toward the marshes, on the left; the Fifty-fourth Massa-

chusetts (colored), 1,000 strong, was in advance of all and to be the "*enfans perdus.*" They formed in two lines ahead of the brigade. Their commander was Colonel Robert G. Shaw. He was slender and under the medium height, with light hair, a beardless face, and looked like a boy of 17 years, when seen at daylight the morning after the assault, cold and stiff in death on the very top of our breastworks and at the muzzle of our best Columbiad with three mortal wounds, either of which must have been a death wound, a bullet wound through the forehead, another through the lower body, and a bayonet thrust in his chest. His Adjutant lay dead only three feet to his right, and his Sergeant Major about the same distance to his left. Had the supporting column of 6,000 came to the relief Wagner would have undoubtedly fallen that night, but the dreadful slaughter of the assaulting column, their cries of agony and death so paralyzed them that they broke in great disorder and fled to the rear. Colonel Shaw with his colored troops, led the attack. They came forward at a "double-quick" with great energy and resolution; but on approaching the ditch they broke, the greater part following their intrepid Colonel, bounded over the ditch, mounted the parapet and planted their flag in the most gallant manner upon the ramparts, where Shaw was shot and bayonetted to death; while the rest seized with a furious panic acted like wild beasts let loose from a menagerie. They came down first on the Ninth Maine, and then on the Seventy-sixth Pennsylvania, and broke them both in two. Portions of the Ninth and Seventy-sixth mingled with the fugitives of the Fifty-fourth (colored), and could not be brought to the front. The Sixth Connecticut (Colonel Chatfield) succeeded in passing through the deadly fire, and made a furious charge on the southeast angle and took it and held it for three hours, no support having dared to follow across the fatal stretch before the fort. To retreat was worse than to advance.

During the three hours that this portion of the works was held by Colonel Chatfield (it was on top of the bomb-proof about thirty feet above the heads of the defenders) several of our men were shot in the back, while standng ready to defend the fort from any other advance; when this became known,

as it did in a few moments, General Taliaferro, in command of the fort, called to a Federal soldier on the bomb-proof and told him to say to his commanding officer that he wished to speak to him. In a moment an officer came to the edge of the bomb-proof, inquired what was wanted of him. General Taliaferro said to him in substance: "Your men have fired into the backs of my men from your position on the bomb-proof, and have wounded several. Now what I wish to say is this: 'If another shot is fired into my men, I will put to death every officer and man I find up there. You are my prisoners. If you do not consider that you are, you have my permission to make your escape, and not one man will be able to reach his lines.'" This quieted matters, and in a short time the Thirty-first Georgia Regiment and two companies of the Charleston Battalion deployed along the western face, when the Sixth Connecticut surrendered.

The assault was bravely made, but was doomed to failure from the onset. The demoralization of the negro troops at the supreme moment threw the ranks of the Federals into disorder. The converging fire of the artillery and infantry on the narrow approach prevented a rally. Few could move within that fatal area and live. The situation of the works forbade any feint or diversion, so that the garrison could concentrate their attention on one point alone. Besides the increasing darkness rendered more dense by the smoke of conflict, added to the confusion of the assailants, and helped the assailed, and thus the fortunes of war once more smiled on Fort Wagner, giving to the Confederates a complete victory and to the Federals an overwhelming defeat.

Language has not the power to describe the horrors of the night of the assault. The shattered column of the enemy was driven back to the shelter of the sand hills. Four thousand men had been dashed against Fort Wagner; when reformed within the Federal lines only 600 answered to their names. Brigadier-General Strong was mortally wounded and Colonels Chatfield, Putman and Shaw were left dead within our lines. A desultory fire of small arms with an occasional discharge of grape and canister was kept up for a time at an unseen foe from the ramparts of Wagner. Soon silence and

stillness reigned supreme, broken only by the moans of the wounded and dying. At last the long night was ended and the sun of a peaceful Sabbath rose revealing the sickening scene. "Blood, mud, water, brains and human hair matted together; men lying in every possible attitude, with every conceivable expression on their countenances; their limbs bent into unnatural shapes by the fall of twenty or more feet, the fingers rigid and outstretched as if they had clutched at the earth to save themselves; pale, beseeching faces looking out from among the ghastly corpses, with moans and cries for help and water and dying gasps and death struggles. In the salient and on the ramparts they lay heaped and pent up, in some places, three deep.

All of Sunday was employed in burying the dead. Eight hundred were buried by the Confederates in front of Wagner. The wounded and dead more remote from Wagner were cared for by their friends. We took prisoners, including wounded and not wounded, about six hundred.

For fifty-eight days Wagner and Gregg with a force never exceeding sixteen hundred men, had withstood a thoroughly equipped army of eleven thousand five hundred men, the *Ironsides,* eight monitors and five gunboats. For every pound of sand used in the construction or repair of Fort Wagner, its assailants had exploded two pounds of iron in the vain attempt to batter it down. At the end of the bombardment, as at the commencement, Wagner stood sullen, strong and defiant as ever.

Federal history calls the capture of Battery Wagner a great victory. Victory? Seven hundred and forty men driven out of sand hills by eleven thousand five hundred. Two months in advancing half a mile towards Charleston, they made their boast that Sumpter was demolished over Wagner. This only teaches the world that sand batteries are more impregnable than the most solid masonry, especially when men are behind them who know how to fight in them by day and repair them by night.

To-day that famed fort is leveled, its bomb-proof, parapets and traverses are blotted out; not by the iron hail of hostile batteries, but by the wind of heaven and the tides of ocean.

What the wrath of man could not accomplish, the "still small voice" of the Almighty has done.

Ere long the sea with its white capped waves will sweep athwart the page of our country's history, which has been written in blood; even the site of Fort Wagner will be gone. Not so its name and fame. Sooner will Thermopylæ, Marathon, Salamis, Sebastopol and the other places where in the past men have dared, endured and died, be lost to memory, than will be forgotten the heroic patience and devoted courage of the soldiers who manned the defences of Morris Island.

In consequence of the great importance of a proper defence of Wagner, the command devolved on some officer of high rank, as for instance during this siege by General W B. Taliaferro and Colonel Graham, General Johnson Hagood, General A. H. Colquitt, General T. L. Clingman (of our brigade), Colonel Geo. P Harrison and L. M. Keitt succeeded each other in command, serving generally about five days each.

The Confederate forces engaged in repelling this famous assault on 18 July, 1863, was as follows: The Fifty-first North Carolina Regiment; detachment of Captains Buckner's and Dixon's companies of Sixty-third Georgia Artillery; Captains Tatum's and Adams companies First South Carolina Infantry (as artillery); section of howitzers of DeSaussure Artillery, Captain DePass; section of howitzers Blake's Artillery, Lieutenant Waties; Charleston Battalion, Lieutenant-Colonel P C. Gaillard, and Thirty-first North Carolina Regiment, General W B. Taliaferro in command—about fifteen hundred men all told.

E. K. BRYAN,
E. H. MEADOWS.

NEW BERN, N. C.,
18 July, 1901.

CHICAMAUGA.

18-20 SEPTEMBER, 1863.

By CAPTAIN C. A. CILLEY, A. A. G., Van Derveer's Brigade.

Governor Carr, in order that the valor and devotion of the five regiments from this State which fought at Chicamauga, hitherto unnoticed and uncelebrated, should not be forgotten, took advantage of the Act of Congress, and during the past summer (1893) appointed Commissioners to proceed to the field, locate the position of the Sixty-fifth North Carolina (Sixth Cavalry), Twenty-ninth, Thirty-ninth, Fifty-eighth and Sixtieth North Carolina Infantry, and secure the permanent designation of the same upon the maps and upon the ground.

Five, of the seven gentlemen appointed by him, on the evening of 25 October, 1893, met upon the battle field, and duly organized the Commission by electing Captain Isaac H. Bailey, the senior Confederate officer, chairman, and Clinton A. Cilley, secretary and historian. The other members present were Lieutenants D. F Baird and Wm. S. Davis, of Watauga County, and J G. Hall, of Hickory

Before going to the field, the reports of every Confederate officer who had commanded North Carolina troops there, from Captain to General, were read, compared and carefully collated. Maps, furnished by the War Department were laboriously examined, compared with the reports, and the results thus obtained again gone over in the light of the reports of the Federal Commanders. Letters received from survivors were also filed with the reports, and a history, as accurate as the times and material at our command would allow,

* It may appear singular that this account of North Carolina troops should be written by a Federal officer, but he was in the battle on the other side and as it happened just opposite North Carolina regiments. Being well informed as to the location he was appointed by Governor Carr Chairman of the Commission to visit the field and locate the position of the troops from this State. This sketch is an extract from the report of the Commissioners. After the war he located in this State and was one of its best citizens —Ed.

was written out, of each regiment in action, giving its halting places, line of march, places where engaged, and where finally located at the end of the battle.

This preparation showed four phases of the battle of Chickamauga especially worth our attention, not only as attended with the most important results to both armies, but as showing most conspicuously the gallant conduct of the soldiery of North Carolina. We may perhaps be pardoned for saying that, since this great struggle has of late been given its true place in the history of the war, as the most critical of any in the West, and will surely take its position in the history of the world as one of the few decisive battles of the century, it becomes more and more necessary to put in enduring form the record of North Carolina's achievements there, thus grown to be of even more than national importance. We noted down and each of these subjects was fully and patiently discussed between the National Commission and ourselves the night before we went over the ground.

1. The attempt of General Bragg to turn the Federal left, and thus secure control of the contested State road leading from LaFayette to Chattanooga. The attack was opened by Forrest's horsemen. Davidson's Brigade, in which was the Sixty-fifth North Carolina (Sixth Cavalry) took part in the movement, and we had already secured evidence of the Sixth's honorable position on the right of the line. Some Ex-Confederates, who had served under Forrest here, and who visited the field a few days before our arrival, had so located the positions as to corroborate in every way our views.

Forrest was soon reinforced by Ector's infantry brigade, containing the Twenty-ninth North Carolina, who formed, advanced and fought over substantially the same ground as the cavalry.

As neither the reports of the brigade or regimental commanders of either the cavalry or infantry detachments have been found or printed, we had to rely upon other evidence as to the locations. General H. V Boynton, of the United States Commission, had commanded a regiment, and one of our Commission had been a staff officer, in the brigade which successively met the assaults of Forrest, and Ector, so that

their recollection, aided by information collected before leaving home, enabled us to fix the position of the Sixth and Twenty-ninth, accurately, and to the satisfaction of all present.

2. The famous break through the Federal centre about noon on Sunday. Here it was, according to the report of Colonel David Coleman, Thirty-ninth North Carolina, who towards the close of the day took command of his brigade in consequence of General McNair having been disabled, that the brigade, under Coleman's command, charged across an open field in face of the heavy fire, and captured nine cannons which had been playing upon it from the eminence. Colonel Coleman, with the modesty of the soldier, contents himself with the simple statement, and says no more.

The commander of another brigade also claims the honor of the capture, fortifying his statement by certificates from various subordinates. The division commander refers to both reports, but does not decide between them. He intimates, however, that out of the abundance of captured cannons, both brigades may have taken the number claimed.

This made it necessary for us to collect all available evidence, and subject it to the United States Commissioners the night before our actual inspection of the ground. Reports, maps and other printed matter were thoroughly examined and discussed, and we were assured that should the morning survey confirm the conclusion arrived at, we could regard our contention as successful.

The next day, after establishing the point where the guns were massed, we walked up the long slope of Dyer's field, over which ten or twelve divisions had fought, and a second comparison of all the evidence available, made on the very spot of the conflict, so plainly showed the justice of Colonel Coleman's claim, that we were directed to drive down a stake marked with the regiment's name, the date and fact of the exploit, at the location contended for.

3. The attack by Breckinridge on the Federal left, Sunday afternoon, and the desperate fighting for the State road in Kelley's field. We had no member of the Sixtieth North Carolina with us, their regiment having participated in the bat-

tle here as a member of Stovall's brigade, but as two of our party on the field were engaged with the brigade which received the charge of the Confederates, and had special cause for remembering every incident of the struggle there, we had no difficulty in establishing the location. Again reports and maps were brought out, one paced off the distance, another read the statement of brigade and regimental commanders, General Stewart consulted the maps and announced the decision. The result was that an oaken tablet, suitably inscribed, was put up on the side of the road, marking it as the spot where the Sixtieth North Carolina Infantry, at noon 20 September, *reached the farthest point attained by the Confederate State Troops in that famous charge.*

4. It remained now only to trace the route of the Fifty-eighth Infantry from where it crossed the river, to the scene of its magnificent achievement on Snodgrass Hill. Three of our Commissioners were survivors of that regiment, and under their guidance, consulting as ever the reports and maps, we had no trouble in following its path from its first service, supporting batteries, across the field just traversed by the Thirty-ninth, to the place where, about the middle of the afternoon, this command, never before under fire, plunged into the bloodiest struggle of the battle, and one of the deadliest conflicts of the war. Here it was at the base and up to the crest of a wooded hill, that Longstreet hurled six divisions in an attempt to drive Thomas to retreat. The slopes up which it toiled, the ravines through which it fought its way, were again trodden by some of its old officers, and after the fullest discussion, careful examination of printed and verbal testimony, inspection and measurement of the ground, *the point where the topmost wave of the tide of Southern battle broke nearer than any other* to the unbroken lines of Thomas' defence, was agreed by us all to have been reached by the Fifty-eighth North Carolina Infantry. During its three hours fighting here, the command lost one-half of its men killed and wounded. This point designated by the tablet which we put up, was not a stone's throw from the place selected by the Second Minnesota (Federal) Regiment, (whose loss was precisely the same), for its monument.

We may be pardoned for saying that such an interview has seldom taken place upon the battlefield as we witnessed. There were six veterans, some from each contending army, who had borne, among them, every commission from Second Lieutenant up to Lieutenant-General, who thirty years ago had met almost face to face in the conflicts intent only on designating without error, the exact position of their ancient commands.

Having made this location, our task was over. We beg leave to express the hope, however, that men who so highly distinguished themselves as the troops of this State did in Kelley's and Dyer's fields, and on Snodgrass Hill, should receive from North Carolina statelier monuments and more enduring memorials than simple tablets of oak or iron.

This battle field is now visited almost daily. It will surely become the point to which students and travellers will turn by thousands every year, and when it is seen that the Southern State, which sent the bravest soldiers to the field, has neglected them, it will read ill for this Commonwealth.

No official location being as yet allowed upon Missionary Ridge, we did not attempt to make any there.

While at Chattanooga we were visited by Mr. J. P. Smartt and Mr. E. S. Pinion, the former a soldier in Cheatham's Division, who knew the position of the cavalry brigade and Ector's Infantry, the latter a soldier of the Twenty-ninth North Carolina from Jackson County.

Their recollection perfectly coincided with the results we had reached as to the location of these troops.

CLINTON A. CILLEY.
Chairman.

LENOIR, N. C.,
3 November, 1893.

NOTE —The North Carolina regiments at Chicamauga were brigaded as follows:

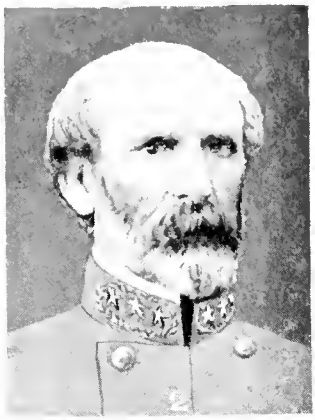
Twenty-ninth—in Ector's Brigade, Walker's Division.

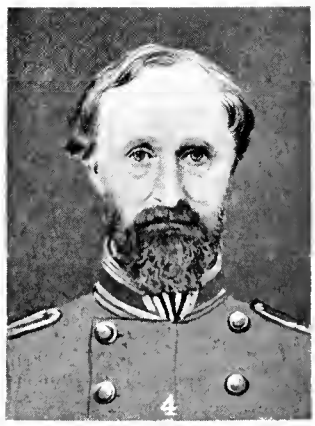
Thirty-ninth—in McNair's Brigade, Johnson's Division, Buckner's Corps.

Fifty-eighth—in Kelly's Brigade, Preston's Division, Buckner's Corps.

Sixtieth—in Stovall's Brigade, Breckinridge's Division, D. H. Hill's Corps.

Sixty-fifth (*Sixth Cavalry*)—in Davidson's Brigade, Pegram's Division, Forrest's Corps.—ED





BATTLE OF PLYMOUTH.

1. R. F. Hoke, Major-General.
2. M. W. Ransom, Brigadier-General.
3. W. G. Lewis, Lieut.-Colonel, Commanding Hoke's Brigade.
4. J. W. Cooke, Commanding the "Albemarle."
5. John W. Grabam, Major, 56th N. C. T., Historian of the Battle.

THE CAPTURE OF PLYMOUTH

20 APRIL, 1864.

By MAJOR JOHN W GRAHAM, Fifty-Sixth Regiment N. C. T.

The Confederate forces on this expedition under command of Brigadier-General R. F Hoke, were Kemper's (Va.) Brigade, under Colonel Terry; Hoke's Brigade composed of the Twenty-first Georgia, Sixth, Twenty-first and Forty-third North Carolina Regiments under Colonel Mercer, of the Twenty-first Georgia, the Senior Colonel; and Ransom's Brigade under Brigadier-General M. W Ransom, composed of the Twenty-fourth, Twenty-fifth, Fifty-sixth, Eighth and Thirty-fifth North Carolina Regiments.

The Eighth, which belonged to Clingman's Brigade, had been temporarily substituted for the Forty-ninth, left on picket duty on the Chowan river. There were also a part of a regiment of cavalry under Colonel Dearing, and several batteries of artillery, under Lieutenant-Colonel Branch and Major Reid, all from Virginia, except a section of Captain Miller's (Co. E, 10th N C Regiment) Capt. Lee's Montgomery Blues, of Alabama, and Bradford's (Miss.).

The Federal forces under command of Brigadier-General H. W Wessels, consisted of the Eighty-fifth New York, Sixteenth Connecticut, One Hundred and First and One Hundred and Third Pennsylvania, two companies of Second Massachusetts Heavy Artillery, Twenty-fourth New York Independent Battery of Light Artillery (six guns), two companies (A and F) of the Twelfth New York Cavalry, besides two companies recruited in North Carolina, aided by the gunboats *Miami, Southfield, Whitehead* and *Ceres.*

The ram *Albemarle,* which had been partially completed at Edwards' Ferry on the Roanoke river, was expected to go down and join in the attack, and especially to encounter the four gunboats above named, commanded by Captain Flusser, a Kentuckian, said to be an officer of rare intrepidity and

merit. In order to give a better understanding of the natural strength of Plymouth and its surroundings, I will state that there are two creeks emptying into the Roanoke above the town of Plymouth, the land between them being called Warren's Neck, on which was erected a fort of three guns—one 100-pounder, and two 32-pound Parrotts. Immediately west of the town and outside of the fortifications was a marsh extending around to the southwest corner, and crossed only at one point by a causeway on the Boyle's Mill road. The fortifications were somewhat in the shape of a parallelogram, the longest side parallel to the river, Fort Williams with six guns about the center of the line, and projecting forward to the south.

On the lower side of Plymouth Conaby creek flows into the Roanoke, but a mile or more to the east of the town.

Where the Columbia road enters on this side, the breastworks were not continuous, but the road was commanded on the left as you enter, near the town boundary by redoubts with two guns each at James Bateman's and Charles Latham's, and to the right was Fort Comfort with three guns, and between that and the river was a swamp, the passage through which was very difficult, and these together were considered a sufficient defence for that side. Two roads entered the town from the south, the Lee's Mill road a little to the east of Fort Williams, and the Washington and Jamesville road near the southwest corner. To more effectually command this last road, and a road which branched off to the left, the Eighty-fifth redoubt, with three guns, called Fort Wessels (or Fort Sanderson) had been erected to the left of the Washington road, about half a mile from the line of breastworks, and beyond the ravine which goes into the swamp heretofore described. Inside of the fortifications a marsh commences near the corner of Monroe and Water streets, and extends out beyond the fortifications. Between this marsh inside the town and the Roanoke river, on a mound or hill now called Fort Worth, was an intrenched camp, where the line of breastworks came to the river, and sweeping over it had been placed a 200-pound gun, intended expressly for the ram *Albemarle*.

Between Second and Third streets, where they reached the

line of breastworks at the west, and across another ravine extending out into the swamp, had been erected an intrenched camp with redoubt, and also another redoubt was at the southwest corner of the intrenchments near the Toodles house.

As the Federal forces had occupied Plymouth for more than twelve months, every effort had been made to render the place secure from attack, the different forts and other redoubts along the line of breastworks being protected by moats, palisades, *chevaux de frise*, and made as strong to resist bombardment or assault as engineering skill could devise. The Confederate forces had been collected rapidly at Tarboro, from which the expedition started on 15 April, 1864, and arrived within five miles of Plymouth by 4 p. m., on Sunday, the 17th, capturing the pickets and routing a company of cavalry.

The First Virginia Regiment, under Major Norton, was thrown forward as skirmishers, and Kemper's Brigade, with Dearing's cavalry and two batteries of artillery under Major Reid turned off on a road to the left leading to Warren's Neck, to threaten the town from that direction; and Generals Hoke and Ransom, with their brigades, not following the direct road from Jamesville, as the bridge across the creek had been destroyed, turned to the right and crossing the troops on a mill dam, made a circuit around into the Washington road, a mile below its junction with the Jamesville road. Sending on a company of cavalry, two Yankees were killed of the picket at this post (Red Top), two only escaping.

Soon we hear the "long-roll" of the enemy, and our line is formed to receive a shelling.

General Hoke's Brigade is some distance in advance and on both sides of this road, and Ransom's further to the right and along a road which goes perpendicular to the line of breastworks on the south of the town.

Skirmishers are sent forward by both sides, the enemy also opening briskly with his artillery. Night soon comes on, and all is quiet on this part of the line except an occasional interchange of shots between the skirmishers.

It is understood that the women and children in the town

were sent off to Roanoke Island Sunday night. During the night and next morning Hoke's Brigade is moved entirely to the left of the Washington road and all his skirmishers in front of Ransom's Brigade are relieved by the Twenty-fifth and companies from the other regiments. A detail of 250 men has been engaged during the night, under Colonel Faison, in building works near the Washington road from which our artillery can play upon Fort Sanderson (or Wessels). These are so far finished next morning that one company at a time is left to complete the work, and three guns were placed in position.

The enemy can now see what has been done, and open upon them. The fire is returned, but slowly at first, Company H, of the Fifty-sixth Regiment, still continuing the work for other guns, and some of them being wounded by a shell.

After a while our pieces began in earnest and nearly silenced Fort Sanderson, though receiving a hot fire from Fort Williams. The day is passed in shelling by our artillery at different points, our cavalry being around on the Columbia road to watch any movements in that direction.

In the afternoon Dearing and Reid, with field artillery, had opened a brisk fire on Fort Warren on the river above the town at 1,500 yards, with marked effect, soon cutting down the garrison flag staff.

The gun boats steamed up to the assistance of the fort, but one was so seriously disabled that she sank on her return down the river. Late in the afternoon we learn that General Hoke, with his brigade, will assault Fort Sanderson, while Ransom's Brigade with fourteen pieces of artillery under Lieutenant-Colonel Branch, will make a demonstration on the enemy's left center (that part of the works on the long side of the parallelogram, on the enemy's left east of Fort Williams.) About 5 p. m., Ransom's Brigade moves to the right through some woods, and at the open space in front skirmishers are thrown forward from the different regiments to relieve the Twenty-fifth, which now assembles to the left, and connects with Hoke's right, distant about three-fourths of a mile from Ransom's left.

Four companies of the Fifty-sixth on its right, B, I, E and

A (Captains Roberts, Harrill, Lockhart and Hughes), go forward as skirmishers, and the brigade (Ransom's) now moves by the right flank and at the edge of the woods forms line of battle in the following order: the Twenty-fourth on the right, next the Eighth, Fifty-sixth and Thirty-fifth.

The line is now in full view of the enemy, as for a mile out from the fortifications everything had been cleared up, and targets planted to indicate distance, upon which frequent practice had been made.

The skirmishers, under Captain Jno. C Pegram and Lieutenant Applewhite, of the brigade staff, rush forward, those of the enemy giving way after a slight resistance. Our artillery, consisting of Pegram's, Bradford's, Miller's and other batteries, gallop to the front and quickly unlimber. It is now that we learn that our demonstration is to march behind these batteries, and receive the fire of the enemy from more than twenty pieces of artillery, besides two gun boats, throwing every grade of shell from the 200-pound gun to the 12-pound Napoleon.

Steadily our line advances, lying down at every halt, the iron bolts falling thickly in front and rear, and sometimes in the line itself. Our skirmishers have run those of the enemy over their breastworks, and are now lying down to avoid as far as possible the heavy shower of grape with which they are greeted. The demonstration is kept up from 6 until nearly 10 p. m., our guns having fired rapidly and the caissons several times bringing up new supplies of ammunition, and our line has advanced three-fourths of a mile and within 800 yards of Fort Williams, the infantry being ordered to reserve their fire.

A correspondent of the Richmond *Examiner* signed "R." on 24 April, 1864, says: "The action commenced about sunset, the night being perfectly clear with a full moon, every object was visible. The sight was magnificent—the screaming, hissing shells meeting and passing each other through the sulphurous air, appeared like blazing comets with their burning fuses, and would burst with frightful noise, scattering their fragments as thick as hail." To show how deadly were some of these missiles, I quote from the sketch of the

Eighth Regiment by Prof. Ludwig. Vol. 1 of this work, page 399: "The gunboats in the river also took part in shelling our batteries and line. One shell from a gunboat came over the town, struck the ground about one hundred and fifty yards in front of the Eighth, ricocheted, and the next time struck the ground in the line of the regiment and exploded, killing and wounding fifteen men of Company H. Three of the men were killed outright, two were mortally wounded, and of the others some were severely and some slightly wounded."

Lieutenant C. R. Wilson, of Company D, and fourteen men of the Fifty-sixth Regiment, were wounded, several seriously, but none mortally. In the Twenty-fourth Lieutenant Wilkins was killed and five men wounded. I do not know the casualties in the Thirty-fifth and Twenty-fifth.

At 12 o'clock Ransom's Brigade is moved back, leaving a line of skirmishers.

While this demonstration was going on, Hoke's Brigade had gallantly charged Fort Sanderson from Welch's creek swamp, and supported by artillery, a fierce fight had raged, the enemy opposing a spirited resistance. Our infantry again and again charged the fort, the enemy hurling at them hand grenades, while the strong stockade, deep ditch and high parapet prevented our men from scaling it. During one of these charges, the intrepid Colonel Mercer, commanding Hoke's Brigade, fell mortally wounded at the head of his command. Also Captain Macon, of the Forty-third North Carolina, was killed and twenty or more of the brigade. Finally the infantry having entirely surrounded the fort, the artillery was advanced to within 200 yards, when a surrender was made. Captain Chapin, of the Eighty-fifth New York, commanding this fort, was also killed. This was deemed an important position, where the artillery could be concentrated and an assault made on the town, if the gunboats could be driven off by our iron-clad *Albemarle*.

A contemporary letter to the Raleigh *Confederate* makes this statement as to the cause of the delay in her arrival: "It was intended that she should go down, engage the enemy's gunboats and pass below on Sunday night. With that pur-

pose she left Hamilton on Sunday at 3 o'clock, and took on her deck enough iron to tack on imperfectly on the way down. Twenty sailors overtook her on the *Cora* below Hamilton, increasing her crew to fifty; but her machinery became damaged on the way—her rudder head twisted off. This delayed her twelve hours, and she only reached Gray's Landing at 8 p. m. on Monday The Yankee steamer *Whitehead* was at the mouth of the thoroughfare when the *Albemarle* passed, and immediately steamed into the Cashie and to Plymouth, and reported her coming.

Cooke's passage was slow, to avoid obstructions and torpedoes. Having passed them safely, he steamed past Plymouth and without answering the shots from the forts, made for the *Miami* (Flusser's), and the *Southfield* (French's) Yankee boats. They had been chained together that they might get Cook between and press him back upon a river flat. He avoided the trap and ran into the *Southfield,* his prow was so sharp and his momentum so great that he ran ten or twelve feet into her, sinking her instantly. The whole weight of the sinking boat rested on his bow, depressing it so that water poured into the forward ports. The *Southfield* had delivered her broadside of eight guns, making not the least impression, as this was on the bow which had been finished. The current swept his stern around and disengaged him from the wreck. Meantime Flusser seeing his companion wrecked, loosed the chains and steamed to Cooke's stern, gave him a broadside of six 100-pound rifle guns at a few feet distance, upon the iron that had been imperfectly bolted, and damaged this iron in three places." An account in the Richmond *Examiner,* writtten on 24 April, 1864, says: "The *Miami* fled, but not until she was seriously punished, her commander (Flusser) and many of her crew being killed. Eighty of the *Southfield's* crew were said to have been killed."

Commander James W Cooke was an accomplished officer, who had entered the United States Navy from North Carolina in 1828.

The noise of the guns between 2 and 3 a. m. on Tuesday morning had informed us of Cooke's arrival, and we were glad to hear of his success in relieving us from further an-

noyance from the gunboats. This morning General Ransom is ordered to take the Twenty-fourth and Fifty-sixth Regiments to the right of the Lee's Mill road, and make a demonstration against the enemy's works from that quarter. The other three regiments of his brigade, with Branch's artillery, are held by General Hoke to support an attack, if after thorough reconnoissance, he shall determine to make an assault with Hoke's and Kemper's Brigades from the direction of Fort Sanderson, captured the night before. Heavy firing between the artillery is kept up with an occasional shot from the ram *Albemarle* now below the town, and also the guns from Fort Sanderson are turned against the enemy, and the skirmishers are pushed close to the works at various points.

After this reconnoissance, General Hoke determined not to make this attack, and the three regiments and Branch's artillery are sent to rejoin General Ransom; and the Virginia brigade, except a small portion left near Warren's Neck, is brought around to the south of the town. This brigade had by its sharpshooters, prevented the enemy from working the guns at the fort up the river, either upon the ram *Albemarle* or upon our forces to the left of the town. Ransom's Brigade is ordered in the afternoon to cross Conaby creek to the east, and make a detour of four or five miles around to the Columbia road. Colonel Dearing, with some cavalry and artillery, comes up, and is allowed to pass the brigade in the road. That intuitive perception, with which the private soldiers could often foretell the intent with which a move is made, now comes into play, and through the brigade the feeling becomes universal that it has been determined to make the final assault from the east side of the town, and that Ransom's Brigade would be required to perform this duty. Laughing and joking almost cease, and a grim determination to do all that could be expected seems to pervade the ranks. Although marching at will, there is no straggling, and the companies close up and each soldier is glad to feel the touch of a comrade's elbow. A screen of woods hides the movement from the enemy About sunset the column strikes the Columbia road and now turns west towards Plymouth.

After dark we reach Conaby creek, about a mile or more from the town, and the skirmishers thrown forward find the enemy in strong position on the opposite side, and the bridge destroyed. Three pieces of artillery under Captain Blount are advanced to within 300 yards, and the enemy soon dislodged. Our sharpshooters again advance and the enemy reappear. Some gallant member of the Twenty-fourth plunges into the creek, swims across and brings back a skiff and a party soon crosses in it. The pontoons which are in charge of Lieutenant-Colonel S. D. Pool, of the Tenth, are hurried to the front, placed in the creek, and three or four companies pass over and are deployed as skirmishers and drive the enemy back.

The pontoons are then swung around, and a bridge rapidly constructed on which the infantry pass over, and are formed into line about a mile from the enemy's forts on the (Columbia) road, the right flank resting on the Roanoke and the left extending beyond the road in the following order: Fifty-sixth, Colonel Faison, on the extreme right; then the Twenty-fifth, Colonel Rutledge; Eighth, Colonel Murchison; Thirty-fifth, Colonel Jones, and then the Twenty-fourth, Colonel Clarke, successively to the left. It is now near midnight, as we had thrown up a slight breastwork, and the men lie down to sleep on the bare ground, covered with their blankets in groups of two or three for warmth, as the air is sharp and piercing, so as to get some rest for the morrow and the terrible work ahead. The enemy keep up a shelling through the night, but without much effect. Our gunboat, *Albemarle,* now on the right of our line, exchanges shots with the 200-pound gun at the upper end of the town. The night was perfectly calm and cloudless, with a full moon lending beauty to the scene and the skirmishing is at times sharp and terrific, but the enemy are kept off at some distance from our line. Just as the moon is going down (and day breaking) the troops are aroused and the line of battle formed, and the signal rocket gives notice to General Hoke, who is with his Brigade near Boyle's Mill, on the west side of the town, that Ransom is ready to advance. The skirmishers under the gallant Captain Cicero Durham, the fighting quartermaster

of the Forty-ninth, now on Ransom's staff, drove those of the enemy before them. The infantry now move forward, and the artillery, consisting of Blount's, Pegram's, Marshall's and Lee's batteries, under Colonel Branch, dash forward on the left at a full gallop and open upon the town and the forts ahead on both sides of the Columbia road.

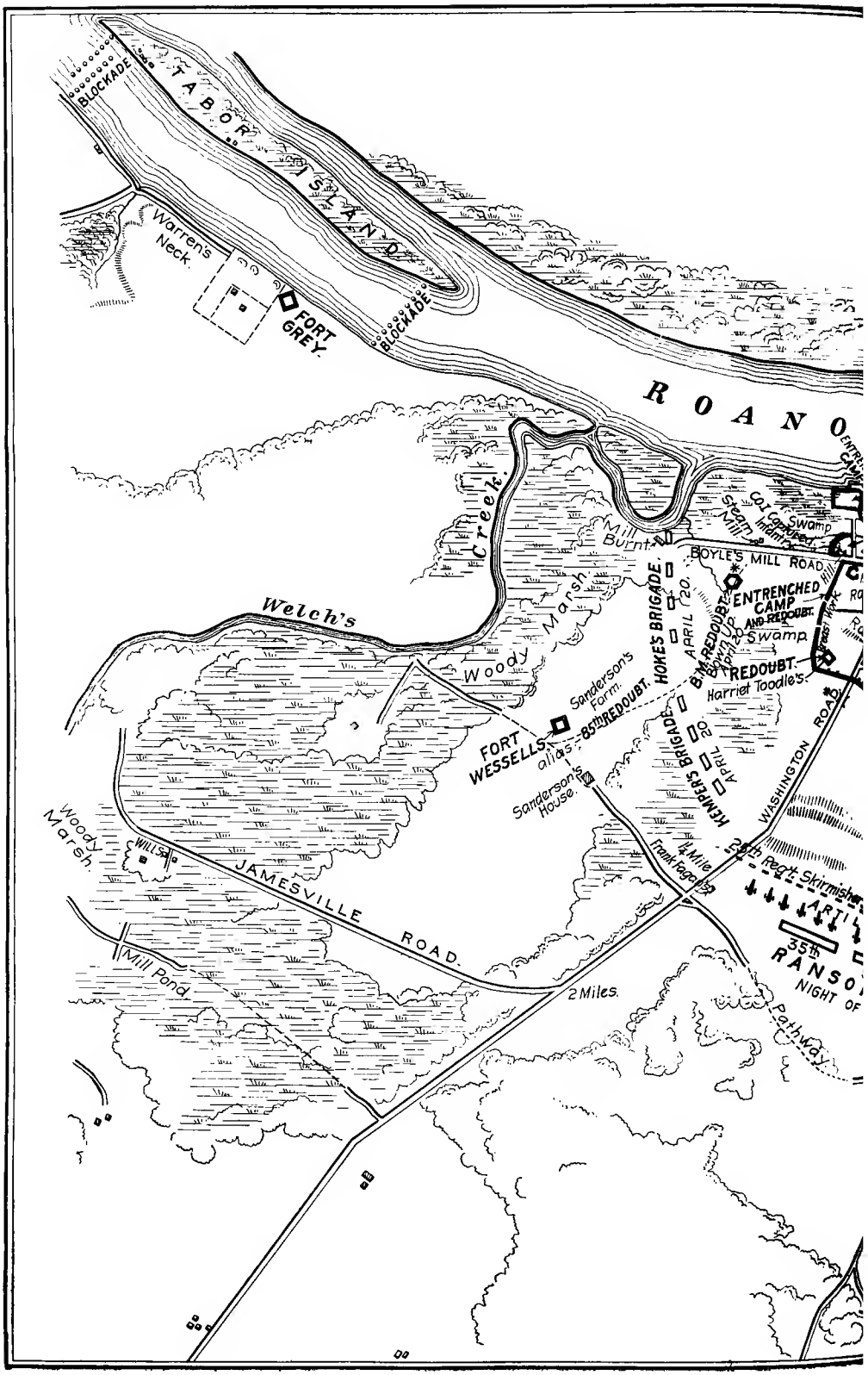
The enemy has brought to bear both siege and field guns, and concentrated a terrible fire in the face of our assaulting column. Just at this time General Hoke opens with his artillery under Majors Moseley and Reid a rapid fire, and his infantry sent up yell after yell as if about to charge. The Virginia Brigade on the south is also obeying the command to "shout," and several of that brigade are killed and wounded by the enemy shelling them from Fort Williams.

As our artillery is kept somewhat in rear of the advancing line, the enemy fire over the heads of Ransom's Brigade at first, but soon get a more accurate range.

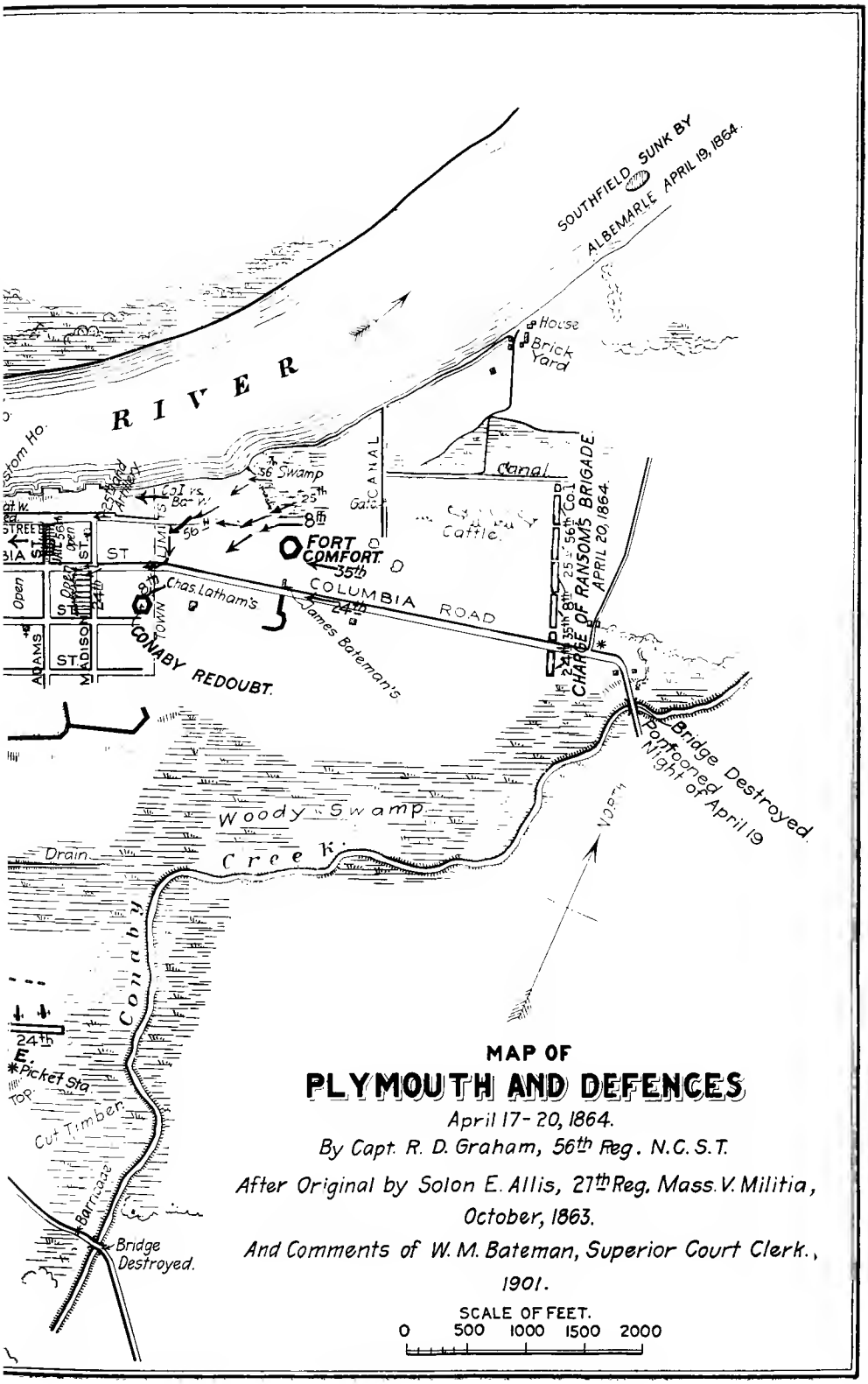
Steadily the line goes forward, and performs the duty assigned, carrying out to the letter the precept, "Whatsoever thy hands find to do, do it with all thy might."

It will be best to describe the course taken by each regiment of the brigade, so far as can be gathered from the accounts written shortly after the battle, or subsequent authenticated statements.

In the communication of "Lone Star" on 22 April, 1864, the Twenty-fourth is fortunate in having its deeds recorded, which shows that regiment took the two works immediately on the Columbia road—"the one on the south of the road, by the left of the Twenty-fourth, led by Colonel Clarke, and the one on the north by the right of the Twenty-fourth, assisted by the Thirty-fifth." And the account further states: "We were now in the town, and the head of every street running east and west, was held by one or more of our regiments, but their positions in line were somewhat changed. The Twenty-fourth was still on the Columbia road, now street (Second), with the Fifty-sixth and Twenty-fifth to the right, and the Thirty-fifth and Eighth to the left. Halting a moment to breathe the men and dress the line, we pushed slowly and carefully forward, clearing the enemy from every street, yard



BLOCKADE
TABOR ISLAND
Warren's Neck.
FORT GREY.
BLOCKADE
ROANO
Creek.
Welch's
Mill Burnt.
Steam Mill.
Co. I captured Infantry
Swamp
BOYLE'S MILL ROAD.
ENTRENCHED CAMP AND REDOUBT.
Swamp.
REDOUBT.
Harriet Toodle's.
HOKE'S BRIGADE.
APRIL 20.
B.M. REDOUBT.
Bown Up. April 20.
Woody Marsh.
Sanderson's Farm.
85th REDOUBT.
FORT WESSELLS
alias
Sanderson's House.
KEMPER'S BRIGADE.
APRIL 20.
WASHINGTON ROAD.
Woody Marsh.
WILLS
JAMESVILLE ROAD.
Mill Pond.
2 Miles.
¼ Mile
Frank Fagan's
25th Reg't. Skirmisher
35th
RANSO
NIGHT OF
Pathway



MAP OF
PLYMOUTH AND DEFENCES

April 17-20, 1864.

By Capt. R. D. Graham, 56th Reg. N.C.S.T.

After Original by Solon E. Allis, 27th Reg. Mass. V. Militia, October, 1863.

And Comments of W. M. Bateman, Superior Court Clerk., 1901.

SCALE OF FEET.

0 500 1000 1500 2000

and house, from the windows of which and from behind the fences they poured an incessant fire. But nothing could check our progress, and within an hour they were driven into Fort Williams, or into the entrenched camp at the west of the town. The fort was on our left, and the camp in front. In a few minutes the Fifty-sixth came up on our right by another street, and by their arrival decided the contest, for immediately on the appearance of this additional force, the enemy threw down their arms and raised the white flag. Captain Lockhart, of the Fifty-sixth, ran in to receive the surrender and instantly both regiments poured into the camp."

This shows beyond question that the Twenty-fourth Regiment, when it reached the town, kept its right on Second street and passed through the town to the west end, keeping between Second and Third, or on Third street, as nothing could pass up Second street, owing to the rapid fire kept up by the battery at the west end.

In the account given by Mr. Ludwig of the part taken by the Eighth Regiment on page 400 of Vol 1, it is stated: "At early dawn on the morning of the 20th the signal rockets went up, and the order came to advance. In the meantime a battery of artillery took position in front (on the left) of the Eighth Regiment and opened a rapid fire on the fort in our front. The regiment, in fact the whole brigade, as ordered moved off in common time. Not a rifle was fired, not a word spoken. The artillery was doing its full duty in keeping the enemy's infantry quiet. When the regiment had advanced to within about 150 yards of the fort, the order to charge was given. The "yell" was raised, and the regiment rushed forward to mount the fort. Just at the moment the "yell" was raised, the enemy's infantry poured a destructive fire into the ranks of the regiment. Our artillery ceased firing as the regiment approached near the fort. The men rushed on, leaped into the ditch and attempted to scale the fort. While the men were attempting to climb over the outside of the fort, the enemy threw hand grenades into the ditch. Those who were in the ditch had to get out of it. The regiment then swung around to the right, and attempted to break through the palisades on that side of the fort. The

palisades had loop holes through which the enemy fired on our line. At this point many of the men were shot through the head. The regiment rushed up to the palisades, and as the enemy pulled their guns out our men put theirs in and fired at those on the inside. Such deadly work could not last long. The Eighth Regiment swung a little further around to the gate leading to the rear of the fort. The gate was burst open. The regiment rushed in and the fort surrendered. "Three cheers for North Carolina" were given by the regiment, thus announcing that the assault had been successful."

The question naturally arises, what fort was this? As will be hereafter stated, the capture of "Fort Comfort" on the right of the road was conceded by General Ransom to the Thirty-fifth. Where the advance of the brigade began, the Columbia road does not run parallel to the river, but obliquely to the right. The Twenty-fourth kept on both sides of the road; the command given to the brigade had been "Guide center." There is a pressure to the left by the Thirty-fifth to avoid the branch, canal and the swamp which the Twenty-fifth and Fifty-sixth had to cross, and in this pressure the Twenty-fourth passes ahead, and leaves the left flank of the Eighth exposed to an enfilade fire from the left, and the regiment naturally swings around in that direction to meet the greatest danger and injury to them. This brings them around towards the fort south of Charles Latham's house, less than three hundred yards from Fort Comfort, and called "Conaby Redoubt," which was opposite or near the head of Third street, and thus carried the Eighth Regiment to the extreme left of the brigade, as stated in the contemporaneous account given by "Lone Star," and on the direct course to Fort Williams; and Conaby Redoubt answers exactly the description of the Fort with palisades, which Mr. Ludwig says the Eighth Regiment attacked and carried, and its capture is claimed by no other regiment and would be otherwise unaccounted for.

The graphic history of Mr. Ludwig continues: "But a strong fort (Fort Williams) remained in possession of the enemy. The Eighth Regiment formed and attempted to

storm that. The men charged up to the edge of the surrounding ditch, only to find that it could not be crossed. There was but one of two courses to take, to-wit: either to fall back or to surrender. The regiment chose the former. When the retreat began, the enemy poured a fearful volley into the ranks, killing and wounding many of the men. This charge was reckless and unnecessary. It was made under the flush of victory, and not by order of the commanding general. The fort being surrounded, would have had to surrender any way, as it did a few hours afterwards."

In the Fayetteville *Observer* of 9 May, 1864, it is said: We have received a communication from an officer of the Thirty-fifth North Carolina Troops complaining that the Richmond papers have given to others the credit due to that regiment. He says "Ransom's brigade charged the Yankee fortifications, and our regiment (Thirty-fifth) took the first fort, the key to the position. Its Colonel, J G. Jones, of Person County, was the first to mount the fortifications and in honor of him and his regiment, General Ransom changed the name from Fort Comfort to Fort Jones. To Colonel Jones the Yankee commander of that fort surrendered, and a detail of that regiment took charge of the first prisoners captured (on that day) at Plymouth, and conducted them to the rear. Our three centre companies covered the front of the fort, and our right and left wings completely surrounded it. Our dead were around the fort, and the dead of no other regiment." I regret that I have no fuller account of the operations of this regiment, whose noble Colonel, in less than two months afterwards, on the night of 17 June, 1864, yielded his life in a heroic and successful charge at Petersburg made by Ransom's Brigade to recapture works lost by another command.

Before the capture of Fort Comfort has been completed by the Thirty-fifth, and the works in their immediate front carried by the Twenty-fourth, the Eighth Regiment is found doing equally effective work to the left of both of them, as shown above. The Twenty-fifth Regiment after getting through the swamp, finding the Fifty-sixth across its course, obliqued to our right, and proceeded up Water street and between that and the river, and assisted in the capture of the

intrenched camp beyond Fort Worth at the northwest corner of the town. Company I, of the Fifty-sixth, under Captain Harrill, was sent in advance of the regiment with orders to keep along the river, and was thus the first company to enter the town, and about sunrise captured twenty artillerists, who were serving the 200-pound gun intended for the *Albemarle,* which was proceeding up the river with our line and secured Captain Cooke from further opposition of any moment.

A cotemporaneous account of the operations of the Fifty-sixth, dated 1 May, 1864, was written by Major Jno. W Graham signed "Tar Heel," and at the special request of Captain Frank N Roberts, who sent it to the Fayetteville *Observer,* and this has been elaborated from his war journal and researches by its historian, Captain R. D. Graham. Out of somewhat voluminous data, what is here stated must be condensed to come within the proper limits.

Fortunately we had no forts to encounter directly in our front, but there were other obstacles nearly as formidable. First, a large herd of cattle, which we drive to a deep canal in our front, when with wild snorts of terror, they turn and break through our line of battle. Into this ditch more than six feet deep, we have to go and climb out on the other side and again form our line. The next obstacle is a terrible swamp of untried and therefore unknown bottom, through which we flounder, many wet to the waist, and some all over, from falling down.

Getting through the swamp our line is quickly formed again, but here we receive an oblique fire from our left, and under a heavy shower of "minies" go up a hill and drive an opposing regiment from the shelter of houses and palings on the eastern end of the town, between Water and Second streets. Here the Twenty-fifth comes up and enters the town on our right. We have several killed and wounded, and among the killed, Jas. W Hall, of Company D.

A part of the Fifty-sixth enter on Second street and proceed as far as Madison street; but Major Graham apprehending that this (Second) street would be swept by artillery, as we have reached an open square, throws the regiment forward into line with the left resting on Second street, and

the right extending over to Water street, which the other part has entered under Colonel Faison. Lieutenant-Colonel Luke has been gallantly leading the extreme right.

Second street is now swept by a terrific fire from the guns at the western end. The advance is steadily continued, but bullets seem to come from every direction, both from houses and excavations in the ground. Our line pushes down fences, jerks off palings and presses forward, passing Adams, Washington and Jefferson streets. On this last we get a cross fire from Fort Williams which is especially severe. Lieutenants Palmer, Holton and Thornton have fallen wounded, and many of the men. We next reach Monroe street and in advance of any other regiment on either side.

Here Company B, under Captain Roberts, with Colonel Faison, keep to the right of the swamp beginning at this point, as heretofore described. They thus become detached and aid in the capture of Fort Worth and the intrenched camp, at the west end of Water street, which makes a hot fight kept up until about 10 a. m., when Colonel Dearing reaches this point with one of his guns, and its capture is effected. Company I, under Captain Harrell has, as already stated, captured the artillerists around the big gun, and also strikes the entrenchments just north of the marsh, and secures the surrender of prisoners at that point, and the most effective service during the rest of the battle is to hold them securely—the intervening hill and swamp separating them from both contending forces who are continuing the contest.

The other eight companies of the regiment keep to the left of the swamp, under Major Graham, and capture the battery of artillery which has been raking Second street.

As we now pass from beyond the cover of the houses, the Yankees are pouring a hot fire into us from the intrenched camp on the western breastworks between Second and Third streets, somewhat to our left, and we find the Twenty-fourth engaged with them in front. As we are about to charge, the white flag goes up, and the surrender is made to Major Graham, who directs Captain Lockhart, of Company E, to take charge of the prisoners. The flag of the Fifty-sixth is handed to Major Graham on the breastworks and waved by him to

Hoke's Brigade, on the west of the town, which had been awaiting our progress, more than 600 yards distant, as the works were too strong to be carried from the west side. Passing over another ravine, we receive the last prisoners on that side of the town. Hoke's Brigade under Colonel W G. Lewis, of the Forty-third North Carolina, now comes up, and it is a relief when he suggests that no further charging is necessary, as in the opinion of himself and General Hoke the surrender of Fort Williams can be compelled by artillery. The town was now entirely ours, except this last strong fort on the south, and its surrender was demanded and refused. Sharpshooters occupy all advantageous positions in houses and other points to keep the enemy from serving their guns, and our artillery fire is concentrated on the doomed fort and a shell from the *Albemarle* explodes upon it. General Wessels has made a gallant fight, but as "the stars in their courses fought against Sisera," the converging batteries and musketry now prevent him from firing a gun. General Hoke informs him that, if he provokes a useless sacrifice of life in requiring an assault, not a man in the garrison will be spared, and between 11 and 12 o'clock a. m., the flag comes down on Fort Williams and success crowns our struggle. All fighting is now over, except the pursuit of some Yankees and negroes who escaped from the fort at the left of Fort Williams, and some Buffaloes who had crossed the river, many of whom were captured.

General Wessels' official returns of casualties with the loss of Plymouth, was a total in killed, wounded and missing (not distinguished by him) of 127 officers and 2,707 men.

Our losses were understood to be 125 killed and between 400 and 500 wounded in the brigade and artillery altogether, though I have seen no official returns, being greatest in the Eighth North Carolina, as it is stated by Mr. Ludwig: "The regiment lost one hundred and fifty-four men killed and wounded, about one-third of its number." In the Thirty-fifth twenty were killed and 84 wounded, including Major S. B. Taylor. The losses in other regiments are supposed to be stated in their separate history, as I know is the case in that of the Fifty-sixth. In this regiment the colors were

borne by Ensign Jas. M. Clark, of Orange County, whose stalwart figure was conspicuous at every step, and he never swerved from any point to which he was directed. He came through with a rent banner, but untouched himself, though his color guard suffered a loss of one-third, as shown in the history of the regiment.

It will be interesting to survivors to here record the regular order of succession from left to right in which the ten companies of the Fifty-sixth stood in line of battle. It was C, K, G, F, H, D (colors), A, E, I and B. The action of the two right companies under their captains have been given above. The other eight going through to the end of the battle with the flag, beginning with E, were led respectively by Captain Joseph G. Lockhart, Captain Noah H. Hughes, Captain Robert D. Graham, Captain Wm. G. Graves, Lieutenant Valentine J Palmer, Lieutenant Otis P Mills, Captain Frank R. Alexander, and Captain Alexander P White. When Lieutenant Palmer fell in the charge wounded as the regiment passed the jail, Company F pressed steadily forward with Lieutenant John R. Williams in command. All these officers and their men without an exception, displayed a coolness, discipline and courage that any commander might be proud to witness. I would be glad to mention by name officers and men of other commands, reported as conspicuous for bravery, but where all so well did the work assigned, I have deemed it best to narrate the main facts as I have collected them, and not attempt details of individual prowess or give names except of those directing some separate movement, and of those under my immediate command, from whom I could not withhold the meed of praise to which they are justly entitled. But I do not wish to seem to ignore the splendid work done by Hoke's Brigade or the Virginia Brigade under Colonel Terry

An officer in the line, will of course be unable to do more than observe the part taken by his own regiment or one immediately adjoining, and has little opportunity of gaining correct information, except in a general way, of the operations of other commands at distant points.

A correspondent of the Richmond *Examiner* of 24 April,

signed "R," says: "The result of this most brilliant success was the capture of some 2,500 prisoners, 28 pieces of artillery, heavy and light, some 500 horses, 5,000 stands of small arms, 700 barrels of flour, with other commissary and quartermaster supplies, immense ordnance stores, and the strong position of Plymouth, which protects the whole Roanoke Valley, and furnishes a base for our iron-clad to drive out from Albemarle and Pamlico Sounds, the large fleet of the enemy's gunboats, and open a large and rich country from which we can obtain supplies. General Hoke, who commanded the expedition, though only 27 years of age, may well rank with our ablest division commanders in the service. He has wonderful tact, force, activity and an endurance that despises fatigue; handles troops with great ease and celerity, and has their unbounded confidence. Ransom's charge has not been surpassed at any time; his military genius comprehended the situation, and he was master of it; he determined on the charge, knowing what dash and pluck could accomplish, when satisfied as to the proper point of attack. Colonel Dearing, of the cavalry, not only handled his own command with great success, but in the charge of artillery and infantry at Fort Warren, and both on the right and left with Ransom and Hoke, and on Wednesday morning in Ransom's charge, his services were invaluable."

In the message of Governor Vance to the General Assembly of North Carolina 17 May, 1864, he says: "In addition to the many brilliant victories, which have crowned our arms this spring in all parts of the Confederacy, I have the sincere pleasure to congratulate you upon the splendid success of the opening of the campaign in our State, resulting in the recapture of the towns of Washington and Plymouth, and the rescue of a considerable portion of our territory from the enemy. This is the more gratifying because it was accomplished by troops under the command of two distinguished sons of North Carolina—Brigadier, now Major-General, Hoke, commanding the land forces, and Commander Cooke, with the steam ram *Albemarle*. I doubt not you will see the propriety of rendering suitable thanks to these gallant officers, and the brave officers and men under their command, for the con-

spicuous heroism which has been rewarded by such splendid results."

How the result was viewed at headquarters is shown by the telegram sent by President Davis:

"Brigadier-General Hoke: In the name of the Confederacy, I thank you for your success. You are a Major-General from the date of the capture of Plymouth."

CASUALTIES AT PLYMOUTH.

Twenty-fifth North Carolina: The killed reported at the time were: In Company A, Jos. L. Edney and W W Owenby; in Company B, W R. Grant; in Company H, J M. Cartland; and in Company K, G. W Black. Its wounded were 20.

Twenty-fourth North Carolina. Lieutenant Wilkins was killed, and five men wounded on the night of 18 April. In the same regiment 20 April, the killed were: J. W Puckett, of Company B; E. R. Hocutt, of Company C; A. J. Young and K. B. Taylor, of Company E; Jos. Mangum, of Company H; Joshua Canady, of Company I; and J. F. Baker, of Company K; Lieutenants E. S. Sanders and T. T. Lee, of Company E, and Captain W J Squiggins, of Company D, and 84 men wounded.

Thirty-fifth North Carolina. The killed reported were: Robert W Brown, of Company A; Corporal W H. Council, of Company D; Lieutenant J N Loy, Sergeants H. W Oakley and J J. Yarborough, and T. S. Drake, T. R. Gentry and A. Evans, of Company E; Sergeant John Dulin, J. F Harris and John Noles, of Company H; and Sergeant T. W Conley, J W. Abernathy, D. Denton, D. Moore, J. C. Whisenhundt and P S. Whitener were killed, and Lieutenant D. P Glass mortally wounded in Company K. Major S. B. Taylor and 84 men were wounded.

Eighth North Carolina. The killed were: H. C. Stokely, of Company A; George W Graves, of Company B; W J. Baker, of Company C; R. F. Patterson, of Company D; Lieutenant D. A. Patterson and John Coddle, of Company E; Lieutenant L. D. Langley and Sergeant J J. Tunnage, of

Company G; First Sergeant J A. Barringer and J. C. Klutts, W M. Sides, Nelson Barringer, Moses Dry, J C. Lineberger, E. J Patterson and J. E. Barringer, J. J. Ketchey, John Raney, J S. Murph, and Wiley S. Seaford. Lieutenants A. H. Gregory, D. W Weaver, S. J. Thornton, James K. McKethan and P J Miller, and Ensign Frank Perkins, and 101 others were wounded.

Sixth North Carolina. The killed were: John McDaniel, of Company C; Harvey Hanna and Joshua Johnson, of Company H; John W Faucett, of Company F; Henry Capps of Company K, mortally, and Lieutenant W. S. Clinton and 29 others severely wounded.

Twenty-first North Carolina. The killed were: Sergeant F C. Clinard, of Company A; J W Hodges and A. F. Patterson, of Company C; Corporal J. F Beek and Chas. K. Kallum, of Company D; Wm. Hancock and Cal. Edwards, of Company F; Captain J. O. Blackburn, of Company G; D. A. Ray, of Company H; S. W Dick, of Company I; B. F. Loinback and Jos. Long, of Company K; Corporal J. G. Wilkinson, of Company L; and M. M. Wright, George Wyrick and Wm. Richardson, of Company M. The wounded were 35 and one missing.

Forty-third North Carolina. The killed were: R. B. McKorkle, of Company B; Stephen Renfree, of Company C; Captain H. A. Macon, of Company F, and Lewis Duke, of Company G. There were 13 wounded, including Lieutenant H. Brown and Sergeant T. H. Bobbitt. It is to be regretted that a full list of casualties in the gallant Twenty-first Georgia Regiment, forming with the above named, Hoke's Brigade, was not given to the North Carolina papers. It is noted that the list of wounded at Plymouth and received at the hospital in Wilson, N. C., including the following from the Twenty-first Georgia: D. Dyal, J F. Cook, W M. Hensly, F. M. Rawls, W B. Phillips, L. W Jones, L. A. Hudgins, P Marshall, J C Booles, J. B. Reid, J T. Williams, John Dempsey, L. B. Davis, B. F Gross, and G. L. Fennell.

At the same hospital there were from the Seventh Virginia Regiment Henry Bowen, and from the Twenty-fourth

Virginia W D. Mountcastle, H. A. Mills, James Thomason, G. H. Rutledge and J P Wyson.

From Bradford's Mississippi Battery, Corporal T. L. Russell.

JOHN W GRAHAM.

HILLSBORO, N. C.,
20 April, 1901.

SECOND COLD HARBOR.

By BRIGADIER-GENERAL THOMAS L. CLINGMAN.

About 2 o'clock in the morning of 31 May, 1864, while lying in the trenches at Bermuda Hundreds, I received an order to move to join General Lee's army, directing, however, one regiment of my brigade to hold temporarily the line I was leaving. I at once moved to the railroad station with the Eighth, Thirty-first and Fifty-first Regiments, North Carolina Troops, the Sixty-first being left in position. A little after daylight, at the railroad station, the brigade of Hoke's Division which was to have moved first, not being there, I was ordered to take the lead. I arrived in Richmond soon after sunrise; on calling to see General Bragg, was directed by him to take the railroad to Atlee's Station, and report to General Lee—then having his headquarters there. Two miles short of that place I met Colonel Crawley, General Lee's Quartermaster, who delivered to me an autograph letter from General Lee, directing me to proceed by Mechanicsville and Gaines' Mill to Old Cold Harbor, and there support Major-General Fitzhugh Lee's cavalry, and also directing me to communicate this order to any other portion of Major-General Hoke's Division. After I had passed two or more miles beyond Mechanicsville, I received an order from Major-General Hoke directing me to await further orders at that place. After remaining there about three hours, I received a second order from General Hoke to move on to Cold Harbor. On arriving there, I found General Hoke, who directed me to take a position on the left of that occupied by the main body of the cavalry. The Thirty-first Regiment, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Knight, was placed on my right; the Eighth, under Lieutenant-Colonel Murchison, in the center, and the Fifty-first under Colonel McKethan, on the left. Soon after, Major-General Hoke ordered that the

Fifty-first should move forward and to the left about four or five hundred yards, to support a portion of the cavalry who were acting as infantry, and engaged with the enemy. I therefore carried forward this regiment and placed it in position, and as this was the most exposed and dangerous part of my line, I remained with it. We, though subjected to a heavy fire both of artillery and musketry, sustained little loss. After we had been engaged for some time, the cavalry on my left gave way, and the enemy's advance then enabled them to annoy us a good deal by their fire on the left flank of our position where I was stationed. Two companies detached from the Fifty-first to the left, owing to the misconduct of their commander, Captain —. —. ———, failed to drive back the enemy there. Though he was three times ordered to open on them, yet he failed to do so, but kept his men lying down in the road about one hundred and fifty yards on my left.

A half hour, or perhaps an hour later, the cavalry on my right all gave way, and passed to the rear in squads, alleging that their ammunition had given out. Seeing the enemy would soon pass me on both sides, I ordered Colonel McKethan, after a few minutes, to fall back to the fence, a few hundred yards to the rear, and sent one of my couriers to the other two regiments, who were only a hundred yards in advance of the fence, to occupy the same line. As I was retiring to point out the several positions each regiment was to occupy, a portion of a shell took away the front of my hat and slightly wounded my forehead. Though somewhat stunned for an instant, I was not disabled at all, but observing that all the cavalry in reserve on my right had likewise retired, as my several regiments came back, they were placed in position on the other side of the field to the rear of the place I had intended them to occupy. A few of my command were captured by that portion of the enemy who came between the Fifty-first and Eighth Regiments. Our loss in all was less than one hundred. My Adjutant-General, Captain Edward White, was severely wounded by a shell while in line with the Eighth Regiment where I had left him when I moved forward. We held this position

during the night, having been reinforced by the arrival, about dark, of the Sixty-first Regiment of my brigade, under Colonel J D. Radcliffe, and also by General Colquitt's Brigade, which took position on my right.

At daylight in the morning of 1 June, 1864, to obtain a better line, my left was drawn back about two hundred yards, and took a position selected by General Hoke, while the right of my brigade united with General Colquitt's. My left rested at the bank of a branch. Soon after sunrise, General Kershaw's Brigade took position on the hill on my left, but with an interval of about seventy-five yards between their right and my left. I rode over and expressed to the officer in command of the nearest regiment, a wish that he would extend his right to the branch, so as to unite with my command, but he declined to do so. I was about to extend my line across the branch, though contrary to the orders I had received, but soon after was informed by Major-General Hoke that this was unnecessary, as General Hagood's Brigade would be stationed in front of my left and cover this interval. About 9 o'clock General Hagood's Brigade did take position about one hundred and fifty yards in front of my line, so that his right regiment was in front of the left regiment of my brigade, while the rest of his command was in front of General Kershaw's position.

The Sixty-first Regiment occupied the right of my line, next it was the Thirty-first, then the Fifty-first, and my left was held by the Eighth Regiment. The men all went vigorously to work and with their hands and bayonets had made with rails each a pretty good entrenchment as against musketry by midday. After 1 o'clock I passed along the line of General Hagood's Brigade in my front to be assured that they were still in the position in which they had been placed in the morning. About 3 o'clock, however, this brigade, in obedience to Major-General Hoke's orders, was moved away to the right without my knowledge. General Hagood subsequently told me that he notified General Kershaw of his movement, but he gave me no notice. Had I not felt sure of his still being there, I should have sent companies of my command across the branch on my left, and might thus have pre-

vented most of the loss subsequently sustained. Shortly after 3 o'clock the enemy opened heavily with their artillery on us, and after an interval of perhaps three-quarters of an hour, their infantry advanced. Just as they were getting within good range, there was a heavy discharge of musketry from Kershaw's Brigade on my left, and then a cessation of firing in that quarter. I then supposed that the enemy had only made a feint in that direction, whereas, in fact, as I have subsequently learned, this brigade fled precipitately from the field after discharging their muskets.* Believing that the point of greatest danger was on my left owing to the cover which the thick woods there afforded the enemy in their advance, I took my position in the line near the left of the Fifty-first Regiment. When the enemy were first seen advancing through the trees at a distance of nearly one hundred and fifty yards, supposing they were a portion of General Hagood's Brigade, which was falling back, I ordered my men not to fire. As soon as their true character was ascertained, we opened on them. They were then in line of battle and about one hundred yards distant. Though the places of those in front were for a time supplied by fresh troops, they ultimately gave way and were driven back out of sight. I ordered my men to stop firing to allow the smoke to be dissipated. Immediately in my front for seventy or eighty yards the ground slightly descended, then rose up into the slope of the hill. But a little to the left where the branch came down the ravine was continuous. Along this depression a large column of the enemy following their lines of battle advanced without being observed by us. As soon as they were drawn in the bottom they changed their route somewhat, inclining towards our right. They were in this manner brought up directly in front of the left of the Fifty-first where I was standing. After I had ordered the firing to cease and the smoke had partially been dissipated, I directed there should be no firing until the enemy should be seen again.

As the hill where the enemy's line of battle had been, in

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*Keitt's "big regiment" broke first and Colonel Keitt was killed while trying to rally them.—ED.

our front, was much elevated above us, we did not from our position behind our hastily made earthworks, observe the low ground in front and to the left. On my repeating the order to look out for the approach of the enemy, Captain Fred. R. Blake, of my staff, who was just by my side on the right, elevated himself so as to overlook the heads of our men, who after loading their guns, were in a stooping position, suddenly exclaimed: "Here they are, as thick as they can be!" Rising immediately as he had done, I saw there was within eight or ten paces of us, a heavy column of the enemy. They showed probably about thirty men in front and were closed in mass very compactly. They had an apparently new blue uniform, and were marching at a quick-step. Prisoners subsequently taken stated that they were fresh troops that had been in garrison and had not previously been engaged, and had expressed great confidence that they would march into Richmond. It was also stated that they had orders not to fire a gun or to cheer until they had carried our works. From the fact that the column displayed four flags, I took it to consist of four regiments. The instant I saw them, as my men had been firing at objects elevated on the hill, I was apprehensive that they might fire too high, I therefore in a loud voice, said: "Aim low and aim well!" As I did this a tall and uncommonly fine looking officer in the front rank of the enemy's column, hearing the order and looking me directly in the face, though he changed countenance for a moment, took off his cap and waving it about his head, cheered his men in words which I could not catch. Just as he had placed his hat back on his head, and before he had time to lower his hand again to his side, a soldier immediately on my right discharged his musket and the ball entered the upper part of his forehead, and he fell backward staggering the two men behind him.

The discharge from my line at once knocked down the front ranks of the column, while the oblique fire along the right and left cut down the men rapidly all along the column towards the rear. In a few moments the whole column either acting under orders, or from panic, lay down. Nothing could have been more unfortunate for them. While they

thus lay there, the men of my command continued to reload and discharge their pieces into the thick, dark mass. The officers fired their repeaters, while such as had none occasionally borrowed muskets from privates and discharged them at particular individuals. As the survivors lay still to avoid attracting particular attention, it was soon impossible to distinguish the living from the dead. After some fifteen or twenty rounds had been fired into the prostrate mass, I directed the firing to cease. Upon this occurring, a portion of the column, not I think, more than one-tenth, arose and fled to the rear; many of these, however, were shot down as they attempted to escape.

On the right of my line, where the Sixty-first Regiment was stationed, the enemy made a vigorous attack in line of battle, but as the ground was more open, they were not able to approach nearer than either eighty or one hundred yards, but left large numbers of dead on that part of the field. Under cover of thick undergrowth they approached somewhat nearer the Thirty-first but were repulsed with much slaughter. After the enemy had thus been driven entirely away, the men cheered all along our lines. Before the smoke had been entirely dissipated, however, there was a sudden attack on my left, under the following circumstances: When General ————'s Brigade on my left abandoned the field, in the beginning of the engagement, a large force of the enemy passed quietly to the rear of my left. This they did without observation on account of the thickness of the woods there. We had been too constantly engaged to have time to ascertain that the troops on our left had, more than an hour previous, left the field. The enemy had full time, therefore, to make their arrangements to attack us both on the left flank and in our rear. Favored by the thick bushes and smoke, they had gotten within fifty yards of the rear and left of the Eighth Regiment, and suddenly, just as our men had ceased to cheer, they opened on them a heavy fire at short range against their backs and from the left simultaneously. Though under these circumstances surprised, the men of the Eighth faced about, and, with the left of the Fifty-first, endeavored to keep up the contest. The odds in such a strug-

gle were too great, and our men fell so fast that, seeing it impossible for them longer to maintain the contest there, I directed Lieutenant-Colonel Murchison, who, though flushed and excited by such a disaster, showed the greatest self-possession and courage, to withdraw the survivors so as to form a new line of battle perpendicular to the first one, extending from the right of the Fifty-first to our rear. In this position the survivors of the Eighth and Fifty-first held their ground for some time against the greatly superior forces of the enemy. I then ordered the Thirty-first to file out of the intrenchment and form with them. With this force we charged the enemy, and drove them back so as to enable us to reoccupy our original line for a few moments only; because the enemy being posted along the branch, and also on the hill, rendered it impossible for my small force to resist them, and it was again driven back. While I was endeavoring to reform the line, Captain Henderson, of the Eighth, said to me, "Colonel Murchison is dead." I replied, "I hope not, for I spoke to him but a few minutes since." In fact, as I soon learned, just as he had gotten back into the trench, which he had with his regiment occupied during the day, he received a ball in the head which terminated his life. Finding that no enemy was immediately in our front then, but only a heavy artillery fire kept up, I ordered Colonel Radcliffe to file his regiment out of the trenches so as to aid us in the next attack. As I afterwards learned, he himself, with the larger part of his command, did not obey this order and stayed in the trench. Being busied with forming the line under the heavy fire of the enemy, I observed soon, however, the delay of this regiment in getting into position, and going up to its left, I ordered them to file out to the rear, so as to form the right of our new line of battle. Lieutenant-Colonel Devane took out a portion of the regiment, and I thus supposed they were all following. While the line was being formed, Colonel Zachary, of General Colquitt's Brigade, with five companies of the Twenty-seventh Georgia Regiment, came up and charged with us. The struggle had continued for several hours, and it was now after sunset. We drove the enemy back again and reoccupied the left of our original line.

Captain Henderson, who had succeeded to the command of the Eighth, was, however, slain in this last charge.

Before night closed, we thus held again our original line intact, but the thick woods and dusk of the closing evening, allowed the enemy to rest within fifty yards of our left. I then received an order from Major-General Hoke, through one of his staff, to vacate so much of my line on the left, as was within the woods, as it was said that Hunton's Brigade was moving up to occupy the ground that ———— had lost. I told this staff officer that it was better for me to hold my whole line until this brigade arrived, for that if any part was vacated the enemy would occupy it. The officer insisted, however, that I must withdraw at once, as the other brigade was approaching, and confusion might be produced. I was thus compelled to give up, reluctantly, about one hundred or one hundred and fifty yards of my line on the left. Hunton's brigade did not, in fact, come up until the next morning, but as I had foreseen, the enemy immediately extended their lines until within twenty or thirty yards of my left, being protected by a little elevation of the ground between us. One Virginia regiment came up and took position in rear of my left, at right angles to it, extending to the rear. While I was standing at the angle thus formed at my left a body of troops was seen moving by the flank from the left, but just in front of our old lines. Not knowing but that this was a part of Hunton's command, I hailed them. Some of my officers said, "These are our pickets coming in." I replied, "We have no pickets out." As this body of troops was by this time just opposite my left, about eight or ten feet in its front, but just as near as they could get by reason of the slight work thrown up high enough to cover a man to the hips, I said very loud: "Speak or you will be fired into." Getting no answer, I ordered my men to fire, and myself barely escaped our own fire by falling to the ground as the muskets were discharged over me. After a few volleys, the enemy had disappeared. It was evident that they expected under cover of the darkness, by moving up silently to occupy a still larger share of our original line. The two lines were during the night separated by less than fifty yards, and by

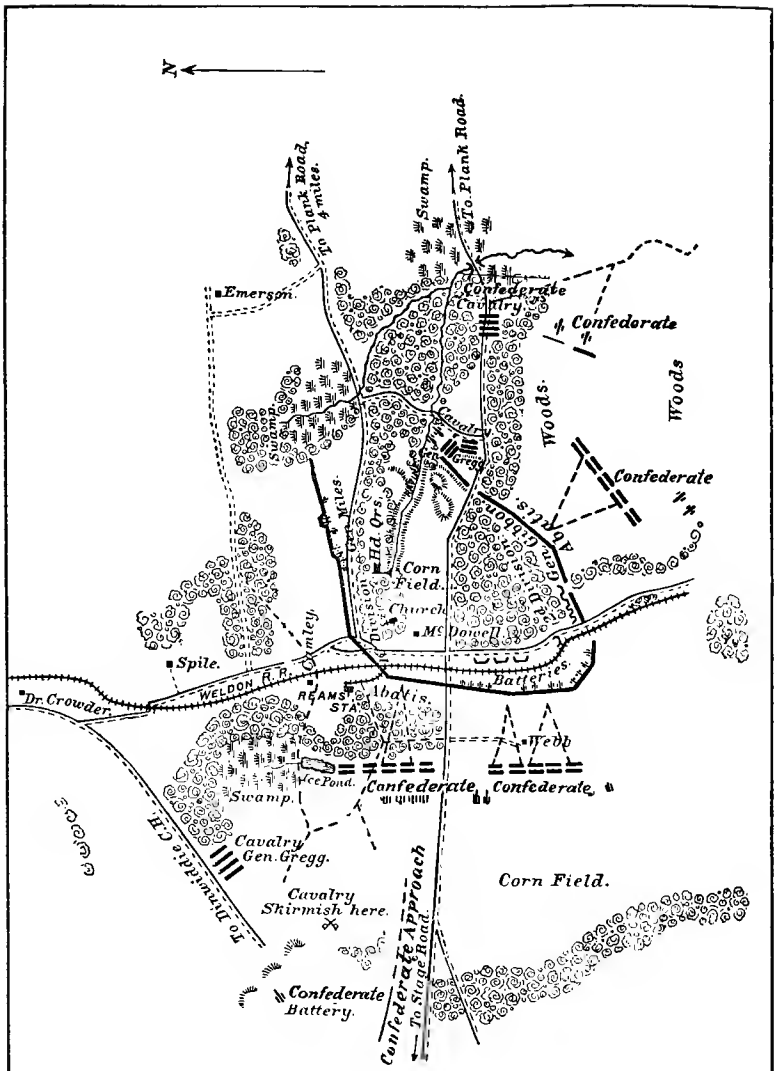
morning work enough had been done to perfect each. During the following day there was only skirmishing, but on the next (Friday, the 3d), the enemy made an attack on several parts of the Confederate lines, though not heavily in my front, only engaging the right of my line, with General Colquitt's Brigade. They lost again so heavily on this day that there was no further attempt by them, except by slow approaches. At daybreak on the morning of the 13th, it was seen that they had abandoned our front and moved on towards Petersburg.

In the engagement of 1 June, Captains Blake and Burgwyn, of my staff, both fell, severely wounded; and as Captain White had on the previous evening been disabled, I was without a single staff officer present. In this engagement though my brigade, deprived suddenly of its support, was at the same time assailed in front, on its left flank and from its rear, at close quarters and by vastly superior numbers, it was neither panic-stricken or beaten. After a struggle which continued for three hours, and after losing more than one-third of its strength, it recovered all its ground and repulsed its assailants.

The important position at Cold Harbor was thus preserved to General Lee. Its conduct in similar circumstances in front of Petersburg, a little later on the evening of 17 June, 1864, was detailed in my official report of that engagement.

T. L. CLINGMAN.

ASHEVILLE, N. C.,
3 June, 1874.



SCALE: 1 INCH = 800 YARDS.

PLAN
OF
BATTLEFIELD
OF
REAMS' STATION,
August 25th, 1864.

REAMS STATION.

25 AUGUST, 1864.

By MAJOR CHAS. M. STEDMAN, Forty-Fourth Regiment, N. C. T.

Upon the investment of Petersburg, the possession of the Weldon road became of manifest importance, as it was Lee's main line of communication with the South, whence he drew his men and supplies. On 18 August, 1864, General G. K. Warren, with the Fifth Corps of Grant's Army and Kautz's Division of Cavalry, occupied the line of the Weldon road at a point six miles from Petersburg. An attempt was made to dislodge them from this position on the 21st, but the effort failed. Emboldened by Warren's success, Hancock was ordered from Deep Bottom to Reams Station, ten miles from Petersburg. He arrived there on the 22d, and promptly commenced the destruction of the railroad track. His infantry force consisted of Gibbon's and Miles' Divisions, and in the afternoon of the 25th, he was reinforced by the division of Orlando B. Wilcox, which however, arrived too late to be of any substantial service to him. Gregg's Division of cavalry, with an additional brigade, commanded by Spear, was with him and abundant artillery

On the 22d Gregg was assailed by Wade Hampton with one of his cavalry divisions, and a sharp contest ensued. General Hampton from the battle field of the 22d, sent a note to General R. E. Lee, suggesting an immediate attack with infantry; that great commander realizing that a favorable opportunity was offered to strike Hancock a heavy blow, directed Lieutenant-General A. P Hill to advance against him as promptly as possible. General Hill left his camp near Petersburg on the night of the 24th, and marching south, halted near Armstrong's Mill, about eight miles from Petersburg.

On the morning of the 25th he advanced to Monk's Neck bridge, three miles from Reams Station, and awaited advices

from Hampton. The Confederate force actually present at Reams Station consisted of Cooke's and MacRae's Brigades, of Heth's Division; Lane's, Scales' and McGowan's Brigades, of Wilcox's Division; Anderson's Brigade of Longstreet's Corps; two brigades of Mahone's Division; Butler's and W H. F Lee's Divisions of Cavalry and a portion of Pegram's Battalion of artillery. General Hampton, commanding cavalry, marched at daylight on the morning of the 25th, and drove the Federal cavalry before him at all points. Both of his divisions united at Malone's Crossing, about two and a half miles from Reams Station, having moved against the enemy by different routes. Here Hampton was attacked by a portion of Hancock's infantry, when he dismounted his entire force and a spirited fight was in progress when the columns of A. P Hill appeared in sight, with the purpose of attacking Hancock's force from the front. Hancock's infantry, who were expecting an attack from Hill, had entrenched themselves strongly on the west side of the railroad and a short distance from it. Hill ordered the first assault about 2 o'clock in the afternoon. The assaulting column consisted of Anderson's Georgia Brigade and Scales' North Carolina Brigade. These two brigades, after a severe conflict in which both fought well, were repulsed. The second assault was made about 5 o'clock in the afternoon by the three North Carolina Brigades of Lane, Cooke, and MacRae, from left to right, in the order named. These troops had become famous throughout the entire army for their fighting qualities. How could it be otherwise with such brigade commanders? On this day General Conner, of South Carolina, was commanding Lane's Brigade, as General Lane had been severely wounded at Cold Harbor.

In front of Lane and Cooke the enemy had felled trees, sharpening the limbs and making it very difficult to get through them. MacRae had an open field between him and the enemy's breastworks, and for this reason, as the other two brigades would be necessarily retarded by the abatis, which was exceedingly formidable where Lane's men had to pass, they were ordered to advance somewhat sooner that MacRae's men. MacRae's line of battle was in the edge of a pine thick-

et about three hundred yards from the breastworks to be assaulted. Walking along the line MacRae told the men that he knew they would go over the works, and that he wished them to do so without firing a gun. "All right, General, we will go there," was the answer which came from all. The men were in high spirits, jesting and laughing, and ready to move on an instant's notice. In the meanwhile Lane's and Cooke's Brigades advancing were received by a heavy fire of both musketry and artillery. As the fire became more violent, especially in front of Lane, MacRae, prompted by that great and magnanimous spirit which ever characterized him, and realizing that the crisis of the conflict was at hand, said to Captain Louis G. Young, his Adjutant-General, "I shall wait no longer for orders. Lane is drawing the entire fire of the enemy: give the order to advance at once." Hitherto his brigade had received but slight attention from the enemy, the greater portion of their fire having been directed against Lane's and Cooke's Brigades. But warned of the danger which threatened them, by the loud cheers from MacRae's Brigade, as it emerged from its covering of pines and advanced to the assault, they opened a tremendous fire of small arms, with a converging fire of artillery along MacRae's whole front. It was all in vain. MacRae's men in a line almost as straight and unbroken as they presented when on parade, without firing a gun, threw themselves forward at a double-quick, and mounting the entrenchments, precipitated themselves among the enemy's infantry on the other side, who seemed to be dazed by the vehemence of the attack, and made a very feeble resistance after their works were reached. Lane's and Cooke's men, stimulated by the shouts of MacRae's Brigade on their right, redoubled their exertions and advancing with great rapidity through the fallen timber, were close under the works when MacRae struck them. In fact, portions of the three brigades crossed the embankment together, and the glory of the victory belongs equally to them all. Nor were our cavalry idle spectators of the fight. As soon as it was evident to General Hampton that Hill's infantry had commenced the second assault with the three North Carolina

Brigades, he ordered his entire force, which had been dismounted, to attack the enemy in flank and rear. This was done most gallantly and successfully General Rufus Barringer, of North Carolina, commanded W H. F Lee's Division with marked skill and gallantry, whilst Colonel W H. Cheek, of Warren county, led Barringer's Brigade with his accustomed dash. The cavalry vied with the infantry in their headlong assault upon the enemy's lines. The Nineteenth North Carolina (2 Cav) under General W P Roberts, of Gates County, carried the first line of rifle-pits on the right, and the cavalry all swept over the main line. Their works stormed in front, their lines carried in flank and rear, the enemy's infantry gave way at all points and abandoned the field in confusion and without any appearance of order. In truth, the Federal infantry did not show the determination which had generally marked the conduct of Hancock's Corps. Not so with the Federal artillery. It was fought to the last with unflinching courage. Some minutes before the second assault was made, General MacRae had ordered Lieutenant W E. Kyle, with the sharpshooters, to concentrate his fire upon the Federal batteries. Many men and horses rapidly fell under the deadly fire of these intrepid marksmen. Yet still the artillerists who were left, stood by their guns. When MacRae's Brigade crossed the embankment, a battery which was on his right front as he advanced, wheeled to a right angle with its original position, and opened a fire of grape and canister at close quarters, enfilading the Confederate lines; General MacRae immediately ordered this battery to be taken. Although entirely abandoned by its infantry support, it continued a rapid fire upon the attacking column until the guns were reached. Some of the gunners even then refused to surrender and were taken by sheer physical force. They were animated in their gallant conduct by the example of their commanding officer On horse back, he was a conspicuous target, and his voice could be distinctly heard encouraging his men. Struck with admiration by his bravery, every effort was made by General MacRae, Captain W. P Oldham, Captain Robert Bingham, and one or two others who were among the first to reach the guns, to save the life of this manly opponent. Un-

fortunately he was struck by a ball which came from the extreme flank, as all firing had ceased in front of him and he fell from his horse mortally wounded, not more lamented by his own men than by those who combatted him. This battery, when captured, was at once turned upon the retreating columns of the enemy It was manned by a few of MacRae's sharpshooters, all of whom were trained in artillery practice. They were aided by Captain Oldham, Lieutenant Kyle and others, not now remembered. Captain Oldham sighted one of the guns repeatedly, and when he saw the effect of his accurate aim upon the disordered masses in front, was so jubilant that General MacRae, with his usual quiet humor, remarked, "Oldham thinks he is at a ball in Petersburg."

After the capture of the breastworks, General McGowan's Brigade was sent in on the right. That generous hearted old hero declined to make any official report of the conduct of his brigade, giving as a reason therefor, that he "supposed he was only sent in to help the North Carolinians in the pursuit, and gather up the spoils of war which had been captured by them." His unselfish example was well worthy of imitation. Mahone's old brigade subsequently advanced over the same field, but the hard fighting was over.

The Federal loss in this battle was between six hundred and seven hundred killed and wounded, two thousand one hundred and fifty prisoners, three thousand one hundred stand of small arms, twelve stand of colors, nine guns and caissons. Among the prisoners captured was General Walker, of Hancock's staff, who surrendered to Lieutenant Kyle. Kyle here, as elsewhere, was in the very front of the assaulting column.

The Confederate loss was small, and fell principally upon Lane's Brigade. In the second and final assault it was about five hundred in killed and wounded. The result of this brilliant engagement was hailed with great rejoicing throughout the South, and shed a declining lustre upon the Confederate battle flag, upon which the sun of victory was about to go down forever. General R. E. Lee publicly and repeatedly stated that not only North Carolina, but the whole Confederacy, owed a debt of gratitude to Lane's, Cooke's and MacRae's Brigades which could never be repaid. He also wrote to

Governor Vance expressing his high appreciation of the services. From his letter I make this extract:

"HEADQUARTERS ARMY NORTHERN VIRGINIA,
"August 29, 1864.

"His Excellency Z. B. Vance,
Governor of North Carolina, Raleigh:

"I have frequently been called upon to mention the service of North Carolina soldiers in this army but their gallantry and conduct were never more deserving of admiration than in the engagement at Reams Station on the 25th ultimo.

"The brigades of Generals Cooke, MacRae and Lane, the last under the temporary command of General Conner, advanced through a thick abatis of felled trees, under a heavy fire of musketry and artillery, and carried the enemy's works with a steady courage that elicited the warm commendation of their corps and division commanders, and the admiration of the army

"On the same occasion the brigade of General Barringer bore a conspicuous part in the operations of the cavalry which were no less distinguished for boldness and efficiency than those of the infantry

"If the men who remain in North Carolina share the spirit of those they have sent to the field, as I doubt not they do, the defence may securely be trusted to their hands.

"I am, with great respect,
"Your obedient servant,
R. E. LEE,
"General."

The regiments from North Carolina engaged in this battle again illustrated those high qualities which will perpetuate the name and fame of the Confederate soldier in the years to come. Unshaken by the fall of Vicksburg and the disaster at Gettysburg, undismayed amidst the general gloom which was settling upon the fortunes of the South, they exhibited the same enthusiasm and valor which had marked their conduct upon every field where they stood for the honor, glory and renown of their State.

CHARLES M. STEDMAN.

GREENSBORO, N. C.,
25 August, 1901.

"THE THIN GRAY LINE OF TAR HEELS."

WINCHESTER, 19 SEPTEMBER, 1864.

By BRIGADIER-GENERAL BRADLEY T. JOHNSON.

In September, 1864, Early's army was lying about Winchester. We had been through Maryland, and terrified Washington into fits, and had gotten safely back into Virginia, with thousands of horses, cattle, medical stores and hundreds of wagon loads of edibles of every kind. I had a cavalry brigade of wild, southwestern Virginia horsemen, as brave and as undisciplined as the Virginia Rangers Colonel Washington surrendered at Fort Necessity, or Andrews fought Cornstalk with at Point Pleasant. I was bivouacked; we had no tents. About three miles north of Winchester, on the Valley pike, and picketed from the Valley pike to the Berryville pike, running east from Winchester, General Robert D. Johnston, of North Carolina, had a brigade of from 800 to 1,000 muskets on the Berryville pike, on the top of the ridge running across the road. My pickets were a mile in advance of his in Ash Hollow Sheridan, with 45,000 infantry and 10.000 cavalry, lay eight to fifteen miles beyond our picket lines, from Berryville and Ripon to Charlestown and Halltown, in Clarke and Jefferson Counties, Va. Now, every morning the Yankee cavalry would rush my pickets in on Johnston's posts. He would stop them until I got up, and then I'd drive the Yankees back and re-establish my original picket posts. This done, I would send my command back to camp.

I had about eight hundred mounted men, and I would ride up to Bob Johnston's headquarters, which was a wagon under a tree, one camp stool and a frying pan sizzing with bacon, and a pot of rye coffee and sorghum. I'd get my breakfast. But after a week of this proceeding it either became monotonous or my appetite showed no signs of weakening. I don't

know which. One morning I dismounted after my usual morning call to boots and saddle, and swung myself very comfortably into Johnston's single and only camp stool. I smelled the bacon and sniffed the coffee, and waited. In a few moments the cook handed me a chip for a plate and a tin cup of red-hot coffee—so hot I had to set the cup on the grass, when Bob spoke, saying: "Bradley, you let those Yankees do you too bad. You have got so scared of them that you all run the very first dash they make at you."

"Is that so, Robert?" I said. "That's a pity, but I don't know how to help it. I do the best I can. How many Yankee cavalry do you think you are good for?"

"Well," said he, "I've got eight hundred muskets present for duty By a week's time, as the boys get back from the hospital, I'll have one thousand. Well, with one thousand muskets, I think I can take care of five thousand Yanks on horseback."

"All right," said I, "wait and see. I hope you can."

So I got my breakfast and went off mightily tickled at the conceit of the Tar Heel; for Sheridan's cavalry, with Custer, Torbett and Devens, were about as good soldiers as ever took horse or drew saber. We had drilled them so that in three years we had taught them to ride. They were always drilled enough to fight, and they learned the use of the saber from necessity.

Well, things went on as usual. Every morning Sheridan would send a regiment out to feel Early—to drive in his pickets—so as to make sure where he was, and to know where to find him; and every morning I would ride over to the Berryville road, re-establish my lines, and get my breakfast off of Johnston.

By daylight 19 September, a scared cavalryman of my own command nearly rode over me, as I lay asleep on the grass, and reported that the Yankees were advancing with a heavy force of infantry, artillery and cavalry up the Berryville road. Early was up toward Stephenson's depot, and Johnston and I were responsible for keeping Sheridan out of Winchester and protecting the Confederate line of retreat and of communication up the valley In two minutes my

command was mounted (we always saddled up and fed an hour before dawn) and moving at a trot across the open fields to the Berryville road and to Johnston's assistance. There was not a fence nor a house nor a bush nor a tree to obscure the view. Away off, more than two miles, we could see the crest of the hill covered with a cloud of Yankee cavalry, and in front of them (five hundred yards in front) was a thin, gray line moving off in retreat stolidly, and with perfect coolness and self-possession. As soon as I got to realize what was going on I quickened our gait, and when within a mile broke into a gallop. The scene was as plain as day A regiment of cavalry would deploy into line, and then their buglers would sound the charge and they would swoop down on the thin gray line of North Carolinians. The instant the Yankee bugle sounded, North Carolina would halt, face to the rear, wait until the horses got within one hundred yards, and then fire as deliberately and coolly as if firing volleys on parade drill. The cavalry would break and scamper back and North Carolina would "about face" and continue her march in retreat as solemnly, stubbornly and with as much discipline and dignity as if marching in review. But we got there just in time as cavalry aid to the Tar Heels. Certainly half a dozen charges had been made at the retreating thin gray line, and each and every time the charging squadrons had been driven back, when the enemy sent their line with a rush at the brigade of Tar Heels, and one squadron overlapped the infantry line, and was just passing it when we got up. In another minute they would have been behind the line, sabering the men from the rear while they were held by the fight in front. But we struck a head-long strain and went through the Yankees by the flank of the North Carolinians, and carried their adversaries back to the crest of the hill, back through the guns of their battery, clear back to their infantry lines. In a moment they rallied, and were charging us in front and on both flanks; and back we went in a hurry, but the thin gray line of Old North Carolina was safe. They had gotten back to the rest of the infantry and formed lines at right angles to the pike west of Winchester.

I rode up to Bob Johnston, very "pert," as we say in North

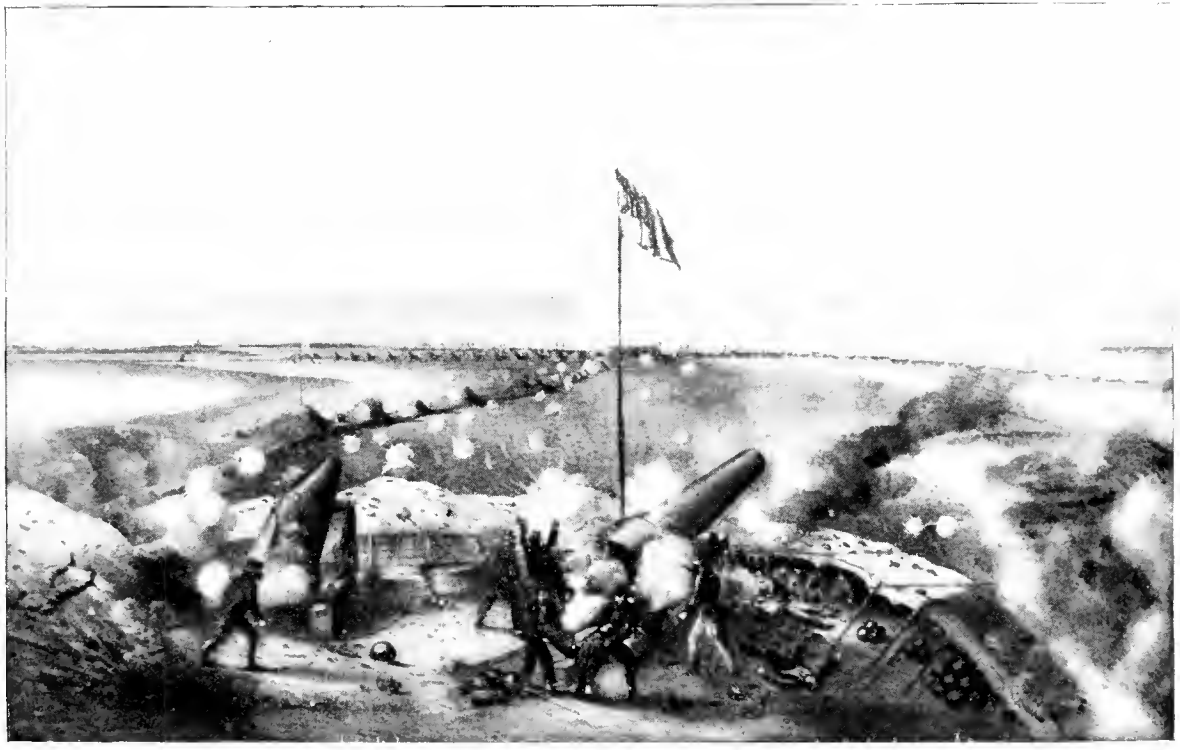
Carolina, and said: "Pretty close call that, Mr. Johnston. What do you think now of the Yankee cavalry's fighting qualities?" And the rest of the day we enjoyed ourselves. We could see everything for miles around. The country was entirely open. The day was beautiful, clear and bright—19 September. They would form for a forward movement—three lines, one after another—march sedately along until they got within touch of our lines, then raise a hurrah and rush in a charge, and in two minutes the field would be covered with running, flying Yankees. There were 45,000 infantry, 10,000 cavalry and 3,000 mounted gunmen. The thing began at daylight and kept up till dark, when, flanked and worn out, Early retreated to escape being surrounded.

This is the story of the "Thin Gray Line of North Carolina," and the cavalry charge, a feat of arms before which Sir Colin Campbell's "Thin Red Line" at Balaklava fades into insignificance.

BRADLEY T. JOHNSON.

BALTIMORE, MD.,
19 Sept., 1864.

NOTE.—The above is an extract from a very interesting address by General Johnson.—ED.



MOUND BATTERY AT FORT FISHER.
(Showing attacking fleet in the Atlantic Ocean.)

THE DEFENCE OF FORT FISHER.

By its Commander, WILLIAM LAMB, Colonel Thirty Sixth Regiment North Carolina Troops.

The capture of Fort Fisher, N C., on 15 January, 1865, was followed so quickly by the final dissolution of the Southern Confederacy that the great victory was not fully realized by the American people. The position commanded the last gateway between the Confederate States and the outside world. Its capture, with the resulting loss of all the Cape Fear river defenses, and of Wilmington, the great importing depot of the South, effectually ended all blockade-running. General Lee sent me word that Fort Fisher must be held, or he could not subsist his army.

The indentation of the Atlantic Ocean in the Carolina coast known as Onslow Bay and the Cape Fear river running south from Wilmington form the peninsula known as Federal Point which, during the Civil War, was called Confederate Point. Not quite seven miles north of the end of this peninsula stood a high sand hill called the "Sugar Loaf." Here there was an intrenched camp for the Army of Wilmington, under General Braxton Bragg, the department commander, that was hid from the sea by forest and sand hills. From this intrenched camp the river bank, with a neighboring ridge of sand-dunes, formed a covered way for troops to within a hundred yards of the left salient of Fort Fisher. Between this road and the ocean beach was an arm of Masonboro Sound, and where it ended, three miles north of the fort, were occasional fresh-water swamps, generally wooded with scrub growth, and in many places quite impassable. Along the ocean shore was an occasional battery formed from a natural sand hill, behind which Whitworth guns were carried from the fort to cover belated blockade-runners, or to protect

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more unfortunate ones that had been chased ashore. About half a mile north of the fort there was a rise in the plain forming a hill some twenty feet above the tide on the river side, and on this was a redoubt commanding the approach to the fort by the river road. Thus Nature, assisted by some slight engineering work, had given a defense to Confederate Point which would have enabled an efficient commander at the intrenched camp, co-operating with the garrison of Fort Fisher, to have rendered the Point untenable for a largely superior force at night when the covering fire of the Federal navy could not distinguish between friend and foe.

At the land face of Fort Fisher, five miles from the intrenched camp, the peninsula was about half a mile wide. This face commenced about a hundred feet from the river with a half bastion, and extended with a heavy curtain to a full bastion on the ocean side, where it joined the sea face.*

The work was built to withstand the heaviest artillery fire. There was no moat with scarp and counterscarp, so essential for defense against storming parties, the shifting sands rendering its construction impossible with the material available. The outer slope was 20 feet high from the berme to the top of the parapet, at an angle of 45 degrees, and was sodded with marsh grass, which grew luxuriantly. The parapet was not less than twenty-five feet thick, with an inclination of only one foot. The revetment was five feet nine inches high from the floor of the gun chambers, and these were some twelve feet or more from the interior plane. The guns were all mounted en barbette, on Columbiad carriages; there was not a single casemated gun in the fort. Experience had taught that casemates of timber and sand bags were a delusion and a

*When I assumed command of Fort Fisher, 4 July, 1862, it was composed of several detached earth-works, with a casemated battery of sand and palmetto logs, mounting four guns and with only one heavy gun in the works. The frigate *Minnesota* could have destroyed the works and driven us out in a few hours. I immediately went to work, and with 500 colored laborers, assisted by the garrison, constructed the largest earth-work in the Southern Confederacy, of heavy timbers covered by sand from 15 to 20 feet deep and sodded with turf. The fort was far from complete when it was attacked, especially as against an assault by land; the sides exposed to the sea being first constructed, on the theory that the Army of Wilmington would prevent an investment. —W L.

snare against heavy projectiles; and there was no iron to construct them with. Between the gun-chambers, containing one or two guns each (there were twenty heavy guns on the land face), there were heavy traverses, exceeding in size any known to engineers, to protect from an enfilading fire. They extended out some twelve feet on the parapet, and were twelve feet or more in height above the parapet, running back thirty feet or more. The gun-chambers were reached from the rear by steps. In each traverse was an alternate magazine or bomb-proof, the latter ventilated by an air chamber. Passageways penetrated the traverses in the interior of the work, forming additional bomb-proofs for the reliefs for the guns.

The sea face for a hundred yards from the northern bastion was of the same massive character as the land face. A crescent battery intended for four guns, joined this. It had been originally built of palmetto logs and tarred sand-bags and sand revetted with sod; but the logs had decayed, and it was converted into a hospital bomb-proof. In its rear a heavy curtain was thrown up to protect the chambers from fragments of shells. From this bomb-proof a series of batteries extended for three-quarters of a mile along the sea, connected by an infantry curtain. These batteries had heavy traverses, but were not more than ten or twelve feet high to the top of the parapets, and were built for ricochet firing. On this line was a bomb-proof electric battery connected with a system of submarine torpedoes. Farther along, where the channel ran close to the beach, inside the bar, a mound battery 60 feet high was erected, with two heavy guns, which had a plunging fire on the channel; this was connected with the battery north of it by a light curtain. Following the line of the works, it was over one mile from the mound to the northeast bastion at the angle of the sea and land faces, and upon this line twenty-four heavy guns were mounted. From the mound for nearly a mile to the end of the point was a level sand plain scarcely three feet above high tide, and much of it was submerged during gales. At the point was Battery Buchanan, four guns, in the shape of an ellipse, commanding the inlet, its two 11-inch guns covering the approach by land. It was garrisoned by a detachment from the Confederate States navy.

An advanced redoubt with a 24-pounder was added after the attack by the forces under General Butler and Admiral Porter on Christmas, 1864. A wharf for large steamers was in close proximity to these works. Battery Buchanan was a citadel to which an overpowered garrison might retreat and with proper transportation be safely carried off at night, and to which re-enforcements could be sent under cover of darkness.

Thus Fort Fisher, being designed to withstand the heaviest bombardment, was extremely difficult to defend against assault after its guns were destroyed. The soldiers in the gun-chambers could not see the approach in front for a hundred feet, and to repel assailants they had to leave all cover and stand upon the open parapet.

As a defense against infantry there was a system of subterra torpedoes extending across the peninsula, five to six hundred feet from the land face, and so disconnected that the explosion of one would not affect the others; inside the torpedoes, about fifty feet from the berme of the work, extending from river bank to sea-shore, was a heavy palisade of sharpened logs nine feet high pierced for musketry, and so laid out as to have an enfilading fire on the center, where there was a redoubt, guarding a sally-port, from which two Napoleons were run out, as occasion required. At the river end of the palisade was a deep and muddy slough, across which was a bridge, the entrance of the river road into the fort; commanding this bridge was a Napoleon gun. There were three mortars in rear of the land face.

It was after a careful reconnoissance on 25 December, 1864, having drawn our fire by an advance of his skirmish line to within 75 yards of the fort, that General Godfrey Weitzel, finding the works substantially uninjured by the explosion of the powder ship and the two days' terrific bombardment of Porter's great armada, reported to Butler that the fort could not be carried by assault.* In the works on that

*General B. F Butler in his report of the operations of his troops, says in part: "Brevet Brigadier-General [N. M.] Curtis, who deserves well for his gallantry and conduct, immediately pushed up his brigade within a few hundred yards of Fort Fisher, capturing the Half-moon battery and its men, who were taken off by the boats of the navy In the meantime the remainder of Ames's division had captured 218 men and 10 com-

afternoon were over 900 veteran troops and 450 Junior Reserves, reinforced after dark by 60 sailors and marines. As soon as the fire of the fleet ceased, the parapets were not only manned, but half the garrison was stationed outside the work behind the palisades. There was no fear of an assault in front; what most disturbed the defenders was a possible landing from boats between the Mound Battery and Battery Buchanan. Admiral Porter was as much to blame as General Butler for the repulse.*

missioned officers of the North Carolina reserves and other prisoners. From them I learned that Kirkland's and Hagood's brigades of Hoke's division had left the front of the Army of the James, near Richmond, and were then within two miles of the rear of my forces, and their skirmishers were then actually engaged, and the remainder of Hoke's division had come the night before to Wilmington, and were then on the march, if they had not already arrived. General Weitzel reported to me that to assault the work, in his judgement, and in that of the experienced officers of his command who had been on the skirmish-line, with any prospect of success, was impossible. This opinion coincided with my own, and much as I regretted the necessity of abandoning the attempt, yet the path of duty was plain. Not so strong a work as Fort Fisher had been taken by assault during the war, and I had to guide me the experience of Port Hudson, with its slaughtered thousands in the repulsed assault, and the double assault of Fort Wagner, where thousands were sacrificed in an attempt to take a work less strong than Fisher, after it had been subjected to a more continued and fully as severe fire, And in neither of the instances I have mentioned had the assaulting force in its rear, as I had, an army of the enemy larger than itself. I therefore ordered that no assault should be made, and that the troops should re-embark."—EDITORS.

*General Butler was blamed by contemporaneous writers for not capturing the works. For this criticism he had himself to blame. On the evening of the 25th, before waiting for official reports, he listened to camp gossip and wrote to Admiral Porter:

"General Weitzel advanced his skirmish-line within fifty yards of the fort, while the garrison was kept in their bombproofs by the fire of the navy, and so closely that three or four men of the picket-line ventured upon the parapet and through the sally-port of the work, capturing a horse, which they brought off, killing the orderly, who was the bearer of a dispatch from the chief of artillery of General Whiting, to bring a light battery within the fort, and also brought away from the parapet the flag of the fort."

This piece of romance was sent North, and has gotten a lodgment in current history, and is actually repeated by General Grant in his "Memoirs," though General Butler corrected the error in his official report of 3 January, 1865. No Federal soldier entered Fort Fisher Christmas day, except as a prisoner. The courier was sent out of the fort without my knowledge, and was killed and his horse captured within the enemy's lines. The flag captured was a small company flag, placed on the extreme left of the work, and which was carried away and thrown off the parapet by an enfilading shot from the navy. It was during a terrible

The garrison of Fort Fisher was composed altogether of North Carolinians. For two years and a half the force had been under my command, and in that time only two companies, temporarily there, were from outside the State. After the repulse of Butler and Porter, although some important guns were destroyed by the bombardment and by explosion, little or nothing was done to repair damages or strengthen the armament of the work. Requisitions were made for additional ammunition, especially for hand grenades, to repel assault, but it was impossible to obtain what was needed. Application was made for the placing of marine torpedoes where the iron-clads had anchored, and whither they returned, but no action was taken on it. Although we heard on 8 January that the fleet had returned to Beaufort, and we knew that Fort Fisher was still its objective point, General Braxton Bragg withdrew the supporting army from Sugar Loaf and marched it to a camp sixteen miles distant, north of Wilmington, and there had a grand review. The fort was not even advised of the coming of the fleet, which should have been seen off Masonboro during the day; and its arrival was reported from Fort Fisher to headquarters in Wilmington.

The night of 12 January, from the ramparts of Fort Fisher I saw the great armada returning. My mounted pickets had informed me of its coming. I began at once to put my works in order for action. I had but 800 men—the Thirty-sixth North Carolina—at least 100 of whom were not fit for duty.

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bombardment of the land-face, when I had ordered my men to cover themselves behind parapet and traverses as well as in the bomb proofs. Amid the smoke of bursting shells, Captain W H. Walling, of the 143d New York, gallantly crawled through the broken palisade and carried off the flag. doing what two or more men could not have done without observation. The angle of the work hid him from the sharp-shooters on the front. who, from behind traverses, were watching for an advance.

When Butler's skirmish-line approached I purposely withheld the fire of the infantry and artillery until an attack should be made in force. Only one gun on the land-face had been seriously disabled, and I could have opened a fire of grape and canister on the narrow beach, which no troops could have survived. In the second attack by the army. as the reader will see, all my heavy guns on the land-face but one were disabled ; my torpedoes were useless, and my palisades were so torn up and cut down that they furnished a protection to the assailants instead of a formidable impediment.—W L.

Sunrise the next morning revealed to us the most formidable armada the world had ever known, supplemented by transports carrying about 8,500 troops. Suddenly that long line of floating fortresses rained shot and shell, upon fort and beach and wooded hills, causing the very earth and sea to tremble. I had telegraphed for reinforcements, and during the day and night following about 700 arrived—companies of light and heavy artillery, North Carolina troops, and some 50 sailors and marines of the Confederate States navy—giving me 1,500, all told, up to the morning of 15 January, including the sick and slightly wounded. On Friday, the 13th, in the midst of the bombardment, General W H. C. Whiting, the district commander, and his staff, arrived in the fort. They had walked up from Battery Buchanan. I did not know of their approach until the general came to me on the works and remarked, "Lamb, my boy, I have come to share your fate. You and your garrison are to be sacrificed." I replied, "Don't say so, General; we shall certainly whip the enemy again." He then told me that when he left Wilmington General Bragg was hastily removing his stores and ammunition, and was looking for a place to fall back upon.* I offered him the command, although he came unarmed and without orders; but he refused, saying he would counsel with me, but would leave me to conduct the defense.

In the former bombardment the fire of the fleet had been diffuse, not calculated to effect any particular damage, and so wild that at least one-third of the missiles fell in the river beyond the fort or in the bordering marshes; but now the fire was concentrated, and the definite object of the fleet was the destruction of the land defenses by enfilade and direct fire,

*In a report to General Lee, dictated at Fort Fisher 18 January, 1865, and another (inclosing the first one) dated Fort Columbus, New York Harbor, 19 February, 1865, General Whiting blamed General Bragg for the loss of Fort Fisher, and asks that the latter's conduct be investigated. He says: "I went into the fort with the conviction that it was to be sacrificed, for the last I heard General Bragg say, was to point out a line to fall back on if Fort Fisher fell" General Bragg was "charged with the command and defense of Wilmington," by the Secretary of War, on 24 October 1864; and General Whiting concludes with a feeling reference to the fact that he was not allowed to conduct the defense of "a harbor on which I had expended for two years all the labor and skill I had."—EDITORS.

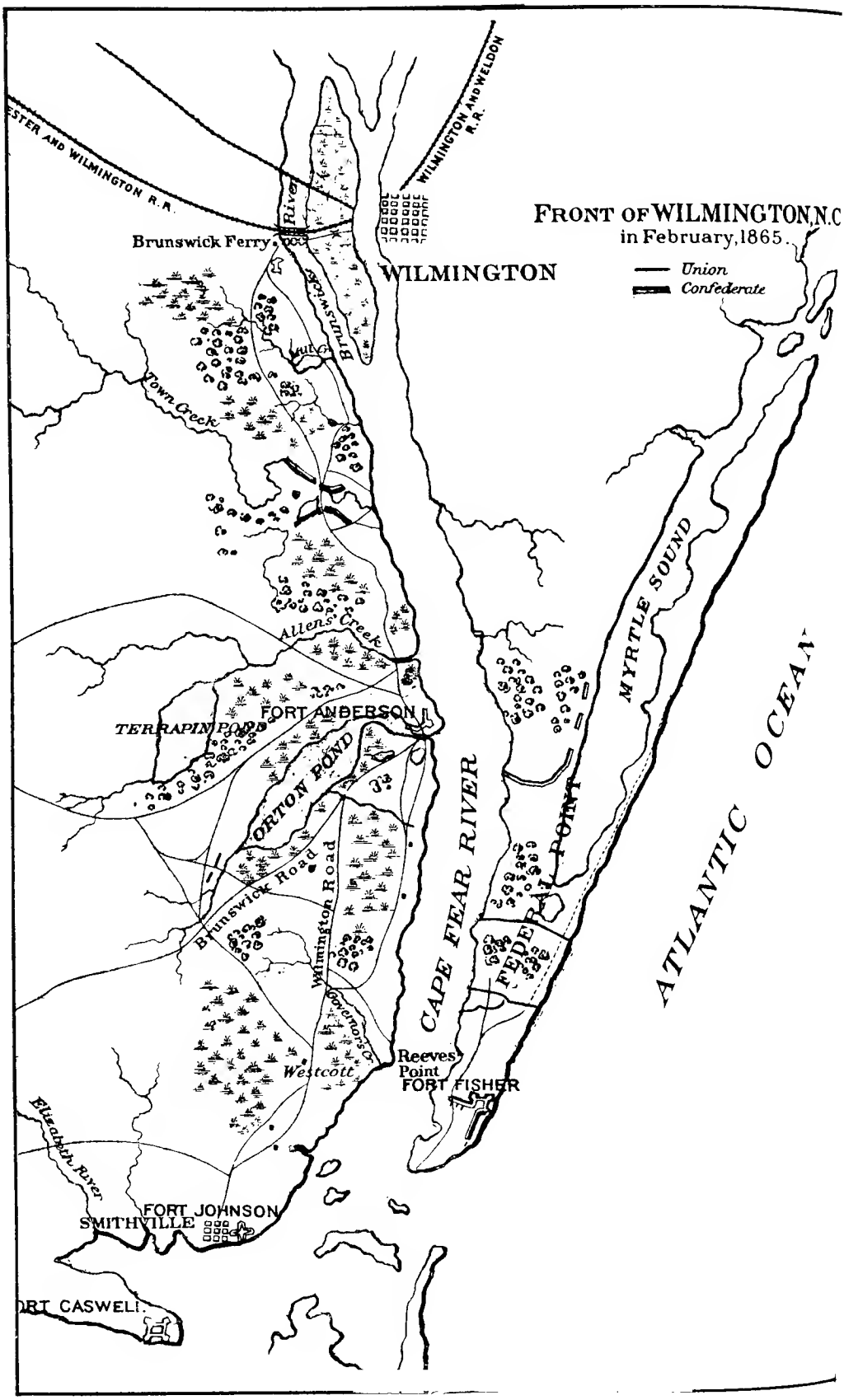
and the ships took position accordingly When attacked in December, I had had for my 44 heavy guns and three mortars not over 3,600 shot and shell; and for the most effective gun in the work, the 150-pounder Armstrong, there were but 13 shells, and we had no other ammunition that could be used in it. The frigates *Minnesota* and *Wabash* each had an armament superior to ours, and these two vessels alone fired more shot and shell at the works in the last attack than we had, all told or on hand, in both engagements. During the time between the two expeditions we had begged for more ammunition, but none came except a few useless bolts designed for the Armstrong gun. In the former fight we had fired 1,272 shot and shell; leaving about 2,328, exclusive of grape and shrapnel, to resist a passage of the ships and an assault by land. I was obliged to husband my ammunition even more than in the previous battle, and therefore gave the same orders that each gun should be fired only once every half hour until disabled or destroyed, except when special orders were given to concentrate on a particular vessel, or in case an attempt were made to cross the bar and run in, when every available gun should be used with all possible effectiveness. It was this slow firing from the fort, at times not over forty-four guns in thirty minutes, compared to the naval fire of from one to two guns a second, that gave the navy the erroneous idea that they had silenced the fort. But no attempt was made to run by the fort, which was a great surprise to us. Occasionally a wooden vessel, more daring than her consorts, would come close in, when the guns of several batteries would be concentrated upon her and she would be quickly withdrawn more or less injured.

All day and night on 13 and 14 January the navy continued its ceaseless torment; it was impossible to repair damages at night on the land face. The *Ironsides* and monitors bowled their eleven and fifteen inch shells along the parapet, scattering shrapnel in the darkness. We could scarcely gather up and bury our dead without fresh casualties. At least two hundred had been killed and wounded in the two days since the fight began. Only three or four of my land guns were of any service. The Federal army had been ap-

proaching on the river side during the day; but they were more or less covered by the formation of the land, and we could only surmise their number. I had seen them pass Craig's Landing near my cottage and occupy the redoubt about half a mile from the fort. We had fired some shot and shell at their approaching columns, but it was at a fearful cost of limb and life that a land gun was discharged; for to fire from that face was to draw upon the gunners the fury of the fleet. Early in the afternoon, to my astonishment, I saw a Confederate flat-bottomed steam transport, loaded with stores, approaching Craig's Landing, which was now in the enemy's lines. I had a gun fired toward her to warn her off, but on she came, unconscious of her danger, and she fell an easy captive in the enemy's hands. Shortly after, the Confederate steamer *Chickamauga*, which had been annoying the enemy from the river, fired into and sank the stupid craft. This incident gave me the first intimation that we were deserted. From the conformation of the Cape Fear river, General Bragg could have passed safely from Sugar Loaf toward Smithville, and with a glass could have seen everything on the beach and in the fort, and in person or through an aide, with the steamers at his command, could have detected every movement of the enemy; but now, thirty-six hours after the fight had commenced, several hours after Craig's Landing had been in the possession of the enemy, he sent into the enemy's lines a steamer full of sorely needed stores, which at night could have gone to Battery Buchanan in safety. We had both telegraphic and signal communication between Fort Fisher and Sugar Loaf, Bragg's headquarters, and I got General Whiting to telegraph him to attack the enemy under cover of night when the fleet could not co-operate, and we would do the same from the fort, and that thus we could capture a portion or the whole of the force, or at least demoralize it. No reply was received. Still I thought General Bragg could not fail to respond; so, after the dead were buried, ten companies were put in readiness for a sortie, and I carried Captain Patterson's company out in front of the work beyond the palisade line and the range of the enemy's fire, and threw them out as skirmishers with orders to discover the position

of the enemy. We found none on the sea shore within half a mile, but on the river shore they were occupying the redoubt, where their skirmishers extended toward the left of the fort. Some of them fired on us, but we remained there awaiting a message from Bragg, or the sound of his guns from the north, but in vain, and before daylight we retired to the fort.

With the rising sun, on the 15th, the fleet, which had been annoying us all through the night, redoubled its fire on the land face. The sea was calm, the naval gunners had become accurate by practice, and before noon but one heavy gun, protected by the angle of the northeast bastion, remained serviceable on that face. The harvest of wounded and dead was increased, and at noon I had not 1,200 men to defend the long line of works. The enemy were now preparing to assault; we saw their skirmish line on the left digging rifle pits close to our torpedo lines and their columns along the river shore massing for the attack, while their sharpshooters were firing upon every head that showed itself upon our front. Despite the imminent danger to the gunners I ordered the two Napoleons at the central sally-port and the Napoleon on the left to fire grape and canister upon the advancing skirmish line. They fearlessly obeyed the order, and with effectiveness, but at a sad sacrifice in killed and wounded. At the same time on the ocean side a column composed of sailors and marines was seen to approach, the advance throwing up slight trenches. On these we brought to bear our single heavy gun, while the two guns on the mound battery turned their attention from the sailors afloat to the sailors on shore, but at too long range to be very effective. Hagood's Brigade, sent by Bragg, was now arriving at Battery Buchanan, but the steamer bearing them was driven off by the fire of the fleet after it had succeeded in landing two South Carolina regiments, which came at a double-quick to the mound under a heavy fire. The number of these reinforcements was reported to me by the officer in command as 350. They reached the fort less than thirty minutes before the attacking columns came like avalanches upon our right and left. The South Carolinians were out of breath and more or less disorganized and demoralized by


FRONT OF WILMINGTON, N.C
in February, 1865.
Union
Confederate
WILMINGTON
WILMINGTON AND WELDON R.R.
ESTER AND WILMINGTON R.R.
Brunswick Ferry
Brunswick River
Town Creek
Allens Creek
FORT ANDERSON
TERRAPIN POND
ORTON POND
Brunswick Road
Wilmington Road
Governors Creek
Westcott
Reeves Point
FORT FISHER
CAPE FEAR RIVER
MYRTLE SOUND
FEDERAL POINT
ATLANTIC OCEAN
Elizabeth River
FORT JOHNSON
SMITHVILLE
RT CASWELL

the ordeal through which, by Bragg's neglect, they had been forced to pass. I sent them to an old commissary bomb-proof to recover breath.

My headquarters during the fight were the pulpit battery on the sea face, one hundred yards from the northeast salient and adjoining the hospital bomb-proof, commanding the best view of the approaches to the land face. At 2:30, as I was returning from another battery, Private Arthur Muldoon, one of my lookouts, called to me, "Colonel, the enemy are about to charge." I informed General Whiting, who was near, and at my request he immediately telegraphed General Bragg, at "Sugar Loaf":

"The enemy are about to assault; they outnumber us heavily. We are just manning our parapets. Fleet have extended down the sea front outside and are firing very heavily. Enemy on the beach in front of us in very heavy force, not more than seven hundred yards from us. Nearly all land guns disabled. Attack! Attack! It is all I can say and all you can do."*

I then passed hurriedly down in rear of the land face and through the galleries, and although the fire of the fleet was terrific, I knew it must soon cease, and I ordered additional sharpshooters to the gun-chambers with instructions to pick off the officers in the assaulting columns, and directed the battery commanders to form their detachments and rush to the top of the parapets when the firing stopped and drive the assailants back. As I returned, I instructed the squads that were forming under cover to rally to the parapets as soon as the order should be given, to which they responded with enthusiasm. I had determined to allow the assailants to reach the berme of the work before exploding a line of torpedoes, believing it would enable us to kill or capture the first line, while destroying or demoralizing their supporting lines of assault. I had not quite reached my headquarters when the roar of artillery suddenly ceased, and instantly the steam-whistles of the vast fleet sounded a charge. It was a soul-stirring signal both to besiegers and besieged.

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*The original, in Whiting's handwriting, is in possession of Dr. Geo. L. Porter, Bridgeport, Conn.—W. L.

I ordered my aide, Lieutenant Charles H. Blocker, to double-quick the Twenty-first and Twenty-fifth South Carolina to reinforce Major James Reilly, whom I had put in command on the left, while I went to the northeast salient, which I believed to be the vital point of the work and the one which needed most protection. I rallied there the larger portion of the garrison of the main work, putting 300 men on top of the bastion and adjoining parapets and holding some 200 more in the adjoining batteries. About 250 remained for defense on the left, to which I supposed the 350 South Carolinians would immediately be added, and these with the Napoleon and the torpedoes I felt sure would successfully defend that portion of the work. The assaulting line on the right was directed at the angle or point of the L, and consisted of two thousand sailors and marines,* the greater portion of whom had flanked my torpedo lines by keeping close to the sea. Ordering the mound battery, and any other on the sea face that could do so, to fire upon them, and the two Napoleons at the sally-port to join our Columbiad in pouring grape and canister into their ranks, I held in reserve the infantry fire. Whiting stood upon the brink of the parapet inspiring those about him. The sailors and marines reached the berme and some sprang up the slope, but a murderous fire greeted them and swept them down. Volley after volley was poured into their faltering ranks by cool, determined men, and in half an hour several hundred dead and wounded lay at the foot of the bastion. The bravery of the officers could not restrain their men from panic and retreat, and with small loss to ourselves we witnessed what had never been seen before, a disorderly rout of American sailors and marines. Had the fleet helped their own column as they did afterward that of the army, theirs would have been the glory of victory.

As our shouts of triumph went up I turned to look at the western salient, and saw, to my astonishment, three Federal

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*Secretary Welles, in his report of the Navy Department, 4 December, 1865, says: "Fourteen hundred sailors and marines were landed and participated in the direct assault"; but Admiral Porter in his report, dated off Fort Fisher, 17 January, 1865, says: 'I detailed 1,600 sailors and 400 marines to accompany the troops in the assault—the sailors to board the sea-face, while the troops assaulted the land side."—EDITOR.

battle flags upon our ramparts. General Whiting saw them at the same moment, and, calling on the men to pull down those flags and drive the enemy from the work, rushed toward them on the parapet. Among those who followed Whiting, and who gave his young life upon those ramparts, I must mention the brave Lieutenant Williford, who commanded the Blakely Battery

In order to make a careful reconnoissance of the position of the enemy, I passed through the sally-port, and outside of the work witnessed a savage hand-to-hand conflict for the possession of the fourth gun-chamber from the left bastion. My men, led by Whiting, had driven the standard-bearer from the top of the traverse and the enemy from the parapet in front. They had recovered the gun-chamber with great slaughter, and on the parapet and on the long traverse of the next gun-chamber the contestants were savagely firing into each other's faces, and in some cases clubbing their guns, being too close to load and fire. Whiting had quickly been wounded by two shots and had been carried to the hospital bomb-proof. I saw that the Confederates were exposed not only to the fire in front, but to a galling infantry fire from the captured salient. I saw also a fresh force pouring into the left of the work, now offering no resistance. I doubt if ever before the commander of a work went outside of it and looked back upon the conflict for its possession; but from the peculiar construction of the works it was necessary to do so in order to see the exact position of affairs. I was in front of the sally-port and concealed from the army by a fragment of the palisade.*

Ordering Captain Z. T. Adams to turn his Napoleons on the column moving into the fort (the gallant Mayo had already turned his Columbiad upon them), I returned into the work, and, placing men behind every cover that could be found, poured at close range a deadlier fire into the flank of

*I was told, several years after the war, by a United States marine named Clark, that I was distinctly seen and recognized by a comrade and himself who had feigned death in front of the north-east salient, and that his comrade rose from his place of concealment to shoot me, but before he could fire was shot in the head by a soldier in the fort. I never thought of danger from that direction.—W. L.

the enemy occupying the gun-chambers and traverses than they were able to deliver upon my men from the left salient. While thus engaged I met my aide, who informed me that the South Carolinians had failed to respond to my order, although their officers had pleaded with them, and with a few of them had gone into the fight; that the assaulting column had made two distinct charges upon the extreme left and had been repulsed by the fire of the Napoleon and by the infantry; that the torpedo wires had been cut by the fire of the fleet and the electrician had tried in vain to execute my orders; that, driven from the extreme left, the enemy had found a weak defense between the left salient and the sally-port in their third charge, and had gained the parapet and, capturing two gun-chambers, had attacked the force in the left bastion on the flank, simultaneously with a direct charge of a fresh column, and that our men after great slaughter, especially those at the Napoleon, had been forced to surrender just as we had repulsed the naval column; that to add to the discomfiture of the Confederates, as soon as the Federal battle flags appeared on the ramparts, Battery Buchanan had opened with its two heavy guns on the left of the work, killing and wounding friend and foe alike. Major Reilly had failed to lead the men to the top of the parapet on the right of the western salient, firing instead from the two gun-chambers on the assailants, who were not within range until they reached the parapet. Had the parapet been manned by fifty determined men at this point, I do not believe the enemy could have got into the fort before reinforcements had arrived. Reilly was a veteran soldier, and showed his indomitable courage later in the day, but his mistake was fatal. This was disheartening, but I told Captain Blocker if we could hold the enemy in check until dark I would then drive them out, and I sent a telegram by him to Bragg, imploring him to attack, and saying that I could still save the fort.

Notwithstanding the loss of a portion of the work and a part of the garrison, the men were in good spirits and seemed determined to recover the fort. We had retaken one gun-chamber in the charge on the parapet, and since we had opened on their flank we had shot down all their standard-

bearers, and the Federal battle flags had disappeared from our ramparts. I was encouraged to believe that before sundown we could recover all the gun-chambers to the east of the western salient. Just as the tide of battle seemed to have turned in our favor the remorseless fleet came to the rescue of the faltering Federals. Suddenly the bombardment, which had been confined to the sea face, turned again on our land front, and with deadly precision; the iron-clads and heavy frigates drove in our Napoleons and exploded shells in the interior of the sally-port, which had heretofore escaped. They also swept the gun-chamber occupied by Confederates in front of those occupied by the enemy, and their shells rolled down within the works and exploded in most unexpected quarters, preventing even company formation. They drove from the front of the enemy all assailants except those so near that to have fired on them would have been to slaughter the Federals.

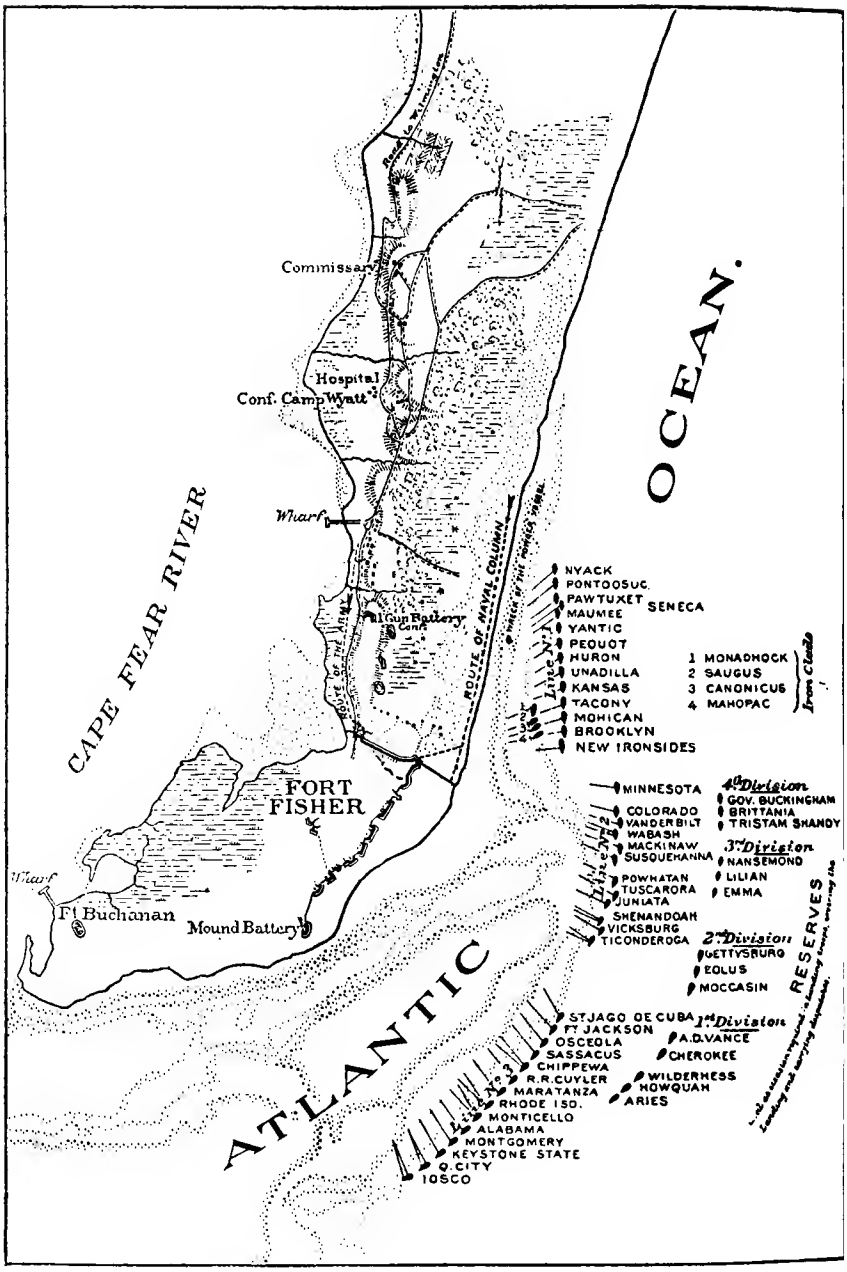
We had now to contend with a column advancing around the rear of the left bastion into the interior plane of the fort. It moved slowly and cautiously, apparently in column of companies and in close order. I met it with an effective infantry fire, my men using the remains of an old work as a breastwork and taking advantage of every object that would afford cover, for we were now greatly outnumbered. The fire was so unexpected and destructive on the massed columns of the Federals, that they halted when an advance would have been fatal to us. With orders to the officers to dispute stubbornly any advance until my return, I went rapidly to the extreme southern limit of my work and turned the two mound guns on the column in the fort. As I passed the different batteries I ordered the guns turned on the assailants, but on returning found that only two besides those on the mound would bear upon them, and these had to be fired over my men. I ordered them, notwithstanding, to be fired carefully with properly cut fuses, which was done, but it made some of my men very nervous. I brought back with me to the front every man except a single detachment for each gun. I was gone from the fort at least thirty minutes, and on my return found the fighting still continuing over the same traverse for the

possession of the gun-chamber, despite the fire of the fleet. As my men would fall others would take their places. It was a soldier's fight at that point, for there could be no organization; the officers of both forces were loading and firing with their men. If there has ever been a longer or more stubborn hand-to-hand encounter, I have failed to meet with it in history. The Federal column inside had advanced no farther, and seemed demoralized by the fire of the artillery and the determined resistance of the garrison. I had brought back with me more than a hundred of my old garrison, and I threw them in front with those already engaged. Those who had been driven from the parapet had taken position behind the old work. I went to the bomb-proof where the South Carolinians were and appealed to them to help save the fort; they were in a position to flank a part of the column, and they promised to do so. I proceeded to the sally-port and ordered the gallant Adams to bring his guns out and open fire on the head of the column, and if he had not men left to serve the guns to get volunteers from other companies. I went along the galleries and begged the sick and wounded who had retreated from the captured bomb-proofs to come and make one supreme effort to dislodge the enemy. As I passed through my work the last time, the scene was indescribably horrible. Great cannon were broken in two, and over their ruins were lying the dead; others were partly buried in graves dug by the shells which had slain them.

Still no tidings from Bragg. The enemy's advance had ceased entirely; protected by the fleet, they held the parapet and gun-chambers, but their massed columns refused to move and appeared to be intrenching in the work. I believed a determined assault with the bayonet upon their front would drive them out. I had cautioned the gunners not to fire on our men, and had sent Lieutenant Jones, of the navy, to Battery Buchanan, asking for all the force they could spare, and to be careful not to fire on us if we became closely engaged with the enemy The head of the column was not over one hundred feet from the portion of our breastwork which I occupied; I passed quickly in rear of the line and asked the officers and men if they would follow me; they all responded

fearlessly that they would. I returned to my post, and, giving the order "Charge bayonets," sprang upon the breastwork, waved my sword, and, as I gave the command "Forward! double-quick, march!" fell on my knees, a rifle ball having entered my left hip. We were met by a heavy volley, aimed too high to be effective; but our column wavered and fell back behind the breastworks. A soldier raised me up; I turned the command over to Captain Daniel Munn and told him to keep the enemy in check, and that I would bandage my wound and soon return. Before I could reach the hospital I was made to realize that I was incapacitated from joining my men again. In the hospital I found General Whiting suffering uncomplainingly from his two wounds. He told me that Bragg had ignored his presence in the fort and had not noticed his messages. I perceived that the fire of my men had slackened, and sent my Acting Adjutant, John N. Kelly, for Major Reilly next in command (Major James M. Stevenson being too ill for service.) Reilly came and promised me that he would continue the fight as long as a man or a shot was left, and nobly did he keep his promise. I again sent a message to Bragg begging him to come to the rescue. Shortly after my fall the Federals made an advance, and, capturing several more of the gun-chambers, reached the sally-port. The column in the work advanced, but Major Reilly, rallying the men, among them the South Carolinians, who had all become engaged, drove them back. About 8 o'clock at night my aide came to me and said the ammunition was giving out; that he and Chaplain McKinnon had gathered all on the dead and wounded in a blanket and had distributed it; that the enemy had possession of nearly all of the land face: that it was impossible to hold out much longer, and suggested that it would be wise to surrender, as a further struggle might be a useless sacrifice of life. I replied that so long as I lived I would not surrender the fort; that Bragg must soon come to the rescue, and it would save us. General Whiting remarked, "Lamb, when you die I will assume command, and I will not surrender the fort." In less than an hour a fourth brigade (three were already in the fort under General Ames) entered the sally-port and swept the defenders

from the remainder of the land face. Major Reilly had General Whiting and myself hurriedly removed on stretchers to Battery Buchanan, where he purposed to make a stand. When we left the hospital the men were fighting over the adjoining traverse and the spent balls fell like hail-stones around us. The garrison then fell back in an orderly retreat along the sea face, the rear-guard keeping the enemy engaged as they advanced slowly and cautiously in the darkness as far as the Mound Battery, where they halted. Some of the men, cut off from the main body, had to retreat as best they could over the river marsh, while some few unarmed artillerists barely eluded the enemy by following the seashore. When we reached Battery Buchanan there was a mile of level beach between us and our pursuers, swept by two 11-inch guns and a 24-pounder, and in close proximity to the battery, a commodious wharf where transports could have come to carry the men off. We expected to cover with this battery the retreat of the remnant of the garrison, but we found the guns spiked, and every means of transportation, even the barge and crew of the colonel commanding, taken by Captain R. F Chapman, of our navy, who following the example of General Bragg, had abandoned us to our fate. None of the guns of Fort Fisher were spiked, the men fighting them until they were destroyed or their defenders were killed, wounded, or driven out of the batteries by overwhelming numbers. The enemy threw out a heavy skirmish line and sent their fourth brigade to Battery Buchanan, where it arrived about 10 p. m., and received the surrender of the garrison from Major James H. Hill and Lieutenant George D. Parker. Some fifteen minutes or more before the surrender, while lying on a stretcher near General Whiting in front of the battery, and witnessing the grand pyrotechnic display of the fleet over the capture of Fort Fisher, I was accosted by General A. H. Colquitt, who had been ordered to the fort to take command. I had a few moments' hurried conversation with him, informed him of the assault, of the early loss of a portion of the work and garrison, and that when I fell it had for a time demoralized the men, but that the enemy was equally demoralized by our unexpected resistance; and I as-



BOMBARDMENT OF FORT FISHER.

sured him that if Bragg would even then attack, a fresh brigade landed at Battery Buchanan could retake the work. Some officer suggested that the general should take me with him, as I was probably fatally wounded, but I refused to leave, wishing to share the fate of my garrison; and desiring that my family, anxiously awaiting tidings across the river, where they had watched the battle, should not be alarmed, I spoke lightly of my wound. I asked him to carry General Whiting to a place of safety, as he had come to the fort a volunteer. Just then the approach of the enemy was reported, and Colquitt made a precipitate retreat, leaving Whiting behind.*

One more distressing scene remains to be chronicled. The next morning after sunrise a frightful explosion occurred in my reserve magazine, killing and wounding several hundred of the enemy and some of my own wounded officers and men. The magazine was a frame structure 20 x 60 feet and 6 feet high, covered with 18 feet or more of sand, luxuriantly turfed, and contained probably 13,000 pounds of powder. It made an artificial mound most inviting to a wearied soldier, and after the fight was occupied for the night by Colonel Alden's One Hundred and Sixty-ninth New York and by some of my suffering soldiers. Two sailors from the fleet, stupefied by liquor which they had found in the hospital, and looking for booty, were seen to enter the structure with lights, and a moment after the green mound blew up. The telegraph wires, running from a bomb-proof near this magazine across the river to Battery Lamb, gave rise to the impression that it had been purposely exploded from the opposite shore, but an official investigation traced it to the drunken sailors.

So stoutly did those works resist the 50,000 shot and shell thrown against them in the two bombardments that not a magazine or bomb-proof was injured, and after the land armament, with palisades and torpedoes, had been destroyed, no assault would have been practicable in the presence of Bragg's force, had it been under a competent officer. One

*General Whiting died a prisoner at Fort Columbus, New York Harbor, March 10th, 1865.

thousand tons of iron were gathered by the United States from the works.

Had there been no fleet to assist the army at Fort Fisher the Federal infantry could not have dared assault it until its land defenses had been destroyed by gradual approaches. For the first time in the history of sieges the land defenses of the works were destroyed, not by any act of the besieging army, but by the concentrated fire, direct and enfilading, of an immense fleet poured upon them without intermission, until torpedo wires were cut, palisades breached so that they actually afforded cover for assailants, and the slopes of the work were rendered practicable for assault.

ADDENDA.

In a note to the editor Colonel Lamb in writing of the repulse of Butler and Porter in December, says:

"The guns of Fort Fisher were not silenced. On account of a limited supply of ammunition, I gave orders to fire each gun not more than once in thirty minutes, except by special order; unless an attempt should be made to run by the fort, when discretion was given each gun commander to use his piece effectively. There were forty-four guns. On 24 December 672 shots were expended; a detailed report was received from each battery. Only three guns were rendered unserviceable, and these by the fire of the fleet disabling the carriages. On 25 December six hundred shots were expended, exclusive of grape and canister. Detailed reports were made. Five guns were disabled by the fire of the fleet, making eight in all. Besides, two 7-inch Brooke rifled guns exploded, leaving thirty-four heavy guns on Christmas night. The last guns on the 24th and 25th were fired by Fort Fisher on the retiring fleet. In the first fight the total casualties were 61, as follows: December 24th, mortally wounded, 1; seriously wounded, 3; slightly 19—23. December 25th, killed, 3; mortally wounded, 2; severely, 7; slightly, 26. These included those wounded by the explosion of the Brooke rifled guns—38."

Colonel Lamb, writing, December, 1888, says:

"There were never in Fort Fisher, including sick, killed,

and wounded, over 1,900 men. The sailors and marines, etc., captured from Battery Buchanan, and those captured in front of the work, while swelling the list of prisoners, cannot rightly be counted among the defenders of the work. No new defense was added to the face of the fort between the battles. The redoubt in front of the sally-port was there in December and had been used against Butler's skirmish line."

Colonel Lamb, writing to the editor on the subject of the numbers defending the northeast salient, says:

"Five hundred effective men will cover all engaged in repulsing the naval column, and the destructive fire was from the three hundred, who, from the top of the ramparts and traverses, fired upon the assailants. The gallant navy need not exaggerate the number opposing them, assisted by the artillery. No apology or defense is necessary to excuse the repulse. The unorganized and improperly armed force failed to enter the fort, but their gallant attempt enabled the army to enter and obtain a foothold, which they otherwise could not have done."

THE OPPOSING FORCES AT FORT FISHER, N. C., JANUARY 13–15, 1865.

THE UNION ARMY

MAJOR-GENERAL ALFRED H. TERRY—Commanding.

SECOND DIVISION, TWENTY-FOURTH ARMY CORPS—*Brigadier-General Adelbert Ames.*

First Brigade—Colonel N. Martin Curtis: Third New York, Captain James H. Reeve, Lieutenant Edwin A. Behan; One Hundred and Twelfth New York, Colonel John F. Smith; One Hundred and Seventeenth New York, Lieutenant-Colonel Franxis X. Meyer; One Hundred and Forty-second New York, Lieutenant-Colonel Albert M. Barney.

Second Brigade—Colonel Galusha Pennypacker, Major Oliver P Harding: Forty-seventh New York, Captain Joseph M. McDonald; Forty-eighth New York, Lieutenant-

Colonel William B. Coan, Major Nere A. Elfwing; Seventy-sixth Pennsylvania, Colonel John S. Littell, Major Charles Knerr; Ninety-seventh Pennsylvania, Lieutenant John Wainwright; Two Hundred and Third Pennsylvania, Colonel John W Moore, Lieutenant-Colonel Jonas W Lyman, Major Oliver P Harding, Captain Heber B. Essington.

Third Brigade—Colonel Louis Bell, Colonel Alonzo Alden: Thirteenth Indiana, Lieutenant-Colonel Samuel M. Zent; Fourth New Hampshire, John H. Roberts; One Hundred and Fifteenth New York, Lieutenant-Colonel Nathan J Johnson; One Hundred and Sixty-ninth New York, Colonel Alonzo Alden, Lieutenant-Colonel James A. Colvin.

Second Brigade, First Division—(temporarily attached to Second Division), Colonel Joseph C Abbott: Sixth Connecticut, Colonel Alfred P Rockwell; Seventh Connecticut, Captain John Thompson, Captain William S. Marable; Third New Hampshire, Captain William H. Trickey; Seventh New Hampshire, Lieutenant-Colonel Augustus W Rollins; Sixteenth New York Heavy Artillery (detachment), Lieutenant F F Huntington.

THIRD DIVISION, TWENTY-FIFTH ARMY CORPS (colored troops)—*Brigadier-General Charles J Paine.*

Second Brigade—Colonel John W Ames: Fourth United States, Lieutenant-Colonel George Rogers; Sixth United States, Major A. S. Boernstein; Thirtieth United States, Lieutenant-Colonel H. A. Oakman; Thirty-ninth United States, Colonel O. P Stearns.

Third Brigade—Colonel Elias Wright: First United States, Lieutenant-Colonel Giles H. Rich; Fifth United States, Major William R. Brazie; Tenth United States, Lieutenant-Colonel Edward H. Powell; Twenty-seventh United States, Colonel A. M. Blackman; Thirty-seventh United States, Colonel Nathan Goff, Jr.

Artillery—B, G, and L, First Connecticut Heavy, Captain William G. Pride; Sixteenth New York Battery, Captain Richard H. Lee; E, Third United States, Lieutenant John R. Myrick.

Engineers—A, and I, Fifteenth New York, Lieutenant K. S. O'Keefe.

The effective strength of the force above enumerated was nearly 8,000. The loss aggregated 184 killed, 749 wounded, and 22 missing—955. By the explosion of a magazine the day after the capture there were 25 killed, 66 wounded, and 13 missing.

THE CONFEDERATE ARMY

GENERAL BRAXTON BRAGG—*Department Commander.*

MAJOR-GENERAL W H. C. WHITING—*District Commander.*

DEFENCES, MOUTH OF CAPE FEAR RIVER—*Brigadier-General Louis Hebert.*

FORT FISHER.

There were in Fort Fisher on 13, 14 and 15 January, 1865, these include all present during that time, sick, killed and wounded.

WILLIAM LAMB, of Virginia, Colonel Commanding.

MAJOR JAMES M. STEVENSON, of Thirty-sixth North Carolina Regiment (too ill for duty).

MAJOR JAMES REILLY, of Tenth North Carolina Regiment.

CAPTAIN GEORGE D. PARKER, Adjutant, on special duty

LIEUTENANT JOHN N. KELLY, Company B, Thirty-sixth North Carolina Regiment, Acting Adjutant.

LIEUTENANT CHARLES H. BLOCKER, Aide to Colonel Commanding.

Thirty-sixth North Carolina Regiment, Captain R. J Murphy, Company A, 75; Captain Dan Munn, Company B, 90; Captain K. J Braddy, Company C, 71; Captain E. B. Dudley, Company D, 70; Captain O. H. Powell, Company E, 75; Lieutenant E. L. Hunter, Acting Captain Company F, 100; Captain Wm. Swaine, Company G, 75; Captain Daniel Patterson, Company H, 75; Captain J F. Melvin, Company I, 90; Captain Wm. F Brooks, Company K, 75; total. 796

Fortieth North Carolina Regiment (four companies), Captain Jas. L. Lane, Company D, 91; Captain M. H. McBryde, Company E, 90; Captain Geo. C' Buchan, Company G, 90; Captain D. J Clarke, Company K, 65; total.	336
Tenth North Carolina Regiment (two companies), Captain E. D. Walsh, Company F, 55; Captain Wm. Shaw, Company K, 65; total.	120
First North Carolina Battalion, Captain Jas. L. McCormick, Company D; total.	80
Third North Carolina Battalion, Captain Jno. M. Sutton, Company C.	45
Thirteenth North Carolina Battalion, Captain Z. T. Adams, Company D	60
Naval Detachment, sailors and marines, Captain A. C Vanbenthusen	60
Twenty-first South Carolina Regiment, Captain Dubose, and Twenty-fifth South Carolina Regiment, Captain Carson, of Hagood's Bridge; total.	350
Surgeons, Spiers W Singleton; Assistant Surgeon, Powhatan Bledsoe, with band as ambulance corps, including all field and staff officers and volunteers, officers, cooks and other detailed men, not over	53
Grand total	1,900

Major-General Whiting, Major James H. Hill, Assistant Adjutant-General, with others on Whiting's staff, were in the fort as volunteers.

General Braxton Bragg in his official report, made from Headquarters, Department of North Carolina, Wilmington, N C., 20 January, 1865, gives the garrison 1,800 men: to which he says he added 500, making 2,300.

In same report he says: "Fort Fisher had 110 commissioned officers and 2,400 or 2,500 men."

There had 1,550 officers and men reported in Fort Fisher up to 15 January, 1865. Hagood's Brigade, 1,000 strong, was sent by Bragg on that day, but only 350 landed and reported; this made 1,900. Had all landed, Bragg would have been about correct.

General Bragg's reports of Fort Fisher, its garrison and their defence are grossly inaccurate.

Battery Buchanan—Captain R. F. Chapman, C. S. N.

Hoke's Division, Major-General Robert F. Hoke.

Clingman's Brigade—Eighth North Carolina, Thirty-first North Carolina, Fifty-first North Carolina, Sixty-first North Carolina.

Colquitt's Brigade—Brigadier-General A. H. Colquitt: Sixth Georgia, Colonel T. J Lofton; Nineteenth Georgia, Twenty-third Georgia, Twenty-seventh Georgia, Twenty-eighth Georgia.

Hagood's Brigade—Eleventh South Carolina, Twenty-first South Carolina, Twenty-fifth South Carolina, Twenty-seventh South Carolina, Seventh South Carolina Battalion.

Kirkland's Brigade—Seventeenth North Carolina, Forty-second North Carolina, Sixty-sixth North Carolina.*

Cavalry—Second South Carolina, Colonel T. J Lipscomb.

According to General Bragg's official report the garrison of Fort Fisher (including reinforcements from the adjacent forts) numbered 1,800, and the movable force under General Hoke, including reserves and cavalry, was about 6,000. In regard to the losses, the same authority says: "After the enemy entered the fort our loss is represented to have been about 500 killed and wounded."

General Terry reported the capture of 112 officers and 1,971 men, but this was incorrect or possibly included prisoners from other commands. After the war Colonel Lamb tried to ascertain the number of prisoners sent north from Fort Fisher, but found no data and the numbers of prisoners were generally estimated except in an exchange. All present in Fort Fisher 13-15 January, including sick, killed and wounded, numbered 1,900.

NORTH ATLANTIC SQUADRON.

REAR ADMIRAL DAVID D. PORTER, Commanding.

LIEUTENANT-COMMANDER K. R. BREESE, Fleet Captain.

LIEUTENANT M. W SANDERS, Signal Officer.

NOTE.—The Fiftieth North Carolina of this brigade was absent in South Carolina.—ED.

LIEUTENANT S. W TERRY AND LIEUTENANT S. W PRESTON, (killed), Aides.

FIRST DIVISION, Commodore Henry K. Thatcher.

SECOND DIVISION, Commodore Joseph Lanman.

THIRD DIVISION, Commodore, Jas. Findlay Schenck.

FOURTH DIVISION, Commodore S. W Godon.

IRON-CLAD DIVISION, Commodore Wm. Radford.

FLAG-SHIP—*Malvern*, Lieutenant William B. Cushing (first attack); Lieutenant B. H. Porter (killed), (second attack).

IRON-CLADS—*Canonicus*, Lieutenant-Commander George E. Belknap. *Mahopac*, Lieutenant-Commander E. E. Potter (first attack); Lieutenant-Commander A. W Weaver (second attack). *Monadnock*, Commander E. G. Parrott. *New Ironsides*, Commodore William Radford. *Saugus*, Commander E. R. Colhoun.

SCREW FRIGATES—*Colorado*, Commodore H. K. Thatcher. *Minnesota*, Commodore Joseph Lanman. *Wabash*, Captain M. Smith.

SIDE-WHEEL STEAMERS (first class)—*Powhatan*, Commodore J F Schenck. *Susquehanna*, Commodore S. W Godon.

SCREW SLOOPS—*Brooklyn*, Captain James Alden. *Juniata*, Captain W R. Taylor (first attack); Lieutenant-Commander T. S. Phelps (second attack). *Mohican*, Commander D. Ammen. *Shenandoah*, Captain D. B. Ridgely. *Ticonderoga*, Captain C. Steedman. *Tuscarora*, Commander J. M. Frailey

SCREW GUN-VESSELS—*Kansas*, Lieutenant-Commander P. G. Watmough. *Maumee*, Lieutenant-Commander R. Chandler. *Nyack*, Lieutenant-Commander L. H. Newman. *Pequot*, Lieutenant-Commander D. L. Braine. *Yantic*, Lieutenant-Commander T. C. Harris.

SCREW GUN-BOATS—*Chippewa*, Lieutenant-Commander A. W Weaver (first attack); Lieutenant-Commander E. E. Potter (second attack.) *Huron*, Lieutenant-Commander T. O. Selfridge. *Seneca*, Lieutenant-Commander M. Sicard. *Unadilla*, Lieutenant-Commander F. M. Ramsay.

DOUBLE-ENDERS—*Iosco*, Commander John Guest. *Mackinaw*, Commander J. C Beaumont. *Maratanza*, Lieutenant-

Commander G. W Young. *Osceola,* Commander J. M. B. Clitz. *Pawtuxet,* Commander J. H. Spotts. *Pontoosuc,* Lieutenant-Commander Wm. G. Temple. *Sassacus,* Lieutenant-Commander J L. Davis. *Tacony,* Lieutenant-Commander W T. Truxtun.

MISCELLANEOUS VESSELS—*Fort Jackson,* Captain B. F Sands. *Monticello,* Acting Vice-Lieutenant D. A. Campbell (first attack); Lieutenant W B. Cushing (second attack). *Nereus,* Commander J C. Howell. *Quaker City,* Commander W F Spicer. *Rhode Island,* Commander S. D. Trenchard. *Santiago de Cuba,* Captain O. S. Glisson. *Vanderbilt,* Captain, C W Pickering.

POWDER VESSEL—*Louisiana,* Commander A. C Rhind (first attack: blown up).

RESERVE—*A. D. Vance,* Lieutenant-Commander J. H. Upshur. *Alabama,* Acting Vice-Lieutenant Frank Smith (first attack); Acting Vice-Lieutenant A. R. Langthorne (second attack). *Britannia,* Acting Vice-Lieutenant Samuel Huse (first attack); Acting Vice-Lieutenant W A. Sheldon (second attack). *Cherokee,* Acting Vice-Lieutenant W E. Denison. *Emma,* Acting Vice-Lieutenant T. C Dunn (first attack); Acting Vice-Lieutenant J. M. Williams (second attack). *Gettysburg,* Lieutenant-Commander R. H. Lamson (wounded). *Governor Buckingham,* Acting Vice-Lieutenant J. McDiarmid. *Howquah,* Acting Vice-Lieutenant J W Balch. *Keystone State,* Commander H. Rolando. *Lilian,* Acting Vice-Lieutenant T. A. Harris. *Little Ada,* Acting Master S. P Crafts. *Moccasin,* Acting Ensign Jas. Brown. *Nansemond,* Acting Master J H. Porter. *Tristram Shandy,* Acting Ensign Ben. Wood (first attack); Acting Vice-Lieutenant F. M. Green (second attack). *Wilderness,* Acting Master H. Arey

At the second attack the fleet was composed of the same vessels, with the exception of the *Nyack, Keystone State,* and *Quaker City.* The following additions were also made to the fleet: *Montgomery,* Acting Vice-Lieutenant T. C. Dunn; *R. R. Cuyler,* Commander C. H. B. Caldwell; *Aries,* Acting Vice-Lieutenant F S. Wells; *Eolus,* Acting Master E. S.

Keyser; *Fort Donelson,* Acting Master G. W Frost; and *Republic,* Acting Ensign J. W Bennett.

ARMAMENT OF THE FLEET.

In the first attack the armament of the fleet was 10 15-inch S. B., 27 11-inch S. B., 1 10-inch S. B., 255 9-inch S. B., 30 8-inch S. B., 31 32-pounders S. B., 10 150-pounders R., 37 100-pounders R., 5 60-pounders R., 1 50-pounder R., 43 30-pounders R., 28 20-pounders R.; total guns, 478. Howitzers: 68 24-pounders, 73 12-pounders; total howitzers, 141; grand total, 619.

In the second attack there were 1 more 10-inch S. B., 2 fewer 9-inch S. B., 2 more 8-inch S. B., 8 more 32-pounders S. B., 8 fewer 100-pounders R., 1 fewer 50-pounder R., 5 more 30-pounders R., 1 fewer 20-pounder R., 4 more 12-pounder howitzers; making 4 more guns and 4 more howitzers; grand total, 627

LANDING PARTY AT FORT FISHER, 15 JANUARY, 1865: 2,261 OFFICERS, SEAMEN, AND MARINES—Lieutenant-Commander K. R. Breese, Fleet Captain, commanding.

FIRST DIVISION, Captain L. L. Dawson, U S. M. C

SECOND DIVISION, Lieutenant-Commander C H. Cushman (wounded).

THIRD DIVISION, Lieutenant-Commander James Parker.

FOURTH DIVISION, Lieutenant-Commander T. O. Selfridge.

PIONEERS, Lieutenant S. W Preston (killed).—*Malvern,* 60 men, Lieutenant B. H. Porter (killed). *Colorado,* 218 men, Lieutenant H. B. Robeson. *Minnesota,* 241 men, Lieutenant-Commander James Parker. *Wabash,* 188 men, Lieutenant-Commander C. H. Cushman (wounded). *Powhatan,* 100 men, Lieutenant George M. Bache (wounded). *Susquehanna,* 75 men, Lieutenant-Commander F. B. Blake. *Brooklyn,* 70 men (estimated), Acting Ensign D. Cassell; *Juniata,* 69 men, Acting Master C H. Hamilton (wounded). *Mohican,* 52 men, Acting Master W Burdett. *Shenandoah,* 71 men, Lieutenant S. W Nichols. *Ticonderoga,* 60 men, Ensign G. W. Coffin (wounded). *Tuscarora,* 60 men, Lieutenant-Commander W. N. Allen (wounded). *Kansas,* 20

men, Acting Ensign Williams. *Pequot*, 44 men, Acting Ensign G. Lamb. *Yantic*, 45 men, Acting Ensign J C. Lord. *Chippewa*, 24 men, Acting Ensign G. H. Wood. *Huron*, 34 men, Lieutenant-Commander T. O. Selfridge. *Seneca*, 29 men, Lieutenant-Commander M. Sicard. *Iosco*, 44 men, Acting Ensign W Jameson. *Mackinaw*, 45 men, Acting Master A. J. Louch (wounded). *Maratanza*, 51 men, Acting Master J. B. Wood (wounded). *Osceola*, 39 men, Acting Ensign J. F. Merry (wounded). *Pawtuxet*, 40 men, (estimated), Acting Ensign J A. Slamm. *Pontoosuc*, 42 men, Acting Ensign L. R. Chester (wounded.) *Sassacus*, 37 men, Acting Ensign W H. Mayer. *Tacony*, 32 men, Acting Ensign J. B. Taney. *Fort Jackson*, 69 men, Lieutenant S. H. Hunt. *Monticello*, 41 men, Lieutenant W B. Cushing. *Nereus*, 61 men, Acting Ensign E. G. Dayton. *Rhode Island*, 47 men, Lieutenant F. R. Smith. *Santiago de Cuba*, 53 men, Lieutenant N H. Farquhar. *Vanderbilt*, 70 men (estimated), Acting Vice-Lieutenant J D. Danels. *Gettysburg*, 71 men, Lieutenant R. H. Lamson (wounded). *Tristram Shandy*, 22 men, Acting Ensign B. Wood wounded. *Montgomery*, 37 men, Acting Master W N. Wells. Total 2,261 men.

CASUALTIES—The reports of casualties in the first attack, as collated by the Surgeon-General, give the following result: 19 killed, 1 mortally scalded, 31 severely wounded, 1 severely scalded, 31 slightly wounded or scalded. Total, 83.

CASUALTIES IN THE SECOND ATTACK—*Malvern*, 3 killed, 1 wounded; *Canonicus*, 3 wounded; *Saugus*, 1 wounded; *Colorado*, 4 killed, 17 wounded, 8 missing: *Minnesota*, 15 killed, 26 wounded, 2 missing; *Wabash*, 4 killed, 22 wounded, 5 missing; *Powhatan*, 4 killed, 17 wounded, 8 missing; *Susquehanna*, 3 killed, 15 wounded; *Brooklyn*, 3 wounded, 2 missing; *Juniata*, 5 killed, 10 wounded; *Mohican*, 1 killed, 11 wounded; *Shenandoah*, 6 wounded, 5 missing; *Ticonderoga*, 2 killed, 2 wounded; *Tuscarora*, 4 killed, 12 wounded; *Kansas*, 1 wounded; *Pequot*, 3 killed, 5 wounded; *Yantic*, 2 killed, 1 wounded; *Chippewa*, 4 killed 4 wounded; *Huron*, 5 wounded; *Seneca*, 5 wounded; *Iosco*, 2 killed, 12 wounded; *Mackinaw*, 2 wounded, 2 missing; *Maratanza*, 3 wounded;

Osceola, 3 wounded; *Pawtuxet,* 2 wounded; *Pontoosuc,* 7 wounded; *Tacomy,* 4 killed, 11 wounded; *Sassacus,* 3 killed, 3 wounded; *Fort Jackson,* 1 killed, 10 wounded; *Monticello,* 4 killed, 4 wounded; *Nereus,* 3 killed, 3 wounded; *Rhode Island,* 8 wounded, 2 missing; *Santiago de Cuba,* 1 killed, 9 wounded; *Vanderbilt,* 2 killed, 13 wounded; *Gettysburg,* 6 killed, 6 wounded; *Tristram Shandy,* 2 wounded, 1 missing; *Montgomery,* 2 killed, 4 wounded. Total, killed 82; wounded, 269; missing, 35; grand total, 386.

WILLIAM LAMB.

NORFOLK, VA.,
15 January, 1901.

SURRENDER AT APPOMATTOX.

By MAJOR-GENERAL BRYAN GRIMES.

On the night of Saturday, 1 April, 1865, my division occupied a portion of the defences around the city of Petersburg, my left resting on Otey's Battery, near the memorable Crater, my right extending to the dam on a creek beyond Battery 45. Ramseur's old Brigade of North Carolinians, commanded by Colonel W R. Cox (holding appointment as temporary Brigadier), was on the right; Archer's Brigade of Virginia Junior Reserves, and Grimes' old brigade of North Carolinians, commanded by Colonel D. G. Cowand, of the Thirty-second North Carolina; Battle's Brigade of Alabamians, commanded by Colonel Hobson, of the Fifth Alabama; Cook's Brigade of Georgians, commanded by Colonel Nash, extended to the left in the order above named, numbering for duty about two thousand two hundred muskets, covering at least three and a half miles of the trenches around Petersburg. One-third of my men were constantly on picket duty in our front, one-third kept awake at the breastworks during the night, with one-third only off duty at a time, and they were required always to sleep with their accoutrements on and upon their arms, ready to repel an attack at a moment's warning.

About 10 o'clock on the night of 1 April, 1865, the cannonading from the artillery and mortars in my front became unusually severe, and about 11 o'clock the Federals charged, capturing my picket line, which consisted of pits dug in the

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Note.—General Grimes entered the army in 1861 as Major of the Fourth Regiment N C. T He filled every grade up to Major-General and literally fought his way up. He was the highest officer from this State at Appomattox, being the only Major-General we had in that army at that time. There was no braver man in the whole army. Having gone through countless battles, this gallant soldier lived to be slain by an assassin while riding along the road near his own home, 14 Aug. 1880. The culprit was arrested and though his guilt was clear he was acquitted by a miscarriage of justice which shocked the whole State. But returning to the scene of the murder the assassin having rashly boasted of his crime, was promptly hung by outraged neighbors.—Ed.

earth for protection from sharpshooters, and occupied by my soldiers, varying in distance from one hundred and fifty to three hundred yards in front of our main breastworks. I took measures immediately to re-establish this line, which was successfully accomplished, and our pits re-occupied, About daylight of the 2d the enemy again drove in our pickets and charged Rune's salient at the point where Battle's Brigade was posted, carrying the works for a few hundred yards on each side of that point, doubling and throwing Cook's Brigade back a short distance. I hurried the commands of Colonels Cowand and Archer to the point of attack as rapidly as possible, charging the enemy, who were in possession of and protected by our traverses and bomb-proofs (which were erected to prevent our line being enfiladed, and also as a place of refuge from their perpendicular mortar fire), and continued gradually to gain traverse after traverse of our captured works.

I then secured four pieces of artillery, which were placed in our second line of works, and were invaluable in checking the advance of the enemy, thus confining them by grape and canister to this particular point at the salient, preventing their advancing to attack our lines in flank or rear; Cook and Battle holding them in check on the left, and Cowand and Archer on the right of the captured works, their only point of egress being exposed to the fire of the artillery

I regret my inability to recall the names and thus give honorable mention to those gallant artillerists who rendered me such effective service.

During the forenoon a brigade, under command of Colonel ————, reported to me for duty, and was placed near the artillery in this second line of earth works (which had been constructed to fall back upon in case of disaster to our first line). My dispositions were soon made to attack the enemy simultaneously at all points—Cowand and Archer on the right, Cook and Battle on the left, who were to drive them from the protection of their traverses. Colonel ——— commanded in front with a heavy line of skirmishers, connecting his left with Cook and his right with Cowand. My four pieces of artillery poured grape and canister into the

enemy, and I gave the signal for the infantry to advance, when a general charge was made, but through a direct violation of orders on the part of Colonel ————, this attack only partially succeeded, capturing that portion of the line alone upon which the skirmishers advanced, Colonel ——— having changed the direction of attack, and charged the point assigned to the skirmishers on the right, thereby leaving a space of three hundred yards unassailed. There is no doubt in my mind that if Colonel ———— had attacked with vigor at that time, we could have driven the enemy entirely from our works. After the lapse of an hour, during which time the enemy were heavily reinforced, I ordered another attack from the second line in which Colonel ———— participated, but by again diverting the brigade in the direction of Cowand's Brigade, instead of towards the salient, the enemy were dislodged from only a small portion of the lines.

Subsequently sixty men of Johnston's North Carolina Brigade, under command of Captain Plato Durham, recaptured Fort Mahone, which for an hour had been so covered by our fire as to forbid its occupants showing themselves. In taking this fort a large number of prisoners were captured; so many, in fact, that when I first saw them skulking behind the earthworks for protection against the fire of their own men, I feared it was a ruse on the part of the enemy to surprise us. They had secreted themselves for safety in this work, and we, in our charge, had taken the only outlet.

After this no general attack was made, though we continued slowly but gradually to drive them from traverse to traverse.

About nightfall the enemy occupied some two hundred yards of our breastworks. Through no inefficiency or negligence on the part of the officers and men were the works carried, but owing to the weakness of the line, its extreme length, and the want of sufficient force to defend it, for they acted most heroically on this trying occasion. Only one unwounded man (an officer) did I see seeking the rear, and he one whom I had the previous day ordered under arrest for trafficking with the enemy (exchanging tobacco for coffee). Him I hailed and inquired where he was going, when he re-

called his arrest of the previous day, from which I immediately released him, and sent him back to his command.

I had a verbal conference with General Lee and afterwards officially reported my inability to hold this point against any vigorous attack. In consequence of this report, Lieutenant-Colonel Peyton, the Army Inspector, was sent to examine this line, and he coincided with my views and so reported to General Lee. On an average throughout, the space from man to man was at least eight feet in the line of trenches. I doubted not that with a reserve of five hundred men I could have driven the enemy from any point which they might capture, and repeatedly urged that such an arrangement be made, knowing well that the enemy, by concentrating a large force on any given point, could press their way through the line, and my only salvation was in having the means at hand to drive them back before large numbers could enter. Our left was the post of greatest danger. There should the reserve have been placed; but General Lee informed me that every available man was on duty, and I must do the best I could.

On Sunday night of the 2d we had orders to abandon the works, and without the knowledge of the Federals, we withdrew to the north side of the Appomattox river, following the Hickory Road to Goode's bridge, when we recrossed the Appomattox, proceeding towards Amelia Court House, which we reached on the morning of the 5th. Wednesday we remained stationary in line of battle, confronting the enemy until about dark, when we followed the army, taking up the rear, being very much impeded on the march by the wagon train and its most miserable management, which, as I apprehended, would cause us some disaster. The enemy showed themselves on Thursday, about 8 o'clock, a. m., in our rear and on our left flank, when near Amelia Springs, and in a short time began to press us vigorously.

I then formed Cox's and Cowand's Brigades in line of battle, with a heavy skirmish line in front to impede their progress, and to cover our rear, sending Battle's, Cook's and Archer's Brigades forward for one-half mile to form there, across the road, in line of battle in order to allow Cowand

and Cox to retreat safely when the enemy had deployed and prepared to attack; our right flank being protected by a North Carolina brigade of cavalry under General Roberts. In this manner alternating the brigades throughout the day, we continued to oppose the enemy and retreat, endeavoring to protect the lagging wagon train, which was successfully done up to about 4 p. m., when we approached Sailor's Creek, and upon the ridge running parallel with that stream we made the final stand of the day, the wagons becoming blocked up at the bridge crossing the stream. At this point General Lee ordered me if possible to hold this line until he could have artillery put in position on the opposite hills over the creek parallel with those I occupied.

The enemy pushed on rapidly, attacking us with very great pertinacity. We here repeatedly repulsed their assaults, but by turning both of our flanks they succeeded in not only dislodging, but driving us across the creek in confusion. About now the artillery from the heights occupied by General Lee opened upon the enemy, and the sun being down they did not cross the creek. After we broke, personally I was so pressed, the space between the two wings of the enemy being not over two hundred yards, that I sought safety in retreat. I galloped to the creek (the bridge being in their possession) where the banks were very precipitous, and for protection from their murderous fire, concluded to jump my horse in, riding him through the water, and effect my escape by abandoning him on the other side, the bullets of the enemy whistled around me like hail all the while. By great good fortune, the opposite banks proved not so precipitous, and my horse, seeming to appreciate the situation, clambered up the height, and started off in a run, thus securing my safety. This same animal, Warren, I still own and treasure for his past services. That night we took the road for Farmville, crossing the Appomattox at High Bridge, posting guards on the south side, thus collecting all stragglers and returning them to their commands.

The next morning (Friday) we continued our march down the railroad and formed line of battle on the Lynchburg road, still endeavoring to preserve that *impedimenta* of Cæsar's—

the wagon train—marching by the left flank through the woods parallel to the road traveled by the wagon train, and about one hundred or so yards distant from the road. Upon reaching the road and point that turns towards Lynchburg from the Cumberland road, three of my brigades, Cook's, Cox's and Cowand's, had crossed the Cumberland road and were in line of battle, and at right angles with Battle's and Archer's Brigades, who were still parallel with the Cumberland road. Heavy firing was going on at this point, when General Mahone came rushing up and reported that the enemy had charged, turning his flank, and driving his men from their guns and the works which he had erected early in the day for the protection of these cross roads. I then ordered my three brigades, Cook's, Cox's and Cowand's (to move) at a double-quick on the line with Battle and Archer, and charging the enemy, we drove them well off from Mahone's works, recapturing the artillery taken by them and capturing a large number of prisoners. I held this position until sent for by General Lee, who complimented the troops of the division upon the charge made and the service rendered, ordering me to leave a skirmish line in my front, and stating that Field's Division would occupy my position; I was to hurry with all possible dispatch to the road which intersected the Lynchburg road, as the enemy's cavalry were reported to be approaching by that road.

We reached this road, halting and keeping the enemy in check until the wagons had passed, and then continued the march parallel with the road traveled by the wagon train, continuing thus to march until night, when we took the road following to protect the trains.

On Saturday, the 8th, no enemy appeared, and we marched undisturbed all day. Up to this time, since the evacuation of Petersburg, we had marched day and night, continually followed and harassed by the enemy. The men were very much jaded and suffering for necessary sustenance, our halts not having been sufficiently long to prepare their food, besides all our cooking utensils not captured or abandoned were where we could not reach them. This day Bushrod Johnson's Division was assigned to and placed under my command, by

order of General Lee. Upon passing a clear stream of water and learning that the other division of the corps had gone into camp some two miles ahead, I concluded to halt and give my broken down men an opportunity to close up and rejoin us, and sent a message to Major-General John B. Gordon, commanding the Corps, making known my whereabouts, informing him I would be at any point he might designate at any hour desired.

By dark my men were all quiet and asleep. About 9 o'clock I heard the roar of artillery in our front and in consequence of information received, I had my command aroused in time and passed through the town of Appomattox Court House before daylight, where, upon the opposite side of the town, I found the enemy in my front. Throwing out my skirmishers and forming line of battle, I reconnoitred and satisfied myself as to their position, and awaited the arrival of General Gordon for instructions who, a while before day, accompanied by General Fitz Lee, came to my position, when we held a council of war. General Gordon was of the opinion that the troops in our front were cavalry, and that General Fitz Lee should attack. Fitz Lee thought they were infantry and that General Gordon should attack. They discussed the matter so long that I became impatient, and said it was somebody's duty to attack, and that immediately, and I felt satisfied that they could be driven from the cross roads occupied by them, which was the route it was desirable that our wagon train should pursue, and that I would undertake it; whereupon Gordon said, "Well, drive them off." I replied, "I cannot do it with my division alone, but require assistance." He then said, "You can take the two other divisions of the Corps." By this time it was becoming sufficiently light to make the surrounding localities visible. I then rode down and invited General Walker, who commanded a division on my left, composed principally of Virginians, to ride with me, showing him the position of the enemy and explaining to him my views and plan of attack. He agreed with me as to its advisability. I did this because I felt that I had assumed a very great responsibility when I took upon myself the charge of making the attack. I then made dispo-

sitions to dislodge the Federals from their position, placing Bushrod Johnson's Division upon my right, with instructions to attack and take the enemy in the flank, while my division skirmishers charged in front, where temporary earthworks had been thrown up by the enemy, their cavalry holding the crossings of the road with a battery. I soon perceived a disposition on their part to attack this division in flank. I rode back and threw our right so as to take advantage of some ditches and fences to obstruct the cavalry if they should attempt to make a charge. In the meantime the cavalry of Fitz Lee were proceeding by a circuitous route to get in rear of them at these cross roads. The enemy observing me placing these troops in position, fired upon me with four pieces of artillery. I remember well the appearance of the shell, and how directly they came towards me, exploding and completely enveloping me in smoke. I then gave the signal to advance, at the same time Fitz Lee charged those posted at the cross roads, when my skirmishers attacked the breastworks, which were taken without much loss on my part, also capturing several pieces of artillery and a large number of prisoners, I at the same time moving the division up to the support of the skirmishers in echelon by brigades, driving the enemy in confusion for three-quarters of a mile beyond the range of hills covered with oak undergrowth. I then learned from the prisoners that my right flank was threatened. Halting my troops I placed the skirmishers, commanded by Colonel J R. Winston, Forty-fifth North Carolina Troops, in front, about one hundred yards distant, to give notice of indication of attack. I placed Cox's Brigade, which occupied the right of the division at right angles to the other troops, to watch that flank. The other divisions of the Corps (Walker's and Evans') were on the left. I then sent an officer to General Gordon, announcing our success, and that the Lynchburg road was open for the escape of the wagons, and that I awaited orders. Thereupon I received an order to withdraw, which I declined to do, supposing that General Gordon did not understand the commanding position which my troops occupied. He continued to send me order after order to the same effect, which I still disregarded,

being under the impression that he did not comprehend our favorable location, until finally, I received a message from him, with an additional one, as coming from General Lee, to fall back. I felt the difficulty of withdrawing without disaster and ordered Colonel J. R. Winston, commanding the skirmish line which had been posted in my front on first reaching these hills, to conform his movements to those of the division, and to move by the left flank so as to give notice of an attack from that quarter. I then ordered Cox to maintain his position in line of battle, and not to show himself until our rear was one hundred yards distant, and then to fall back in line of battle, so as to protect our rear and right flank from assault. I then instructed Major Peyton, of my staff, to start the left in motion, and I continued with the rear.

The enemy upon seeing us move off, rushed out from under cover with a cheer, when Cox's Brigade, lying concealed at the brow of the hill, rose and fired a volley into them which drove them back into the woods, the brigade then following their retreating comrades in line of battle unmolested. After proceeding about half the distance to the position occupied by us in the morning, a dense mass of the enemy in column (infantry), appeared on our right, and advanced, without firing, towards the earthworks captured by us in the early morning, when a battery of our artillery opened with grape and canister and drove them under the shelter of the woods.

As my troops approached their position of the morning, I rode up to General Gordon and asked where I should form line of battle. He replied, "Anywhere you choose." Struck by the strangeness of the reply, I asked an explanation, whereupon he informed me that we would be surrendered. I then expressed very forcibly my dissent to being surrendered, and indignantly upbraided him for not giving me notice of such intention, as I could have escaped with my division and joined General Joe Johnston, then in North Carolina. Furthermore, that I should then inform my men of the purpose to surrender, and that whoever desired to escape that calamity could go with me, and galloped off to carry this idea into effect. Before reaching my troops, however, General Gor-

don overtook me, and placing his hand upon my shoulder, asked me if I were going to desert the army and tarnish my own honor as a soldier, and said that it would be a reflection upon General Lee and an indelible disgrace to me, if I, an officer of rank, should escape under a flag of truce, which was then pending. I was in a dilemma and knew not what to do; but finally concluded to say nothing on the subject to my troops.

Upon reaching them, one of the soldiers asked if General Lee had surrendered, and upon my answering that I feared it was a fact that we had been surrendered, he cast away his musket and holding his hands aloft, cried in an agonized voice, "Blow, Gabriel, blow! My God, let him Blow; I am ready to die!" We then went beyond the creek at Appomattox Court House, stacked arms amid the bitter tears of bronzed veterans, regretting the necessity of capitulation.

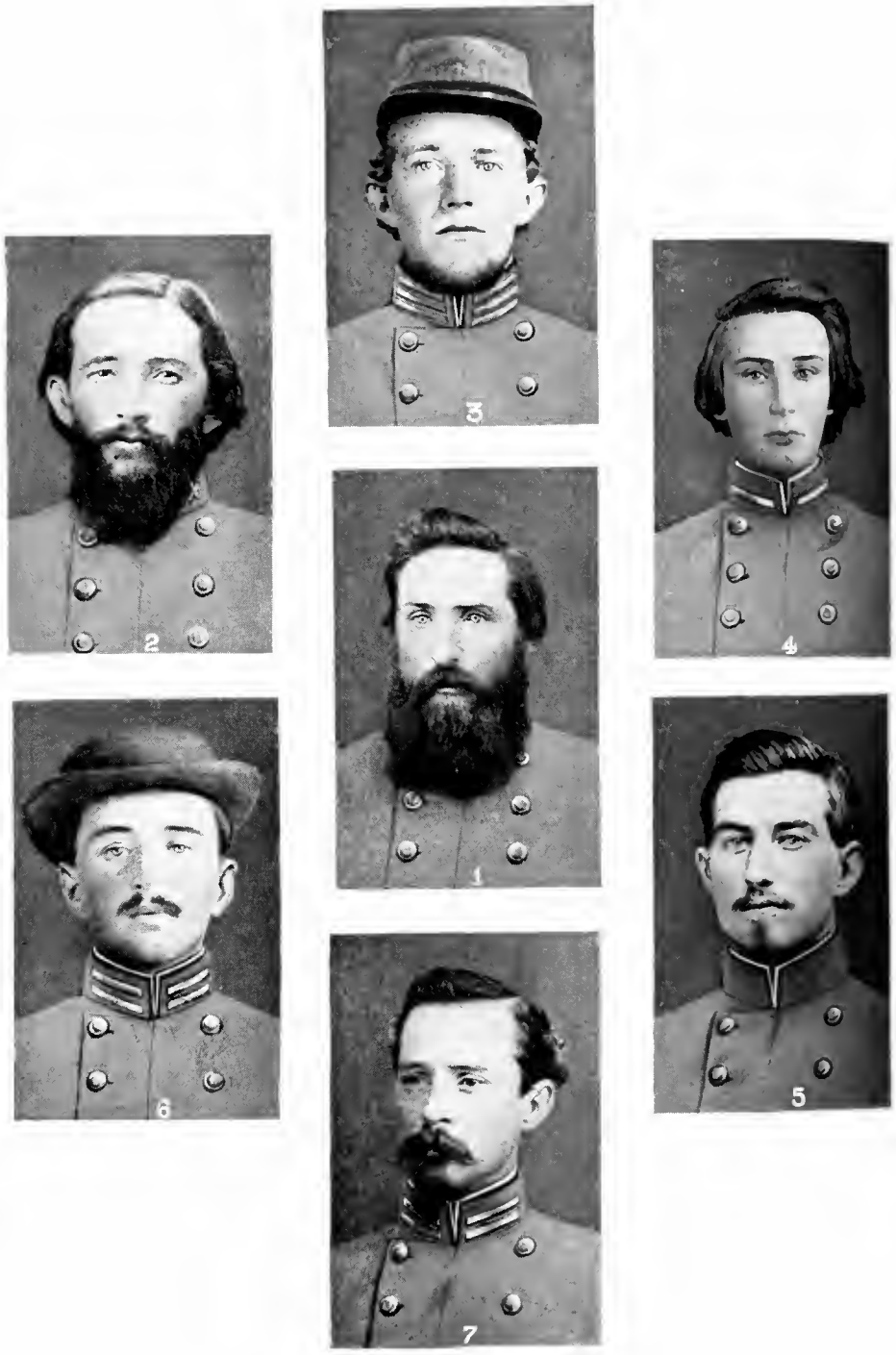
Among the incidents ever fresh in my memory of this fatal day to the Confederacy is the remark of a private soldier. When riding up to my old regiment to shake by the hand each comrade who had followed me through four years of suffering, toil, and privation often worse than death, to bid them a final, affectionate, and, in many instances, an eternal farewell, a cadaverous, ragged, barefooted man grasped me by the hand, and choking with sobs said, "Goodbye, General; God bless you; we will go home, make three more crops and then try them again." I mention this instance simply to show the spirit, the pluck and the faith of our men in the justice of our cause, and that they surrendered more to grim famine than to the prowess of our enemies.

That day and the next the terms of surrender were adjusted; the following day our paroles were signed and countersigned, and on Wednesday, 12 April, 1865, we stacked our arms in an old field, and each man sought his home as best he might.

BRYAN GRIMES.

GRIMESLAND, N. C.,
5 November, 1879.

NOTE.—This is taken from a letter from General Grimes to Major John W. Moore.



IVERSON-JOHNSTON BRIGADE.

1. Franklin J. Faison, Lt.-Col., 20th Regt. Killed at Gaines' Mills, 27 June, 1863.
2. Duncan James De Vane, Major, 20th Regt.
3. John Franklin Ireland, Captain, Co. D, 20th Regt., A. A. G. Iverson's Brigade. Wounded and captured near Petersburg, 25 March, 1865.
4. Oliver E. Mercer, 2d Lt., Co. G, 20th Regt. Killed at Gettysburg, 1 July, 1863.
5. James D. Ireland, Private, Co. E, 20th Regt. Wounded at Gettysburg, 1 July, 1863.
6. John F. Cross, 1st Lt., Co. B, 5th Regt.
7. Thomas Badger, 2d Lt., Co. I, 5th Regt.

APPOMATTOX AND THE RETURN HOME.

By WALTER A. MONTGOMERY, Second Lieutenant Company F, Twelfth Regiment, N. C. T.

Appomattox to the historian is an event, not a place. The little village of that name in Southwestern Virginia which, on 9 April, 1865, consisted of a court house, jail, postoffice and a few scattered houses, was not an interesting spot of earth; and only that which came to pass there, on that day, has brought the hamlet to the notice of the world.

Neither were the physical—material—deeds done there on that day great of themselves. The event, if it could be considered as disconnected with its consequences and without relation to the past, would also be of trivial moment; only a few thousand of ragged, starving soldiers, beaten in pitched battle, surrounded and captured after a week's retreat and an ever-aggressive pursuit by a powerful and watchful foe—that was all. But the captured were the remnant of the Army of Northern Virginia; the captors the Army of the Potomac, and that, together with the consequences raised the occurrence to the plane of world-history. There, was the death-scene of an army once formidable in numbers and so great in prestige that it added renown to its enemy who gave the mortal wound; and its great leader, by the act of furling the battle-flags of his regiments, conferred on his antagonist his highest title to fame. That army, during its four years of existence, had never been broken in battle, though out of them all it went on its way dripping with blood. It had always been chivalric in its treatment of prisoners and especially kind to such of them as were sick or wounded. It had always been scrupulous in its respect for womankind and most careful of the rights of private property. For three years, the flash from its musketry was a sheet of flame encir-

cling the borders of the Confederacy and consuming like stubble fresh armies and fresh generals of its enemy, and twice bursting the bounds of its territory, leaped into the heart of the enemy's country. It made immortal almost every hill and dale of the Old Dominion, and electrified the civilized world with its deeds of heroism; and though wounded nigh unto death at Gettysburg, it afterwards, at the Wilderness, at Spottsylvania and at second Cold Harbor, against odds incalculable, performed prodigies of valor far in excess of any of its former achievements. But the time was at hand when it became possible for these men, 60,000 in number, poorly fed, badly shod and without suitable clothing, and losing their strength even in their victories, to be driven back by 140,000 upon their capital for a last stand. Through the long siege of eight months, in the trenches around Petersburg, the survivors in seasons of extreme heat and extreme cold, suffering from a want of food and clothes, maintained, yet without hope, their courage and their self-respect; and they finally left their post only upon an order from their great leader, and after they had repulsed a series of desperate assaults. For a week, on their retreat without rest, and hungry, they flung defiance at their enemies and responded with alacrity to every order to face their pursuers until at last, at the end, they threw themselves upon their foes now blocking their way with a wail of despair drowned by the roar of artillery and the rattle of their rifles; and then,—

> "The pennon droops that led the sacred band
> Along the crimson field."

Thenceforward the Army of Northern Virginia lived only in history.

To the Southerners of that day Appomattox was the tomb of their social aspirations, the sepulchre of their political hopes; for no people ever made nobler sacrifices for their convictions than they did for theirs; and no people ever loved more devotedly, or more fully believed in their cause, than did the Confederates in theirs; and their grief over the result was proportioned to their love and their faith.

With the dying away of the cannon's last echoes, the idea of State sovereignty—of American interest, and Negro

slavery—of world-wide concern, perished together, to be succeeded, in short, by National supremacy and universal freedom. Then, and there, was settled, as far as opinion can be settled by force, that question of transcendant consequence to our country, unfortunately left an open one by our Constitution makers, to-wit.: whether a State can withdraw of its own volition from the Union. From that day, the view of a consolidated National Government in contradistinction to one strictly Federal with supreme allegiance to the State has grown in public favor until the Great Republic in very recent years has acquired possessions in the farthest quarters of the globe and seems determined, contrary to the traditions of our people and the conservatism of the past, to take an active share in shaping the destinies of the nations.

But that which gave the occurrence universal importance was that with the destruction of the military power of the South an idea—the belief that one man may have a right of property in another—an idea as old, in some form or other, as history itself was exploded. Emancipation had been proclaimed by the President more than two years before, but Appomattox made the proclamation enforceable. Brazil followed in 1872 and Russia a little later.

But, I am to write more particularly of my recollections of the occurrences of that day and of my return to my home.

I was then 20 years old, the February before, and a Lieutenant of Company F, Twelfth North Carolina Regiment, R. D. Johnston's Brigade, Pegram's Division, then commanded by General James A. Walker. A restless night, passed a mile away on the old Richmond and Lynchburg stage road, preceded the fateful morrow. There was present throughout its long hours a dull sense of impending catastrophe quickened by an occasional and ominous discharge of cannon and small arms to our left and front. Before the dawn we were up and under arms, and without water or food commenced, as we thought, the march for Lynchburg. As we entered the eastern limits of the town, in column of fours, and just as the sun was rising, a cannon shot screamed over our heads from our immediate front, and we then knew

that our forebodings were well founded. The enemy during the night had succeeded in his march around our left and was upon our front. Hurrying rapidly through the town we formed line of battle a half or three-quarters of a mile beyond and on the left of the road. We were a part of the troops General Grimes mentioned in his article on Appomattox, as a division commanded by General Walker "composed principally of Virginians." That division, in fact, was composed mostly of North Carolinians, Johnston's and Lewis' Brigades (North Carolinians), and Pegram's old brigade (Virginians). The troops on the right of us were Grimes' Division. Along the whole Confederate line as it advanced, the firing so far as I could discern, was opened simultaneously, and when the men of Johnston's Brigade were ordered back I heard thereafter no *continuous* firing of small arms. The advance was supported by a battery of five pieces in position on the western slope of the hill, and that battery kept up its fire some minutes after the infantry had ceased to be engaged. In our advance we raised the usual *rebel yell* and the line of Federals, dismounted cavalry, was quickly driven from its hastily constructed breastworks of rails and brush to the main line, on the hills, consisting of infantry and artillery. I saw the wheels of the gun carriages and the men with knapsacks and guns. They were not plainly discernible because of the thick and low growth of the timber along their line, although the ground over which we advanced was half meadow land, through which ran a ditch with running water parallel to the line, the whole sparsely timbered, but of large growth.

The battle was severer on our right and we understood at the time that General Cox, with his brigade, had the brunt of it, and that they claimed the honor of firing the last rounds. Suddenly and just as it seemed to us we were about to engage the Union infantry, the order was given to march "right about," and we retired a few hundred yards in the direction of our first position, where we remained, perhaps an hour. During that time nobody seemed to know anything about what was going on. There was a general idea that a truce was on, but no particulars. It was common talk, then, that

at this very stage an interview took place between General Gordon and General Custer, the latter having come into our lines, under flag, to meet the Confederate General in command for a conference and to prevent further bloodshed; that Custer assured Gordon that the Union cordon was complete and strong enough to destroy the Confederates if they should attempt to break through; and that if General Gordon desired a verification of the statement he would take him on a round of inspection of the Federal lines; that the proposition was accepted and after the inspection had been made our Second Corps was ordered back to places convenient for camp. The generous treatment we afterwards received at their hands is proof that they were magnanimous enough to have made such a proposition. It is certain that General Custer about that hour, or little later, sought and found General Longstreet. That officer, in "From Manassas to Appomattox," says that Custer demanded of him the surrender of the Confederate Army in the name of General Sheridan; that he was excited in his manner; that he received from him (Longstreet) a rebuke for his intrusion; that he then became more moderate and said, "It would be a pity to have more bloodshed upon that field."

It seems that up to that time the two commanders had not yet met, and that Longstreet was preparing for battle after Gordon had withdrawn his corps from the front. I remember while we were standing awaiting orders, Sergeant Whitener, of Company A, said to me that the Army of Northern Virginia was about to be surrendered. I answered: "But we will have no difficulty in clearing the way; we have already shown that we can do that." He then pointed to the right and left to columns of Union troops, infantry, remarking: "We only struck their cavalry just now; we can never drive their infantry off; they are too strong." Our brigade was ordered back probably a mile for camp into a small piece of poorly timbered land, white and post oak, on the right of the Lynchburg road; and the guns were stacked as usual on bivouac.

The first few hours were spent in uncertainty. We could not know that the terms would be of such a nature as to be

accepted. When that suspense was quieted by the announcement that the terms were satisfactory and had been accepted by General Lee, a feeling of collapse, mental and physical, succeeded for some hours. Very little was said by men or officers. They sat, or laid on the ground in reflective mood, overcome by a flood of sad recollections. Few were to be seen away from their camps, and no life was there; in fact on that day there were more Union troops to be seen on the road and in the fields within our line than Confederates.

During the afternoon rations of bread were issued to us, but no meat until the next day, and then in small quantities. The animals were entirely without long food and they could be seen about in the fields in favorable spots trying to find the first grass and weeds of the season. It was understood that it was a matter of difficulty for the Union commissariat to get provisions for men and horses; and we had had very little for several days. On the next day (Monday) the men began to recover themselves. They realized, not fully, it is true, but measurably, the tremendous importance of the event, and began to take thought for the future. Of course their first thought was to reach their homes as soon as possible for their services were, in most cases, sorely needed there. Crops could be planted and cultivated by those whose lives had been formerly on the farms and the others, in some indefinite way, hoped for something to do. Then, they wished to get through with the trying ordeal of the act of surrender, for, they did not know what the formalities might be, and in spite of their great deeds of the past, and consciences at rest on the score of duty performed to the last, they yet felt that it would be to them a humiliating scene. There was no personal bitterness in their hearts, little or no profane language, no curses upon their enemies. Their conduct was equal to the occasion.

I heard no word of ill-will against the National Government in the future, no suggestions of guerrilla warfare. The universal sentiment was that the questions in dispute had been fought to a finish, and that was the end of it. Their confidence in their General Officers was unshaken, and for General Lee their affections and their esteem amounted to adoration. They knew he was heartbroken. In discussing

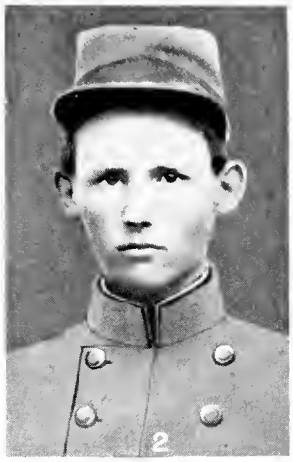
the incidents which produced the most harmful effects upon the fortunes of the army they mentioned the death of General Jackson, and the failure to occupy the heights at Gettysburg at the conclusion of the first day's battle. They also talked freely of the injustice of the conscript law, with its permission of substitutes and twenty negro exemption, but I heard no breath of censure for the President who recommended those laws. On Monday two matters of diversion occurred. General Gordon had the Second Corps, without arms of course, assembled in massed columns and from a central position, on horseback, delivered to them a farewell address. He spoke of their great and heroic achievements, of their privations and their sufferings, and their unselfish devotion to duty, and advised them to return to their homes to be as good citizens as they had been soldiers. He opened his speech with these words: "Soldiers of the Second Army Corps! No mathematician can compute the odds against which you have contended," and he entered into an exhortation that they maintain their principles and their courage, with the assurance on his part that in all future emergencies, if the contest should be renewed, they would find him ready to lead them again; that "the blood of the martyrs was the seed of the church." We heard that the tenor of the address was not much relished at the Federal headquarters. He was a good soldier throughout his entire service, and if, at the Wilderness on the evening of 6 May, 1864, when he struck Sedgwick he had been in command of a corps, he would have rolled up Grant's right like a scroll. He was the most dashing of all the Confederates at Appomattox. Just after the speaking, or while it was going on, a number of Federal cavalrymen, who had been riding about our camps, one of them being under the influence of strong drink, gave us some trouble. The man in his cups in spinning some yarns about his performances of the day before, mentioned that one of his number was captured by some of General Longstreet's men, and that some of the General's staff had taken from the prisoner his housewife (thread and needle case), when a Georgian standing by, not being familiar with the name of the article alleged to have been taken—house-wife—picked up a stone and throwing it, brought his

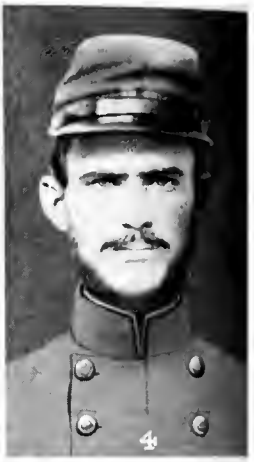
man to the ground. Considerable confusion ensued, and because of that circumstance, an order was issued from Federal headquarters that no Union soldiers would be allowed to visit the Confederate camps without written permission.

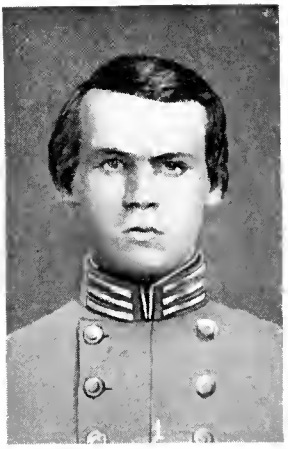
On that day, also, General Custer rode over to Johnston's Brigade to see his friend and classmate at West Point, John W. Lea, who was Colonel of the Fifth North Carolina Regiment, and then in command of the brigade. They had met the day before at General Custer's quarters. General Custer brought with him an orderly with a basket of provisions and a flask of whiskey. Upon invitation of Colonel Lea, several of the officers of the brigade joined General Custer and himself in the luncheon. He was of a most cheerful disposition and very handsome in personal appearance. He told us that the honors of the 9th were really with the Confederates, all things considered; that he took no glory to himself when he ascertained the numbers of the Confederate army. On Monday also the paroles were printed and sent around to regimental headquarters—mine is now before me and is dated 10 April, and signed by P Durham, Captain Commanding Regiment.

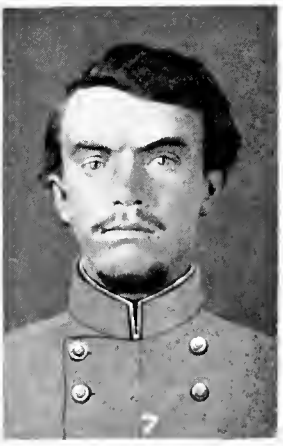
We kept no guard around the camp and had no duties of any kind to perform; nor did we see a Union soldier with arms in his hands until the very moment at which our men, early on Wednesday morning, stacked their guns in front of the Federal Corps detailed to receive them. That was a most simple ceremony. In a line north and south, in a field, a Federal Corps was standing with arms at a shoulder waiting to receive the Confederates and their arms. We filed, in fours, just in front of them and ten feet off came to a halt and faced to the left; the guns were then stacked and the flags laid on the stacks.

The officers were allowed, under the terms of the surrender, to keep their side arms. Not a word was spoken; we did not even look into each others faces. We were marched from the spot to the road and, without returning to camp, turned our faces toward the South, toward our homes—and as I looked back for the last time the Federal Corps had not moved from its tracks, nor had a gun or a flag









TWELFTH REGIMENT.

1. J. M. B. Hunt, Captain, Co. B, 12th Regt.
2. Milton Blalock, 1st Sergt., Co. D, 12th Regt.
3. George Hall Raney, Private, Co. B, 12th Regt.
4. Chas. Wm Raney, Private, Co. B, 12th Regt.
5. Thomas D. Royster, Private, Co. D, 12th Reg
6. Richard A. Lloyd, Private, Co. B, 12th Regt.
7. Samuel J. Currin, Private, Co. B, 12th Regt.

been touched, and we had not yet opened our lips. It soon became apparent that there was no system, or plan about the march of the troops homeward.

Somehow or other it became understood that General Grimes would conduct the North Carolinians on their way; anyhow a considerable number of them were under his directions and he ordered the march toward Campbell Court House, with the intention to go from there to Danville. For two or three miles everything passed off smoothly. When, however, we came to a point where there was a divergent road leading in a more southerly direction, Private Thomas Royster, from Granville County, saluted the General and said, "General, you are a good officer and you know the road to take a good many of these boys to their homes, but I live lower down the Roanoke than Danville and it seems to me all who want to go to counties east of Granville should take this road; anyhow I am going to try it and all who want to follow me can come on." Royster was a splendid soldier, considerably over six feet tall, symmetrical in form, with one of the best and kindest faces I ever saw and an eye intelligent and most expressive. A considerable number followed him. Amongst the number T. B. Watson, Austin Allen, R. H. Gilliland, Jas. M. Bobbitt, P A. Bobbitt, J H. Duke, Robert C Montgomery, my brother, and myself. We soon formed a party, for the men as if by instinct, broke up into small squads, and we continued together until we seven reached our homes in Warren County. We started off with a small quantity of bread and coffee, but with no meat; but on our way, with one exception, we met with kindness and consideration from the residents. We never saw Royster after ten minutes from the time we left the main column, for he with his strong body and long legs, had soon distanced us. Nor did we have any conversation with any other soldier on our journey except a young man whom we found in a barn on a bed of straw on a plantation, near Rough Creek Church, our first night's camping ground. At that home there were only a mother and daughter, the male members of the household being in their places in the army. At dark we walked up to the house and informed them of our condition and our desire to be allowed to

use the barn for lodgings and the privilege of water from the well in the yard. They received us not only with politeness, but with kindness. They also added to our bread and coffee a piece of bacon and some sorghum molasses. In front of the barn we made a live coal fire and soon had our supper prepared. When the meal was over we filled our pipes with "Zephyr Puff," a brand of smoking tobacco, several packages of which I had taken from a burning pile in the streets of Petersburg, the night of the evacuation, and for the time forgot our troubles. About 9 o'clock we went again to the house and inquired of the two householders if they would like to hear some music, and upon the response, of course, in the affirmative, Watson, who was a musician, leading with his cornet, and accompanied by the voices of the two Bobbitts, my brother and myself, all of us having belonged to a glee club in the army, we entertained them for half an hour. On retiring to the barn and making our beds upon the straw, we stumbled upon our only acquaintance on the way, who was in a helpless condition, and who could not tell us how he came to be there. He only said that he could go no further and had laid down there to die. He was exhausted from fatigue and want of food and upon our preparing for him something to eat and a strong pot of coffee, his strength was revived. We left him in fair condition. He reached his home in Warren County and is now a well-to-do farmer and the head of a large family. We heard of General Ransom along our route helping along the tired and foot-sore by often dismounting and placing such in his saddle, and speaking to them words of hope and cheer. We greatly wished to come up with him, and to talk with him, for we had great interest and pride in him; his people and ours having been for generations connected by ties of friendship. We had watched his career as a soldier which had reflected honor on his State and upon the South, and especially his strikingly brilliant conduct at Five Forks, a few days before.

We spent the next night (Thursday) near the town of Chase City, then called Christiansburg. In passing through Charlotte Court House, on that day, we called at a large well-appointed home in the midst of extensive grounds, and at

once were asked into the family living room, the family consisting entirely of ladies and children, and at once were made to feel at ease. An invitation, heartily pressed upon us, to dine we, of course, accepted. In the interval the cornet and the voices added interest to the occasion, delighting young and old, who had heard no sound of music for months. The war songs and old Southern ballads we had practiced, and often along the Shenandoah and Rappahannock we had given solace and pleasure to our friends and companions; but unfortunately on the present occasion we, without proper forethought, began "There Will Be one Vacant Chair," when the younger lady commenced to weep.

At once we knew the cause. We were thoughtless because there were so many vacant chairs in Southern households. In that particular case it was the husband's. But the elder lady made everything so easy and so delicately explained the situation, that it passed off without further embarrassment, and we left their home after dinner with their thanks and prayers, as if we had conferred a favor upon them.

Our last night was spent near the Roanoke at the hospitable home of Colonel Eaton, the uncle of Captain M. F Taylor, who was mortally wounded on the retreat from Gettysburg. The nephew was, in truth, a most estimable gentleman and capable officer, and a great favorite with the whole regiment. He was the idol of the uncle, and we all could, sitting around that hearthstone with truth and propriety join in honoring the dead hero and kinsman. The host was of large means, given to hospitality, and until a late hour we grieved over our losses, celebrated our victories and mourned over the disappointment of our hopes. On rising the next morning for an early breakfast, had at our request, we found our shoes cleaned, our tattered uniforms brushed and hung on chairs. After the meal we left our kind entertainer standing on the front portico and almost overcome by his feelings, watching us as we disappeared forever from his sight, down the road that led us to our own beloved and bereaved ones.

All along our route we met with only kindness and consideration with one exception, and that at the house of a man who was formerly a resident of our own county. He refused

us water from his well, and a rest upon the steps of his house, although we informed him who we were, and he knew the families of us all. We shook the dust of his premises from our feet and renewed our journey. Before we had gotten out of sight one of his old negro slaves, who had heard the conversation between us, followed with his wife and soon overtaking us, introduced himself as an old acquaintance of the father of each one of us whom he had known in Warren. He made apologies for the conduct of his master. He brought along with him a pair of chickens, some corn meal, and a bucket of water, and in a short while the old man and his wife had prepared for us a feast.

The old colored man said to us that when the female members of his master's family protested against his refusal to give to a Confederate soldier a cup of cold water he replied that he was afraid that they might have some contagious disease or depredate upon his poultry during the night. To the credit of humanity it may be said that we had few of such in the South. The refined feelings and delicate sensibilities of those old colored people, manifested so strikingly in such substantial sympathy, made up a beautiful picture of Southern life; and wherever we eight have been we have told it as an everlasting memorial of them. On our last day's journey at a fork of the Ridgeway and Alexander Ferry road, our party broke up, Watson, Allen and Gilliland continuing their way to their homes in the same neighborhood and we, the other five, to ours in Warrenton. We are all still living except Gilliland, and all bear upon our bodies lasting signs of those days.

Upon our arrival at Warrenton the streets were alive with the inhabitants anxiously waiting for the particulars of the surrender of which they had heard only vague reports. They were astonished at the news and many of them expressed themselves in favor of "continuing the struggle," as they expressed it; but they were non-combatants.

WALTER A. MONTGOMERY.

RALEIGH, N. C.,
13 December, 1901.

THE LAST 15 DAYS OF BAKER'S COMMAND AT WELDON.

By JAMES M. MULLEN, Private Company A., 13th N. C. Battalion.

After the evacuation of Plymouth, Washington, Kinston and Goldsboro, Brigadier-General L. S. Baker was sent to Weldon, charged with the duty of holding on to that place, not only for the purpose of preserving railroad communication between the other forces in North Carolina and the Army of Northern Virginia, and those along the line of the Wilmington & Weldon Railroad from Goldsboro to that point, but of collecting supplies for these armies from that portion of Eastern Carolina not actually in the possession of the enemy The authorities recognizing the importance of this position in these respects, it being one of the principal sources of supply for the armies in the field, instructed General Baker to hold it until the last moment, and at the same time, to watch out for and repel any raids of the enemy coming from the Blackwater and Chowan, and from Plymouth, Washington and Goldsboro. With the force under his command, this was no light duty, and he was necessarily absent from Weldon most of his time looking after the various points under his supervision. Weldon, however, was the headquarters of his department, which was styled "The Second Military District of North Carolina." In his absence the Captain of our battery (Captain L. H. Webb, Company A, Thirteenth Battalion, North Carolina Light Artillery), was in command.

These were times that tried men's souls, and put to the severest test the metal with which Confederate soldiers were made. All signs indicated that the end was near at hand. Lee had abandoned Petersburg and Richmond, though this was unknown to us until several days thereafter, as I shall show later on; all of North Carolina east of the Wilmington & Weldon

railroad had been given up, and Sherman had made his memorable march through Georgia to the sea, and through the Carolinas, having as his objective point Goldsboro, where he proposed to form a junction with Schofield, coming up from New Bern via Kinston, and Terry, moving from Wilmington. This was accomplished by him on 23 March, 1865. The giant arms of an octopus were rapidly closing upon the Confederacy in her final desperate but grand struggle for independence. Just one month previous to the junction of these three armies, flushed as they were with victory, that old war-horse, General Joe Johnston, had relieved Beauregard at Charlotte, N. C., and was charged with the difficult task of collecting and uniting in one army the scattered forces of Bragg, Hardee, Hood and Beauregard, for one supreme effort to stay the tide of invasion, and he prepared, if necessary, to unite his forces at Danville with those of Lee, who even then contemplated abandoning his position around Petersburg for that purpose, with the hope that the two armies might fall upon Sherman and crush him before Grant could come to his assistance. Vain hope, born of desperation, for Sherman, having reached Goldsboro, his next plan was not to follow after Johnston, but to open communication with Grant, so that the two might act together. This is shown by his special order, issued about 5 April, at Goldsboro, which reads: "The next grand objective is to place this army (with its full equipment) north of Roanoke river, facing west, with a base for supplies at Norfolk, and at Winton or Murfreesboro, on the Chowan, and in full communication with the Army of the Potomac at Petersburg; and also to do the enemy as much harm as possible en route." His army was to move on 10 April, in three columns of 25,000 each, with his cavalry under Kilpatrick aiming direct for Weldon until it had crossed the Tar, the general point of concentration being Warrenton, N. C. But the whole plan was suddenly changed by the news of the fall of Richmond and Petersburg, which reached him at Goldsboro on 6 April. Inferring that Lee would succeed in making junction with Johnston, with a fraction of his army at least, somewhere in his front, he prepared on the day he had appointed (10 April) to leave Goldsboro to move

straight on Raleigh, which place he reached on 13 April, and found that Johnston had moved further on.

Let us now leave Sherman at Raleigh, and go back to the little force at Weldon. And in the outset, I take pleasure in acknowledging my indebtedness for much I shall now recount to my old commander, Captain L. H. Webb, than whom a truer soldier never drew sword, and who has very kindly furnished me extracts from his diary kept during this period. I have also obtained valuable information from that gallant soldier, Hon. Jas. C. MacRae, then Assistant Adjutant-General on General Baker's staff, and since one of the Supreme Court Judges of North Carolina.

The task imposed upon this small force, consisting of two or three hundred infantry and our battery numbering about one hundred and twenty-five men, was no light one. For weeks it had been in a state of constant activity and excitement, enhanced towards the last with continual suspense and anxiety. It had been constantly on the move to meet threatened advances from the directions of the Tar and lower Roanoke, and the Chowan and Blackwater rivers. If I remember aright, during the month of March, it had been sent upon two expeditions through Northampton, Hertford and Bertie Counties, to repel reported raids of the enemy's cavalry from the Chowan, one, to and below Tarboro to meet a threatened advance from the lower Tar and Roanoke, and one, down the Seaboard & Roanoke Railroad towards Franklin, to check a cavalry raid from the Blackwater. This last expedition, however, was in April, the command returning to camp therefrom the night of 6 April. It was under command of Colonel Whitford, who had with him not to exceed two hundred infantry, (about fifty of whom were members of our company, armed with inferior rifles), and two guns from our battery. I was with the expedition as a cannoneer of one of the guns of the battery I forgot to say that we were conveyed down the Seaboard road upon two or three flat cars, and possibly a box car or two. Upon reaching Boykin's Depot, about twenty-five miles from Weldon, we discovered that, all below that point, the enemy had torn up and burned the track so that it was impossible for us to proceed further on the

train. Disembarking, we reconnoitered the situation for several miles around and remained there until next morning, when hearing that the enemy was making his way in the direction of Weldon, we boarded the train and started back. After passing Seaboard, a small station about ten miles east of Weldon, Colonel Whitford, who was riding on the engine, saw one or two men run across the track some six or seven hundred yards ahead. He at once ordered the train stopped. This precaution was not taken any too soon; for as soon as some of the infantry were put off as skirmishers and the situation was taken in, it was discovered that the track for some distance just ahead of us was torn up and that the enemy had ambuscaded both sides. We had passed Seaboard about a mile. As soon as the train was stopped the enemy opened fire upon us. Colonel Whitford caused the train to be run back to Seaboard, where the remainder of the command was put in position to await the return of the skirmishers, who were ordered to fall back as soon as they could ascertain with some certainty the force and purpose of the enemy. They soon reported that the enemy, consisting of a regiment of cavalry, had retired in the direction of Jackson, which was distant some eight miles in a southeast direction from where we were and away from Weldon. Colonel Whitford concluded to follow on after them, but I suspect with no hearty desire to meet up with them, for he could but know that our force was not able to cope successfully with a full regiment. Upon reaching Jackson, we learned there that the regiment was the Third New York Cavalry, about six hundred strong, well mounted and thoroughly equipped with Spencer repeating carbines, and had passed through that town some hours before, and then must be near Murfreesboro, some twenty-five miles distant. After waiting several hours at Jackson, our guns were ordered back overland to Weldon, while the infantry under Colonel Whitford's command retired to Halifax. I shall always remember with pleasure one little incident connected with this affair. Several weeks before, as we had more men than were required or needed to man the guns, about sixty of our company had been armed with rifles and acted with the infantry. When the train was halted and skir-

mishers thrown off, I was anxious to join them and endeavored to get one of the riflemen to exchange places with me. I knew he was disaffected and it occurred to me that he would not hesitate to shirk danger; but I reckoned without my host. He rejected the overture with some indignation, and remarked that if anybody had to use his rifle he proposed to do it himself; and I ascertained that he behaved as gallantly as any man. This but illustrates that it was not cowardice that caused a great many of our soldiers to waver in their allegiance towards the close of the war, but the terrible hardships to which they were subjected, the distressing accounts of suffering of their loved ones at home, and the intuitive knowledge that defeat was inevitable. I remember with sadness, without any feeling of censure, many instances of desertion of as brave men as ever marched to the tap of a drum.

On 7 April, about 5 o'clock p. m., a telegram was received by Captain Webb, who was in command, from General Johnston, ordering that all trains north of the Roanoke river be recalled at once, all the artillery that could be moved got on the south side, and such heavy guns in the defences north of the river as could not be moved be destroyed, and the railroad bridge burned. Steps were at once taken to execute the order, and by hard service all night, the next morning (Saturday, 8th) found everything in the shape of guns, ordnance, quartermaster and commissary stores, removed from the north side of the river and delivered in Weldon, and combustibles at once gathered and placed at each end of the railroad bridge to fire it as soon as all the trains were safely over. The bridge, however, was not fired that day, why, I will let Captain Webb speak. I quote from his diary: "General Baker came up about 10 o'clock a. m. and ordered me with my battery and Williams' section of artillery across the river again. Upon getting my battery over the river I put my guns in position along the old line as I thought best, and awaited ulterior orders from headquarters. My only support were the feeble remains of a company of so-called cavalry under Captain Strange. In all the twenty men of his command, there was not a single man or officer decently mounted. With my old fiery Bucephalus, "Duncan," I could have charged and over-

turned every skeleton of a horse in his company. But the men were all true "Tar Heels," and there was no braver man than Captain Strange. On the afternoon of the 10th, the artillery was ordered back to the south side, and preparations made to leave Weldon. According to Captain Webb, there were then at that point about five hundred men, including at least seventy-five stragglers, furloughed men, convalescents from the hospitals, and detailed men.

On the 12th the command to leave Weldon was given. Captain Webb was ordered to take charge of the column and start towards Raleigh, keeping as near the railroad as possible. By 10 o'clock a. m., the column was well on its way in good order, the objective being, if possible, to join General Johnston at or near Raleigh. We marched about sixteen miles that day.

For several days previous to our departure, and even while the artillery was on the north side of the river, everything was done to put the force in good marching condition. Unfit and worthless animals connected with the artillery, quartermaster and commissary departments were condemned and either sold or given away. To supply their places, squads of mounted men were detailed to make tours through the adjacent farms and plantations, to impress horses and mules. The extra men of the command were parcelled out and assigned to the different regular organizations, and everything in the way of stores sent off by rail up the Raleigh & Gaston Railroad. The bridge, however, remained *in statu quo*, and was not burned until the night of the 13th, two days after we had marched away. One of the duties imposed upon the men of our battery just before leaving Weldon was the collection and destruction of boats along the river, so that, upon the burning of the bridge, communication with the north side might be effectually cut off. Perhaps it was a precautionary measure that could have been very safely dispensed with; and when I recall my own experience in the performance of that duty, I am strongly inclined to that opinion. In company with a mountaineer, who knew nothing of boatcraft, I was sent up the river for that purpose. After proceeding about half a mile above the bridge, we came across a boat; but the owner,

who doubtless had taken the alarm, had hid the poles with which to propel it. Nothing daunted, we improvised the best we could, and started down the river. Tempted by the sight of some fish upon a slide near by, we essayed to cross over and secure them, and had almost reached the prize when my companion's pole broke and away we went down the rapids. We fortunately passed the worst safely, and by dint of extra exertion, reached the shore; but for a few moments there were two badly scared navigators. The rest of the trip to the point we were ordered to bring the boats, was made by swinging around, one of us in the stern and the other at the bow alternately catching hold of and turning loose the bushes along the bank.

The scenes in and around Weldon these few days were heart-rending. As early as the 8th, the citizens in the country around, especially on the north side of the river, became panic-stricken, and came crowding into the town, imagining the direst calamities would befall them upon the withdrawal of the troops. We could but remember the kind and hospitable treatment these good and loyal people had always extended to Confederate soldiers, and were deeply touched at their distress. But some of us who had witnessed similar scenes took comfort in the thought that it would not be half as bad as they imagined. I remember the confusion and consternation in and around my own home upon hearing of the capture of Roanoke Island; and yet, the storm of war passed by without inflicting the grievous woes apprehended. But Sherman and his bummers did not pass that way.

By sunrise on the 13th, we resumed our march in a hard rain, and with the roads in a terrible condition. Not long after starting, we began to meet stragglers making their way to our rear. Among the first to attract our attention, was a weary looking, foot-sore and jaded young fellow in the dirty and tattered uniform of a Lieutenant of infantry, who told us he was going home, that Lee had surrendered, and what was left of his army had been paroled. Up to this time, we did not know that Petersburg had been abandoned, so completely were we isolated and cut off. Captain Webb, who was in command, General Baker not yet having come up, re-

fused to believe him, and ordered him and some others under guard to accompany the command until their story was verified. But it was not long before all were fully convinced of the truth of their statements; for the roads were soon filled with soldiers returning from Lee's army. I shall never forget the feeling that came over me when fully impressed with the fact that Lee had surrendered. Until then I had never permitted myself to doubt the ultimate success of the Confederacy; and, as to the Army of Northern Virginia, I believed that under "Marse Robert," it was simply invincible. I apprehend that this feeling was shared by most of the Confederate soldiers, hence their endurance, courage and devotion under the sorest trials and in the darkest hours of the cause. With Lee's surrender, all hope fled, and thereafter, obedience and the discharge of duty were purely mechanical. Swift upon the heels of the news of this terrible disaster, and on the evening of the same day, came the rumor that Sherman was in possession of Raleigh, and that Johnston was retiring before him towards Greensboro. Madame Rumor was not a lying jade that time. About nightfall, weary and hungry, depressed with the gloomy outlook, and after a hard day's work, we halted and went into camp near Warrenton Junction. General Baker had not yet come up, and Captain Webb was in much doubt as to what course to pursue.

Let me narrate the events of the succeeding day in the words of Captain Webb himself. I quote from his diary:

"Friday, 14 April: About daylight this morning, the bugle sounded reveille, and as soon as the weary men could be got in line, and the horses hitched, without breakfast, we started for the Junction, about four miles distant, intending to feed at that place. I pressed on ahead of the column, to see if I could hear anything of General Baker, and at that early hour I found the road filled with stragglers, all reiterating and confirming the news of yesterday Nothing could be heard of the General. The column came up in about an hour and halted, horses fed, and men got breakfast. About the time we were ready to move again, a solitary horseman rode up to the depot, in whom I recognized Brigadier-General M. W Ransom. He dismounted and hitched his horse, while

I went forward to meet him. He confirmed the report of General Lee's surrender, having himself been there and witnessed it. I told of my situation, the reported occupation of Raleigh by Sherman, and that, surrounded by the enemy as I was, I hardly knew what to do with the stores and men under my charge. He replied that he knew nothing of Sherman's position, but hardly thought he was in Raleigh, that, being a paroled soldier, he could not give me any advice in the premises; but that his brother, Major-General Robert Ransom, was at his house only about four miles away, and, as he was not paroled, I could consult him. This I concluded to do, and countermanding the order to resume the march, we mounted and rode off. We found General Robert Ransom at his house. He was home on sick furlough, and I entered at once into the matter which had brought me to his presence. General Matt was present, but took no part in the discussion. After some reflection, General Robert remarked that under the circumstances he could see no good in holding out longer, explained the difficulties of reaching Johnston if Sherman occupied Raleigh, and that he thought it best to remain where I was, and send a flag of truce to Sherman at Raleigh, offering to surrender upon the same terms accorded Lee's army. At the conclusion of General Robert's remarks, General Matt, forgetful of the fact that he was paroled and could give no advice, sprang to his feet, and exclaimed with flashing eye and extended arm, "Never, under no consideration surrender until there is a force in your front sufficient to compel it. But what am I doing. I am a paroled prisoner and have no right to speak in this manner," and walked out of the room. There was that in his manner, looks, and ringing tones, which settled the question for me. Bidding both "Good-bye," I mounted my horse and rode back to Warrenton Junction. Upon arriving there I found a considerable number of the men in a state of disquietude and disorder, amounting to almost total demoralization. They had broken into one of the cars containing supplies of food, were wantonly wasting the supplies, and were preparing to break open other cars. Springing from my horse and making my way to them, calling my bugler as I went, I had him sound the assembly and told them

to fall in with their several commands at once. The better and nobler instincts of good soldiers coming to their assistance, they soon quieted down and readily fell into line. I then addressed them as best I could, told them all the news I could learn, of my conference with the generals, that we had food enough for a week at least, and in that time I felt sure something would be done, either by the arrival of General Baker or in some other way, which would enable us either to continue or close our services as Confederate soldiers in an honorable way. That I proposed now to move on to Ridgeway, halt and call a council of officers; and urged them to be men a little longer and trust me, and I would do for them the best I could. My emotions choked my utterance, many of the men wept with me, and all promised implicit obedience to my orders. The column was soon formed and marched to Ridgeway, where we arrived about noon. Hastily calling the officers together for consultation, we concluded to send an engine and tender up the road as near Raleigh as possible and ascertain, if we could, whether Sherman was there or not. An engine on the track already fired up was seized, and as many men armed with Enfield rifles as could be were put aboard and in the charge of Lieutenant Blount, of the Tenth North Carolina Troops, with orders to go as near Raleigh as he deemed safe, and if he found the enemy in occupation to return with the best speed possible, burning the most important bridge on the road in his rear. The engine was about to move off, when the president of the road (Dr. W. J. Hawkins) who lived here, stepped up and, in an authoritative tone, ordered the men off and the engine not to move an inch. I renewed my former order, which the president again forbade, denying my authority to impress his rolling stock in such service. Remonstrances proving unavailing, I directed a Sergeant with a file of men to remove him into the railroad office and keep him under guard, which being done the engine moved off up the road. In the consultation with the officers it was decided that if upon the return of Lieutenant Blount, General Baker had not come up or been heard from, another meeting should be called for definite action. At 5 p. m., news came that General Baker and staff were coming, and about 6

p. m., they rode up. Upon his arrival the president of the road was set at liberty and he at once made complaint to the general, but he endorsed all I had done, and then saying he would make his headquarters with the president, they rode off together. Soon after he called a council of the officers, from which I returned about 9:30 p. m. With few dissenting votes, it was decided to send a flag of truce to Sherman, tendering our surrender upon the same terms allowed Lee's army. Lieutenant Blount had returned about 8 p. m., reporting that he had gone within twelve miles of Raleigh and gotten what he deemed reliable information that Sherman was in possession of the city. On his return, in obedience to orders, he had burned the railroad bridge over Cedar creek."

On the morning of the 15th, the General announced an entirely different programme from that determined upon the evening before. That now announced was to abandon the artillery and all except absolutely necessary supplies, and with the whole command in as light order as possible, mounted on artillery horses and transportation animals, as far as could be done, and armed as best we could, try to get to Johnston by passing around Sherman's rear. This change met with wide spread dissatisfaction, but nothing further was done that day.

On the 16th (Sunday), the General was urged by some of his officers to carry out at once the plan originally decided upon, to surrender; for they were satisfied they could not control their men longer. He promised to take the matter under consideration and announce his final decision at an assembly of all the forces that evening. The plan finally adopted was to try and cut his way through to Johnston with all who would volunteer to follow him, the others to disband and go home as best they could. About fifty volunteered, of whom nineteen were from our battery. These fifty were authorized to be mounted on government horses and armed with Enfield rifles. This was done, and at midnight they took up their march.

The next morning, having been up all night, we presented anything but a martial appearance; and, if the truth

must be told, our enthusiasm was at a low ebb; for we were pretty well satisfied that ours was a "wild goose chase." Nothing but a sense of duty, and a reluctance to turn back as long as we were called upon to go forward, carried us on. For two days we wandered on over the hills and through the woods of Franklin, Johnston and Wake Counties. On one of these days we passed through Louisburg, worn out and hungry The good citizens of the town received us enthusiastically and treated us most hospitably. It must have been an amusing sight to see us straggling through the streets with flowers in one hand and something to eat in the other. It made a deep impression on me at the time, and I shall never forget the scene.

About sundown on the 18th we reached Earpsboro and halted. There the General informed us that he had reliable information that Johnston had surrendered, and he had determined to send in a flag of truce to Raleigh, tendering his surrender.

On the next day, having recrossed the Tar river and countermarched several miles, we started the flag, the officer in charge bearing the following letter:

"HEADQUARTERS SECOND MILITARY DISTRICT, N. C.,
"NASH COUNTY, N. C., 19 April, 1865.

"Major-General W T Sherman, Commanding United States Forces, Raleigh, N C.:

"GENERAL:—Finding that General Johnston has surrendered his army, of which my command forms a part, I have the honor to surrender my command, with a request that the same terms be allowed me as were allowed General Johnston's army. I have the honor to be very respectfully,

"Your obedient servant,
"L. S. BAKER,
"Brigadier-General, C. S. A."

A rumor reached us to-night that President Lincoln had been assassinated.

About 5 o'clock p. m., on the 20th, our flag returned with a letter from General Sherman to General Baker, stating that General Johnston had not surrendered, but that terms

had been agreed upon between them for a cessation of hostilities and the restoration of peace. Accompanying the letter was a copy of the agreement. The letter gave General Baker the right to disband his force under the terms granted Lee's army.

The general, deeming it best to accept these terms, issued the following order:

"HEADQUARTERS SECOND MILITARY DISTRICT,
"DEPARTMENT NORTH CAROLINA, BUNN'S HOUSE,
April 20, 1865.

General Order No. 25.

"The Brigadier-General commanding, announces to the officers and men who have remained with him, that the two grand armies of the Confederate States having been compelled to make terms with the enemy, it has become necessary that he should disband his command.

"The officers and men will be allowed to return to their homes, where they will remain peaceably and quietly, until called forth again by the proper authorities.

"He offers his profound thanks to those who have remained with him to the last. Though their labors have not been met with present success, they will carry with them the proud consciousness of having done their whole duty to their country, and of having laid down their arms only, when they could be of no further service to the cause to which their lives were so freely devoted.

"With the kindest wishes for their future welfare, he bids them farewell.

"By order of Brigadier-General Baker.

"J. C. MACRAE, A. A. G."

And one similar to the following to each commanding officer in the force, to-wit.:

"*Captain Lewis H. Webb, Company A, Thirteenth Battalion North Carolina Artillery*:

"CAPTAIN:—You will please present the thanks of the Brigadier-General commanding, to the following named officers and men of your company, who have courageously re-

mained at the post until the last moment, and who have not feared to trust their safety to him in the hour of adversity. He has done all he can for these brave men, and only surrenders them when it would be folly and madness to continue longer in arms:

Captain L. H. Webb, First Lieutenant H. R. Horne, Sergeant T. G. Skinner; Sergeant J G. Latham; Corporal L. W McMullen; Privates James M. Mullen, Alphonso White, Peter McMillan, A. J. Baker, J A. Jacocks, Daniel Morrison, Nathaniel Hathaway, Richard Bogue, Walter J Webb, Charles Barber, Thomas H. Snowden, Wm. H. Whedbee, R. W Happer and George W Fentress.

I have the honor to be very respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

"JAS C. MACRAE. A. A. G."

The men were each furnished with the following:

"HEADQUARTERS SECOND. MIL. DIST. DEP'T. N. C

"BUNN S HOUSE, April 20, 1865.

"In accordance with an agreement with Major-General Sherman, commanding United States forces in North Carolina, Private ————, Company A, Thirteenth Battalion North Carolina Artillery, is permitted to go to his home, and there quietly remain, taking with him one horse, his private property.

L. S. BAKER,

"Brigadier-General."

In passing, let me say that the horse was the best pay I ever received from the Confederacy, and he proved a most valuable acquisition. Early the next morning (Friday, 21 April) we turned our faces homeward, feeling as if a heavy weight had been lifted off our shoulders, and believed that the suspense was over. Captain Webb, who was going to join his wife on the Blackwater, accompanied the Perquimans County boys until just before reaching Halifax, when Captain Webb, Wm. H. Whedbee and I pushed on ahead. I quote again from the Captain's diary: "On Sunday, 23 April, at Martin's cross roads, Northampton County, N. C., I parted from Mullen and Whedbee, the last two of my company, to remain with me."

I have but little more to add. After leaving Captain Webb, Whedbee and I pushed on to Murfreesboro. Reaching there we found the ferry had been destroyed, and we were compelled to cross the Meherrin river in a small canoe, swimming our horses. Our nearest route home from Murfreesboro would have been to cross the Chowan at Winton, but the citizens of Murfreesboro informed us that at Winton were several Federal gunboats. We did not know how we might be received by the enemy, so deemed it the wiser course to abandon that route and cross the Chowan at a ferry higher up. This we did, but there we met with the same luck as at the Meherrin—had to cross in a small boat ourselves, and swim our horses. Here a bit of good luck befel us, not much, but we were thankful for small favors. We met up with a gentleman who had a sulky which he wanted to get to the town (Hertford) in which I lived. It must be borne in mind, we were not cavalrymen, and yet we had been in the saddle seven or eight days on the go all the time, were completely worn out, and had still before us about sixty miles to travel before reaching our homes. We gladly availed ourselves of this opportunity to change our mode of locomotion. Whedbee and I agreed we should ride "turn about," with my first go. But "all is not gold that glitters," and we are often doomed "to see our fondest hopes decay." I had hardly started before the fear of the thing breaking down took possession of me. The trouble was, compared with the vehicles (caissons and gun carriages) I had been used to for three years, the frail appearance and elastic motion of the sulky were alarming. I soon yielded the concern to Whedbee, who seemed to take it better. This was inspiring, and when my turn came around again I claimed the privilege, and accustomed myself to its motions. Whedbee, who lived in the country, left me when I was several miles from home. He was hardly out of sight when I heard in the direction I was going the booming of cannon, repeated at intervals. It occurred to me at once that the firing was from gunboats lying in the river at Hertford, and out of respect to President Lincoln. This was not very comforting; for while there was no reason why I should apprehend trouble or annoyance, I did not fancy facing the music

all alone, satisfied as I was of meeting in the town sailors and soldiers from these boats. But seating myself more firmly in my novel vehicle, drawing the reins of my steed tighter, and mustering up courage for the ordeal, I dashed over the bridge and through the main street of the town in fine style. As I expected, the town was filled with sailors and soldiers, but they gave me a cheer as I passed, and shouted, "there goes a Johnny coming home in the best style yet." I realized at once that "this cruel war was over," and these hearty greetings from quondam foes went a long way towards reconstructing me.

JAMES M. MULLEN.

PETERSBURG, VA.,
26 April, 1901.

NOTE.—The author of the above very interesting sketch after the war located in Halifax, N C., becoming one of the most prominent lawyers in the State. He represented that county in the State Senate Some years since he removed to Petersburg where he is now, and for many years has been, Judge of the City Court —ED.

A BATTLE AFTER THE WAR.

CAPTURE OF FORT HAMBY, 14 MAY, 1865.

By R. Z. LINNEY, Private Co. A, Seventh Regiment, N. C. T.

All wars are demoralizing. The Confederate and the Federal armies in the war of the United States were probably as well disciplined, and the red-eyed daughters of war, plunder and rapine, as well restrained as in any war in the world's history. Even under these conditions we were not entirely exempt from that demoralization which defies the most rigid army discipline.

In March, 1865, General Stoneman left East Tennessee, moving by the turnpike leading from Taylorsville, Tenn., through Watauga County to Deep Gap on the Blue Ridge. On 26 March he entered Boone, N. C., and on the 27th the column was divided, one division under General Stoneman marching towards Wilkesboro, while the other, under General Gilliam, crossed the Blue Ridge at Blowing Rock and went to Patterson, in Caldwell County, and then joined Stoneman at Wilkesboro. Leaving Wilkesboro on the 31st, General Stoneman moved over into Surry County, going towards Mt. Airy. During the march through this section of the State, Stoneman's men committed many depredations, and after leaving Wilkesboro a number of the lawless element of his command deserted. Shortly after this a number of men, some deserters from Stoneman's command and other worthless characters, led by two desperate men, Wade and Simmons, completely terrorized a large portion of Wilkes County by their frequent raids.

In order to fully understand the situation, the condition of the country at that time must be taken into consideration. Almost every man fit for military service was in the army, and the country was almost completely at the mercy of the robbers. It was thought after Lee had surrendered and the soldiers returned home that these depredations would be discontinued, but they were not.

These marauders were divided into two bands. One, led by Simmons, had its headquarters in the Brushy Mountains, and the other, led by Wade, had its headquarters near the Yadkin river in Wilkes County. The bands at times operated together, but it is principally with Wade's band that this article is to deal. The house which Wade had chosen and fortified was situated near the road which leads from Wilkesboro to Lenoir, in Caldwell County, and about a mile from Holman's Ford, where the valley road crosses the Yadkin river. The house was situated on a high hill, commanding a fine view of the Yadkin Valley, and of the valley road for a distance of a mile above and a mile below the ford. The house fronted the river on the south while the rear was protected by the "Flat Woods" belt, in which there were sympathizers if not aiders and abettors of the band. From this position the Yadkin Valley and the surrounding country for at least half a mile in every direction could be swept and controlled by Wade's guns. There is a legend that this point was chosen by Daniel Boone as a splendid military post to protect himself against the Indians. At any rate it would have been almost impossible to have chosen a stronger location, both offensive and defensive, than this. The house was built of oak logs, and was two stories high. In the upper story Wade had cut port holes for his guns, which were army guns of the most improved type, and could command the approaches to the house from all directions, making it indeed hazardous to attempt to reach it. This house belonged to some dissolute women by the name of Hamby, and after Wade had fortified it, the name by which it was known was "Fort Hamby." The exact number of men engaged in these depredations is unknown, though it has been stated on good authority to have at no time exceeded thirty.

Making this their headquarters, Wade's force began to plunder the surrounding country, and from their cruelty it appears that their object was to gratify a spirit of revenge as well as to enrich themselves. They marched as a well-drilled military force, armed with the best rifles. It was only a short time before they brought the citizens for many miles around in every direction under their dominion. They plundered the

best citizens, subjecting men and women to the grossest insults. Their cruelty is shown by this act: A woman was working in a field near Holman's Ford, having a child with her. The child climbed on the fence and the men began to shoot at it, and finally killed it. Emboldened by their success in Wilkes County, they made a raid into Caldwell County on 7 May. Major Harvey Bingham, with about half a dozen young men from Caldwell and Watauga Counties, attempted to rout these marauders from their stronghold at Fort Hamby. On Sunday night after their raid into Caldwell, Major Bingham made a well-planned move on the fort, at a late hour of the night. For some reason, Wade and his men were not aware of the approach of Bingham's men until they had entered the house. Wade and his men announced their defenceless condition, and begged for their lives. Major Bingham had assured Wade, who was a deserter from General Stoneman's command, and who had organized this band of robbers, that his only purpose was to compel them to desist from any further robbery and insult upon the citizens, and it was agreed that no violence was to be done them, and they were to be delivered to the military authorities at Salisbury for trial. This the robbers pretended to be willing to submit to. No guns were seen, and they were, so Bingham believed, his prisoners. They gave Wade and his men time to dress, after which, at a moment when the captors were off their guard, they rushed to their guns, which were concealed about their beds, and opened fire on them. The result was that Clark, a son of General Clark, of Caldwell County, and Henley, from the same county, were killed. The others escaped, leaving the bodies of Clark and Henley

Clark and Henley were both young men of rare excellence of character. Major Bingham himself narrowly escaped being a victim of this treachery. The robbers, being encouraged by the failure to dislodge them, began to enlarge the territory which they were to plunder. About a week previous to this Simmons with his band had crossed into Alexander County and had made a raid on Colonel McCurdy, a well-to-do planter. They forced this excellent old gentleman to lead them to the place where his money was concealed, but it

was not until they had tied him to the limb of an apple tree and began to flay him alive that he surrendered and led them to his hidden treasure.

About this time Mr. W. C. Green, of Alexander County, who had been a Lieutenant in the Confederate Army, received news from a friend in Wilkes County that Wade had planned to move into Alexander County and make a raid on his father, Rev. J. B. Green, and to kill him (W. C. Green) if found. Mr. Green began to fortify his house, barring all the doors with iron. They also took five negroes into their confidence and these promised to assist in defending the house against Wade. It was found out that they had in the house fire-arms enough to shoot eighteen times without reloading. Weapons were also provided for the negroes.

Wade started across the Brushy Mountains on Saturday, 13 May, and reached Mr. Green's that evening about dark. Mr. W. C. Green saw a number of men stop their horses in the road above the house, and he concluded that they were Wade's men. He notified his father, and mustered the negroes in the dining hall. All the lights were extinguished, though the moon was shining brightly. Mr. J. B. Green stationed himself at the front door, with a revolver in one hand and a dirk in the other. Mr. W. C. Green took his position at a window commanding a view of the front gate and porch. The negroes were stationed in the rear part of the house. Three men with guns approached the house in front, one of them being Wade who had on a bright Confederate uniform which he always wore on his raids, posing as a Confederate soldier when necessary to gain admission into the houses he wished to plunder. The other members of the company took another route and surrounded the house from the rear, though this was not known at the time. Wade pretended that they were Confederate soldiers; that they had belonged to the cavalry and were now on their way home, having been detained on account of sickness. Mr. J. B. Green told him "he lied, that he knew who he was, what his business was, and that he could not enter his house except over his dead body."

Some of the men had by this time come up from the rear

and were trying to force an entrance. When this fact was made known to Mr. W. C. Green by one of the negroes, he rushed to the rear, knocked out a pane of glass and opened fire on them, wounding one of the men. This unexpected turn of affairs seemed to frighten them and they all began to retire. Mr. J B. Green and Mr. W. C. Green rushed into the yard and opened fire on them as they retreated, Wade and his men at the same time returning the fire. They retreated so rapidly that two of the men left their horses.

It was found out afterwards that five of Wade's men had passed on down the Cove Gap road to the store of W C. Linney, where there was some powder and lead, and were watching the store. A number of old Confederate soldiers had visited W. C. Linney that night, and remained in the store with him, and though it was only about one mile to Rev. J B. Green's, they had no knowledge of what was going on there, nor of the action of the five desperadoes who were watching them.

It was Sunday morning before the news was circulated. Mr. W C. Green went to York Collegiate Institute and informed several men, and by 10 o'clock twenty-two men, almost all of them Confederate soldiers, had gathered, ready to pursue the robbers. In this party were several officers of the Confederate army and they were dressed in their uniforms. Colonel Wash Sharpe was placed in command of the squad and they started in pursuit. The first news from Wade was when they reached "Law's Gap." Here it was found that Wade had camped in the Brushy Mountains part of the night after the attack on Mr. Green, and about sunrise the next morning had made a raid on Mr. Laws and forced him to give up his money. He informed the party that two of Wade's men were wounded. The pursuers followed the trail and found that five miles from Wilkesboro Wade's men had left the public road and had taken a shorter route by way of Hix's Mill and Holman's Ford to Fort Hamby. The ford was reached in the evening of 14 May, and after crossing the river, and traveling along the public road for about half a mile, the pursuing party left the public road and followed

a private road which led to a creek at the base of the hill on which Hamby house stood. In the plan of attack, part of the company under Colonel G. W Flowers was to approach from the north while the other part under Captain Ellis, was to approach from the south, and then surround the house. In the enthusiasm of the moment all seemed to forget the danger. Colonel Flowers' men had gotten within seventy-five yards and Captain Ellis' men within twenty yards of the house when its defenders poured a volley of minie balls through the port holes. James Polk Linney, only 16 years old, and Jones Brown, about 18 years of age, were killed. As the squad that followed Captain Ellis to the south side of the house got within fifty yards of the east end of the house, W. F Patterson and Burrel Connolly, two Confederate veterans, rushed up the hill to the house, Patterson before, Linney next and Connolly next. When they reached the house I heard the voice of my brother for the last time, say: "Boys, they are going to shoot." Immediately the guns of the robbers were heard and Patterson and Connolly rode away, while Linney sat on his horse at the east end of the house with his body bent as though he were trying to adjust his spur. Soon he went to the ground still holding the reins of his horse. He was mortally wounded by a minie ball passing through his head, having entered just below the right eye. The robbers gave him no assistance, not even a drink of water, until Monday evening, when he died.

Brown was charging up the hill on the west side when he was wounded. Some of the men were compelled to jump from their horses and throw themselves on the ground in order to escape being shot down. Their horses became frightened and breaking loose from them, ran to where Wade's men had their horses. Two of these horses were the ones captured from Wade at Mr. Green's. These men did not recover their horses at this time.

Under the severe fire the men were compelled to retreat, and when they had retreated to a small stream, Brown, who had been shot, fell from his horse and died in the presence of Rev. L. P Gwaltney, who was then a boy about the age of Brown. Mr. Gwaltney says:

"As we were approaching Holman's Ford the word passed along the line that the house standing on an eminence to our right was the headquarters of the desperate land pirates whom we were pursuing. Brown looking in that direction, turned and said, 'They are going to fight, sure.' Pointing his finger toward a wood above the Hamby house, some women were plainly to be seen retreating into the woods. 'That,' said he, 'means business. Then, taking his gun from his shoulder and laying it across his saddle, holding it and the reins of his horse with his left hand and laying his right hand on the butt of his revolver, he rode silently on. After crossing the Yadkin river a detour of perhaps half a mile was made when we found ourselves halted on the bank of a roaring, rocky little stream, while our advance was slowly crossing the rough and rapid stream. The sun was stooping low towards the summits of the Blue Ridge in our rear, Brown casting his eye over his shoulder, gazed at the beautiful scene and observed, 'What a beautiful Sunday to be engaged in work like this, guiding his horse into the stream and ere all had landed, our advance had reached the open field and the fray was on. As we emerged from the thicket skirting the stream, Brown fired his gun towards the house. James Linney, brave, noble youth, was shot from his horse near the fatal den. Brown hastily drawing his revolver, with flashing eye and face aflame, plunged forward to the fray, only a few leaps were taken, only twice did his faithful revolver speak when the fearful whack of the enemy's bullet, as distinctly heard as the smiting together of the palms of the hands, indicated some one was struck. Brown suddenly reined his horse, threw up his right hand from which his smoking revolver fell and exclaimed, 'I'm shot, I'm killed.' The hope was expressed that he was not seriously hurt. 'Ah,' he said, pointing to his bleeding leg from which the blood was flowing in a stream, 'I shall be dead in five minutes.' Then lifting his eyes upward as if in prayer, he cried, 'O, such a little time to prepare to die.' These were the last words I heard him speak. Almost simultaneous with this we began to dismount and a confused retreat began. Passing the spot the writer snatched his revolver and brought it away. Cast-

ing my eye toward the river I saw Brown still on his horse as he was being assisted across by two friends. Ten paces perhaps from the landing his horse reared and hurled the dying man to the ground. He arose to his feet, staggered once or twice around a small circle, and fell with his face to the earth. The writer was among the last recrossing the stream. Hastening to the spot where my dying playmate lay, I dismounted, gave my reins to Lansing Lowrance, who dismounted and remained with me. Running to my friend, I raised him in my arms. Only a few moments passed, his eyes closed forever to scenes of blood, the brave heart grew still, and that noble spirit that no face of earthly foe could daunt, passed bravely, grandly into the great beyond."

The force was now divided, part having fallen back across the creek, and part having reached the pines east of the building. There was no chance to re-unite, and after waiting until dark, the men withdrew, some reaching Moravian Falls that night. These met the others at "Squire" Hubbard's next morning. In retreating under the severe fire from the fort, the men were compelled to leave the bodies of Linney and Brown. Wade's men afterwards buried them near the fort.

These men returned to Alexander County and raised a large company, a strong force having been brought from Iredell County under the command of Wallace Sharpe. On Wednesday the force started towards Fort Hamby. After crossing Cove's Gap, a courier was sent back to Iredell County to request Captain Cowan to raise a company and come to their assistance; also, another courier was sent to Statesville to an encampment of Federal soldiers to inform them of the condition of things and to ask their assistance. Before reaching Moravian Falls, they received a message from Wade saying, "Come on; I am looking for you; I can whip a thousand of you." It was dark when Holman's Ford was reached. Some one in the woods before the company ordered them to halt. The men thought that the order was from some of Wade's band and were about to fire upon them, when it was found out that this was a company from Caldwell County, under the command of Captain Isaac Oxford, on the same mission. They had encamped near the ford and had

thrown out their sentinels. The two companies camped together that night, and next morning marched up the river and crossed at a small ford. They came to the house of Mr. Talbert, who lived on the public road, and there they found a woman dying. She had been shot the day before by the men from the fort, while she and her husband were coming to the ford in a wagon on the opposite side of the river from the fort —nearly a mile distant.

Mr. Talbert begged the men to return, telling them that Wade was expecting them, and had sent for reinforcements. He told them that it was impossible to dislodge him, and to make an attempt and fail would make it worse for the people.

Captain R. M. Sharpe, of Alexander County, assumed command of both companies, numbering several hundred men. W R. Gwaltney was sent with a small body of men to reach a high hill, overlooking a creek (Lenoir's Fork), and to remain there while all the others marched around to the north and east of the fort. Gwaltney's men were to be notified by the firing of a gun, when the main body had reached their position. One or two men were seen to escape from the fort before it could be surrounded. They were fired at, but escaped. The supposition was that they had gone to get reinforcements from the other band. The companies had left their encampment before day and by daybreak the fort was surrounded, the men being placed about twenty steps apart. The soldiers kept up the fire on the fort during the day and night. Wade's men returned the fire, shooting with great accuracy. The soldiers were compelled to keep behind logs and trees, or out of range of the guns. It seemed impossible to take the fort. "Some of the bravest men were in favor of giving it up, while others said death was preferable to being run over by such devils."

One old veteran, James Harvey Connolly, was heard to remark, "Well my interest in heaven may not be much, but such as it is I would be willing to give it all for a piece of artillery one hour." Thursday morning just before daylight, Wallace Sharpe and two others approached a small house near the log fort, under cover of the night, and Sharpe set fire to it. Wade and his crowd begged for terms. Sharpe in vig-

orous language, informed them that the death of our young heroes, Clarke, Henly, Linney and Brown must be avenged. As the flames of this out house began to ascend, all the men surrounding the fort began to rush up. Wade made a rush towards the river, through a body of Caldwell men, who opened fire on him, but as it was yet a little dark, he escaped. Four men were captured, Beck, Church, Lockwood, and one whose name cannot be ascertained. The flames which had caught the fort were extinguished, and in the house was found property of almost every description. Five ladies' dresses and bonnets had been taken for the dissolute women who occupied the house. About twenty horses were found stabled near the fort. Some of the property was restored to the owners. The men who were captured plead for a trial according to the course and practice of the courts. They were informed that they would be disposed of as summarily as they had disposed of Clark, Henley, Brown and Linney. Stakes were put up, and on the way to the place of execution they were given time to pray. They knelt down to pray, but the prayer was, "O, men, spare us." Wallace Sharpe replied: "Men, pray to God; don't pray to us. He alone can save you." Captain Sharpe requested W. R. Gwaltney to pray, but he replied that he never felt as little like praying in his life. Captain Isaac Oxford said, "If you will hold my gun I will pray;" but instead of praying for the men, he thanked God that they were to be brought to justice and that none of the party had been killed. After this Rev. W. R. Gwaltney offered an earnest prayer for them, and then they were shot, "as nearly in strict conformity to military usage as these old Confederate soldiers, under the excitement of the occasion, could conform to."

After the prisoners were shot, the fort was set on fire. When the flames reached the cellar, the firing of guns was like a hot skirmish. Wade's men had stored away a great many loaded guns, and a large quantity of ammunition.

Wade was seen in the vicinity several days after. He claimed to have been a Major in Stoneman's command and a native of Michigan. He said that he had escaped to the Yadkin river from the fort and had hid under the banks until

night; that in searching for him the soldiers had frequently come within six feet of him.

On the way back to Alexander County Captain Cowan, from Iredell, was met with a small body of men on their way to Fort Hamby. Also a company of Federal troops, then stationed in Statesville, were met on their way to the fort. They were told what had been done. The Captain ordered three cheers, which the men gave with a good will. The bodies of Linney and Brown were brought back home for final burial. Though all the desperadoes were not brought to justice, this completely broke up their depredations.

The most startling thing about the whole tragedy is this: Major Bingham attacked the robbers and lost two young heroes eleven days before the fort was taken and four of the robbers shot. It seems almost incredible that such a band of robbers should be permitted to plunder a county where 700 men able to wear an helmet, and of sufficient courage to assail any foe, had their homes. The writer inquired of Colonel Flowers a few days since how he was armed. "I had a small pistol," said he. So had I. We had no guns of any value to use upon such a fort, such a strong log wall. The rifles of the robbers were the very best then used in the Federal army. The writer has one of them taken from the fort from the robbers we shot. It shoots with accuracy 1000 yards and the lock to-day appears to be as strong as when first made. The gun weighs ten pounds. The destruction of the band of robbers was at great sacrifice indeed. It put an end to plunder and insult of our people, but the loss of the lives of four of the gallant youths that had survived the war was a dear price to pay for it.

Romulus Z. Linney.

Taylorsville, N. C.,
14 May, 1901.

N. C. IN THE NAVY.

CONFEDERATE VESSELS IN N. C.

30 APRIL, 1864.

INLAND WATERS OF NORTH CAROLINA UNDER COMMANDER R. F. PINKNEY.

Albemarle,—Iron-clad sloop, two guns, Commander J. W. Cooke.

*Neuse**,—Iron-clad sloop, two guns, First Lieutenant B. P. Loyall.

CAPE FEAR RIVER, UNDER FLAG OFFICER W. F. LYNCH.

North Carolina,—Iron-clad sloop, four guns, Commander W L. Maury.

Raleigh,—Iron-clad sloop, four guns, First Lieutenant J. Pembroke Jones.

Arctic,—Floating battery, three guns, First Lieutenant C. B. Poindexter.

Yadkin,—Steam gun-boat, one gun, First Lieutenant W. A. Kerr.

Two torpedo boats at Wilmington under construction.

(*9 Off. Rec. Union and Confed. Navies, 809.*)

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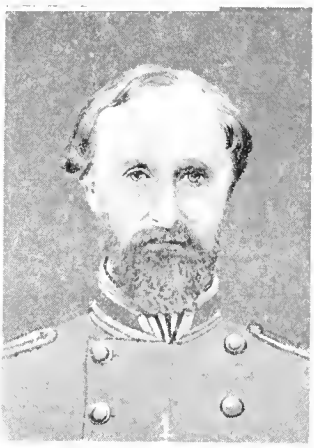
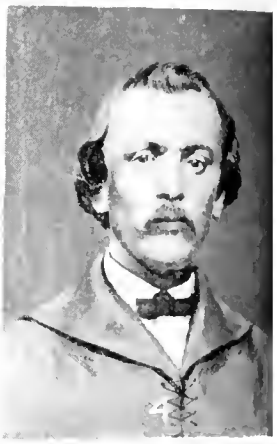
*Later the *Neuse* was commanded by Commander Joseph Price, a native North Carolinian who distinguished himself in the capture of the *Water-Witch* in Ossabaw Sound, 3 June, 1864, for which he received his promotion to Commander.—Ed.





NAVAL GROUP

1. J. W. Cooke, Captain.
2. John Newland Maffitt, Commander.
3. James Iredell Waddell, 1st Lieut., Commanding the "Shenandoah."
4. James Knight Wood, Sailor, on Gunboat "North Carolina."
5. Gilbert Elliott, Builder of the "Albemarle."

NORTH CAROLINA NAVY

By ADAM TREDWELL, Acting Paymaster N. C. Navy, Assistant Paymaster Confederate States Navy.

The State of North Carolina, more than a month (14 and 15 April) before passing the ordinance of secession, took possession of the forts at Beaufort and below Wilmington and immediately after its passage began the defences of her inland sounds by the construction of forts at Hatteras and Ocracoke Inlets, and by the purchase of several small steamers, which were converted into gun-boats. After the ordinance of secession was passed, her sons, who were in the United States Navy, tendered their resignations, and placed their services at the disposal of their native State, prominent among them was William T. Muse, who was ordered by the Naval and Military Board, of which Warren Winslow was Secretary, to Norfolk, Va., to take charge of, and fit out, as gun-boats at the navy yard at Norfolk, the steamers purchased by the State.

The first of them to be placed in commission was the *Winslow*, formerly the *J E. Coffee*, a side-wheel steamer, plying between Norfolk, Virginia, and the eastern shore of Virginia, under command of Captain Patrick McCarrick. When the *Coffee* was purchased by the State of North Carolina, Captain McCarrick was commissioned a Master in the North Carolina Navy, and remained attached to her until she was sunk in Ocracoke Inlet in November, 1861. She mounted one short 32-pounder, and was commanded by Lieutenant Thomas M. Crossan, formerly of the United States Navy. Acting under orders he proceeded to Pamlico Sound, N. C. Upon the outside of Hatteras and Ocracoke Inlets he preyed on the commerce of the North, and captured a number of vessels loaded with different kinds of merchandise. From the *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies, Series 1, Volume 1*, the names of the following vessels are given: Brig *Itasca,* brig *William McGilvery,* schooners *Seawitch,*

Henry Nutt, Nathaniel Chase, Herbert Manton, Transit, and brig *Hannah Balch.* Mr. Jas. W. McCarrick, of Norfolk, Va., who was a master's mate in the North Carolina Navy, attached to the steamer *Winslow,* says "that the brig *Hannah Balch* when captured, was in charge of a prize crew, commanded by Past Midshipman Kautz, now a Rear Admiral in the United States Navy This brig loaded with sugar and molasses, had been captured by a Federal vessel, while attempting to enter harbor at Savannah, Ga., and put in charge of the prize crew." The vessels captured were sent to New Bern, N C., where they were condemned as prizes. The State of North Carolina paid the officers and crew of the *Winslow* full prize money.

The next steamer sent out was the *Beaufort,* mounting one long 32-pounder, commanded by Lieutenant W C Duvall. On 9 July hoisted ensign, and put the *Beaufort* in commission, after taking on powder and other equipment, proceeded under orders to her station in Pamlico Sound. "On 21 July when off Oregon Inlet Lieutenant Duvall reports the first naval engagement with the Federal forces. The Federal vessel was a large three-masted propeller, carrying a battery of eight guns, one rifle cannon forward and aft, working on pivots, position taken by this vessel was not over 1¼ miles from the *Beaufort,* from where she opened fire across a narrow strip of land. Her shots were replied to by the *Beaufort;* firing was kept up as long as the gun could be elevated sufficient to graze the sand hill. The enemy not fancying the shots, withdrew behind the high sand hills, where she was out of range. On 30 July, came to anchor opposite Island of Portsmouth."

The steamer *Raleigh* was next fitted out, mounting one 32-pounder. July 22 Lieutenant Commanding J W Alexander was ordered to command her.

The *Ellis,* mounting one 32-pounder, commanded by Commander W T Muse, sailed from Norfolk 2 August, 1861, arriving off Ocracoke Inlet the 4th.

The capture of these vessels by the *Winslow* produced an outcry from the commercial circles of the North, which no doubt called the attention of the naval authorities to the ne-

cessity of blocking the inlets leading into the North Carolina sounds.

In the early part of the Summer of 1861, the naval authorities of the North, seeing the advantage of taking possession of these inland waters of North Carolina, commenced the preparation of a naval expedition, and the work had so far progressed as to enable the expedition to sail on 26 August. The expedition consisted of the frigate *Minnesota*, flagship of Flag Officer Stringham; steam frigate *Wabash*, steamers *Monticello, Pawnee* and *Harriet Lane*. The army accompanying this expedition was in command of General B. F. Butler. On the 28th the frigates *Cumberland* and *Susquehana* joined the fleet, and with the *Wabash*, opened fire on Fort Clark, which was abandoned 28 August, after standing the bombardment two and a half hours, the garrison falling back to Fort Hatteras.

Early in the morning of the 28th, news reaching Ocracoke Inlet of the attack on forts at Hatteras, Commander Muse immediately made preparations for embarking the troops stationed on the Island of Portsmouth (being part of Seventeenth Regiment, N. C. T.) taking on his vessel Captain Sharp's company. Remainder of the troops were taken on board of schooner in tow of steamer. The *Ellis* weighed anchor about 11 o'clock a. m. Commander Muse proceeding with all dispatch to the assistance of the forts, arriving early in the afternoon of the 28th. After landing Captain Sharp's company, assisted in landing the troops from the vessel, and ammunition from the *Winslow* just arrived, Commander Muse having sent ashore all of the ammunition he could spare from his ship. All of this work was accomplished under direct fire from the Federal fleet, without any damage being done. Flag officer Barron, who was in command of the naval forces, arrived on the *Winslow*. Immediately after his arrival, Flag Officer Barron landed, and went into Fort Hatteras, "when at the request of the commanding officer, Major W S. G. Andrews, he assumed command, Colonel Martin, of the Seventeenth North Carolina, being completely exhausted from his previous day's fighting."

See Flag Officer Barron's report, *Union and Confed. Navies, Series 1, Vol. 6, page 139.*

During the night of the 28th, Lieutenant W H. Murdaugh, formerly of the United States Navy, and Lieutenant William Sharp, formerly of the United States Navy, with Midshipman Stafford, of the *Ellis,* landed and went into the fort and took charge of gun No. 8, which was mounted on a navy gun carriage. Early in the morning of the 29th the Federal fleet opened fire on the fort, and kept up an incessant fire, throwing 9, 10 and 11 inch shells. From the position taken by the Northern fleet the guns from Fort Hatteras were unable to reach them. After standing the heavy fire from the ship for more than three hours, the commanding officer, seeing that to hold out longer would only entail heavy loss of life, without his being able to inflict any damage to the enemy, wisely decided to surrender, and about noon, hoisted a white flag. In the meantime the officers and men, who succeeded in getting out of the fort, were taken aboard the *Winslow,* commanded by Commander Arthur Sinclair, who had succeeded Lieutenant T. M. Crossan, among them Lieutenant Murdaugh, who had his left arm shattered during the bombardment. After the surrender of Fort Hatteras, the *Harriet Lane,* in attempting to cross the Inlet, grounded, and remained ashore several days.

Flag Officer Stringham, in his report, *Union and Confed. Navies, Series 1, Vol 6, page 122,* says "that General Butler, on the steamer *Fanny,* went into the inlet to the rear of the forts to take possesion, and about 2:30 p. m., returned to the flagship, bringing with him three senior officers, viz.: Samuel Barron, Flag Officer C. S. N, commanding naval defences of North Carolina and Virginia; William F. Martin, Colonel of the Seventh Regiment North Carolina Volunteers; Major W. S. G. Andrews, commanding Forts Hatteras and Clark. The officers and troops captured were carried North on the flagship *Minnesota."* See Commander Rowan's letter to Warren Winslow, Esq., Military Secretary, same volume at page 155.

The *Ellis* returned to the Island of Portsmouth, and taking on board the officers' wives and other families sojourn-

ing there, proceeded to Washington, North Carolina, arriving there on the afternoon of the 30th. The *Winslow* and other ships were ordered to New Bern, N. C.

Flag Officer Wm. F Lynch having been ordered to command the naval defences of North Carolina and Virginia, ordered Commander Muse to keep close watch from the mouth of the Pamlico river. Similar orders were given to Lieutenant Commander W H. Parker, commanding the *Beaufort*, to keep a lookout from the mouth of the Neuse river. On 29 October the *Ellis* left Pamlico Point for New Bern.

On the 30th Lieutenant-Commander J W Cooke took command of the *Ellis*, Commander Muse being ordered to the command of the naval station at Wilmington, when the propeller, *Uncle Ben*, was fitted out as a gun-boat, and stationed inside of New Inlet. The *Uncle Ben*, as I remember, was turned over to the Confederate Government by the State of North Carolina.

The vessels under Flag Officer Lynch were assembled in the sounds of North Carolina, where he cruised to intercept any steamer that might be found in the sounds.

"On the afternoon of 1 October, the Federal steamer *Fanny,* mounting two rifled cannon and loaded with ammunition and supplies for the Federal forces at Loggerhead Inlet, was sighted. After an engagement with the *Curlew, Raleigh* and *Junaluski*, lasting fifty-five minutes, the *Fanny* surrendered." See Colonel Wright's report, *Union and Confed. Navies, Series 1, Vol. 6, page 278.* This was the first naval success in North Carolina, and the first capture made of an armed vessel of the enemy.

I am indebted to Mr. James W McCarrick, of Norfolk, who was a master's mate in the North Carolina Navy, for the following, in reference to the saving of the officers and crew of the French corvette *Proney*:

"On 4 November, 1861, the French Corvette *Proney,* Commander DeFontanges, was wrecked at Ocracoke Inlet. The steamer *Winslow,* Master Patrick McCarrick, commanding,

went to their assistance, and coming into Ocracoke Inlet, she struck on the wreck of a sunken vessel and was sunk. The officers and crew of the *Proney* and *Winslow* were taken off by the *Curlew*, Lieutenant-Commander Thomas T. Hunter, without the loss of a man. Commander DeFontanges and his officers were carried to Norfolk, where they were cordially and hospitably received by the naval officers and citizens. The French Vice Consul, Leon Schisano, of Norfolk, Va., formally thanked Master McCarrick, his officers and crew for the rescue."

The land and naval fight at Roanoke Island took place on 7 and 8 February, 1862, the odds being greatly against the Confederate forces. The fleet under Commodore Lynch was composed of eight small steamers and one schooner, each steamer being mounted with one 32-pounder and the schooner with two 32-pounders. The following are the names of the vessels: The *Seabird* (Commodore Lynch's flagship), Lieutenant-Commanding Patrick McCarrick; *Curlew*, Lieutenant-Commander Thomas T. Hunter; *Ellis*, Lieutenant-Commander J W Cooke; *Appomattox*, Lieutenant-Commander C C. Simms; *Beaufort*, Lieutenant-Commander W. H. Parker; *Raleigh*, Lieutenant-Commander J W Alexander; *Fanny*, Midshipman Commanding Taylor; *Forest*, Lieutenant-Commanding James L. Hoole; and the schooner *Black Warrior*, Lieutenant Harris. The enemy's fleet consisted of about thirty gun-boats mounted with guns of 9, 10 and 11-inch calibre. The fight lasted through the entire day. All of the ammunition of the fleet having been exhausted, at night Commodore Lynch called a consultation of his officers, when it was decided to fall back to Elizabeth City, which was done during the night, arriving there on the morning of the 8th, when Commodore Lynch sent express to Norfolk for more ammunition, which he received the next day

On the morning of the 10th the fleet, under Commodore Rowan, renewed the fight off Elizabeth City, N. C., when after a desperate resistance all of the vessels were either captured or sunk, with the exception of the *Raleigh* and *Beaufort*, which escaped, passing through the canal, arriving in

safety at Norfolk, where they were heard from again in the naval engagement in Hampton Roads between the United States ships and the Confederate States iron-clad *Virginia*. The *Beaufort* at this time was in command of Lieutenant William Sharp, who was captured at the fall of Hatteras, but who in the meantime had been exchanged.

I here append the official reports of Flag Officer W F Lynch and Lieutenant-Commander J W Cooke.

REPORT OF FLAG OFFICER LYNCH, C. S. NAVY, COMMANDING NAVAL DEFENCES OF NORTH CAROLINA AND VIRGINIA.

(*Official Records Union and Confed. Navies, Series 1, Vol. 6, Page, 594.*)

"PETERSBURG, VA., 18 February, 1862.

"SIR:—I have the honor to report that the enemy on the 7th instant, at 10:30 a. m., made an attack upon the squadron under my command and the battery at Pork Point, Roanoke Island. His force consisted of from 80 to 100 sail, of which 22 heavy steamers and one tug constituted the attacking force. This last division was again subdivided, one portion assailing us and the other the battery; but whenever we approached too near, the fire of the whole, except two or three close inshore, would be concentrated upon us. As his force was overwhelming, we commenced the action at long range, but as our shells fell short, whilst his burst over and around us, we were eventually compelled to lessen the distance.

"The fight lasted continuously until 5 p. m., when the enemy withdrew for the night. The soldiers in the battery sustained their position under a terrific fire with a gallantry which won our warmest admiration. At times the entire battery would be enveloped in the sand and dust thrown up by shot and shell, and yet the casualties were only one man killed and three wounded. The earthwork, however, was very much cut up, but doubtless repaired during the night. I deem it proper to say thus much of the battery, because, in all probability, this communication will reach you before intelligence is received from the appropriate official source.

"Repeatedly in the course of the day I feared that our

little squadron of seven vessels would be utterly demolished, but a merciful Providence preserved us. Master-Commanding Hoole, of the *Forrest*, received a wound in the head which was at first pronounced serious, if not mortal, but I trust that this promising young officer, who so bravely fought his ship, will be spared to the service. Midshipman Camm, acting as executive officer of the *Ellis*, had his left arm shot off, and the right arm of Seaman Ely, of the *Curlew*, was fractured. These, with three others slightly wounded, constitute the sum of our personal casualties. Our physical ones were serious. About 2:30 p. m., a heavy shell perforated the deck of the *Curlew*, passed through the magazine, and, driving out one of the iron plates, of which her bottom consists, caused her to fill so rapidly as to make it necessary to run toward the shore, near which she sank. About the same time the *Forrest* was disabled by the displacement of her propeller. We received other injuries from shot and shell (one of the latter passing through the flagship, but above the water line), but none of a serious character.

"With the exception of the vessels named, we could have been prepared for action the ensuing day, if we only had ammunition, but I had not one charge of powder nor a loaded shell remaining, and few of the other vessels were better off. In common prudence, I should, perhaps, have reserved some for contingencies, but the battery was so sorely pressed that I felt bound to annoy its assailants as much as possible. During the latter part of the engagement, when our ammunition was nearly exhausted, I sent to the upper battery for a supply, but ten charges were all that could be spared.

"While recovering the rifled gun, and other articles of value from the wreck of the *Curlew*, I sent Lieutenant-Commanding Parker with the *Beaufort*, to the upper battery with a note for the commanding officer on the island, informing him of our shortness of ammunition and of my intention to proceed to Elizabeth City, thirty-five miles distant, for a supply, and return immediately.

"I felt sure that Pork Point Battery could hold out, and earnestly hoped that, profiting by the mistake at Hatteras, the enemy, who had landed on a point of marsh, would be at-

tacked and defeated during the night. With this conviction and in this hope, with the *Forrest* in tow, I proceeded with my little squadron to Elizabeth City for ammunition, but finding only a small quantity there, dispatched Commander Hunter express to Norfolk for it.

"There were reasons for retiring on Norfolk, had I known that very little ammunition could be procured at Elizabeth City But even had I known it, the desertion of that town, situated near the head of the Dismal Swamp Canal, would have been unseemly and discouraging, more particularly as I had urged the inhabitants to defend it to the last extremity.

"In the conflict of the 7th instant Commander Hunter, Lieutenants-Commanding Cooke, Parker and Alexander, and Masters-Commanding McCarrick, Tayloe, Hoole and Harris bravely sustained the credit of the service, and the other officers and most of the crews of the vessels were scarce less zealous than their commanders. To Commander Hunter and Lieutenants-Commanding Cooke and Parker I am particularly indebted.

"Lieutenant-Commanding Simms was absent on detached service, and only returned at the close of the conflict, but exhibited such an eagerness to participate as to give assurance that if gratified he would have upheld his high reputation.

"Having procured fuel and ammunition sufficient for two steamers, I left Elizabeth City in the *Seabird,* with the *Appomattox* in company, on the 9th instant for Roanoke Island with the purpose of rendering what assistance we could. At the mouth of the river we met a boat, from which we learned that our forces on the island had capitulated. We then continued on in the hope of rescuing the men stationed at the Croatan floating battery, but were forced to retire upon the appearance of a division of the enemy's fleet, steering toward the river.

"Immediately upon our return I sent an express to General Henningsen and distributed the ammunition between the *Seabird, Ellis, Appomattox, Beaufort, Fanny* and the schooner *Black Warrior,* the gun-boats forming in line of battle abreast across the river, a little above the fort, and the schooner moored parallel with and close to the eastern shore,

opposite to Cobb's Point Battery, the latter consisting of four smooth-bore 32-pounders. The *Curlew* our largest steamer, had been sunk during the engagement off Roanoke Island; the *Forrest* was on the ways in Elizabeth City, undergoing repairs, and the *Raleigh* I had the day before sent up the canal to expedite forwarding ammunition from Norfolk. Shortly after daylight on the 10th the enemy appeared in sight, and it was reported by the lookout that he was landing troops below. I immediately went to the battery to arrange for its defence, and found it ungarrisoned, in charge of a civilian and seven militiamen. As the battery was our principal reliance, and the enemy must pass it before reaching the gunboats, I determined to defend it in person, and sent for Lieutenant-Commanding Parker, of the *Beaufort*, to bring on shore his ammunition, officers and crew, leaving only sufficient of the latter to take that vessel up to the canal. We at first manned three of the guns with the aid of the militiamen, but they speedily deserted, and we fought with only two 32-pounders. The enemy advanced very boldly and, contrary to my expectation, instead of taking position as he did at Roanoke Island for the purpose of shelling out the battery, he continued to press on; in one hour and five minutes succeeded in passing it, and, with full complements of men, closed upon our half-manned gun-boats.

"The commanders of the latter were instructed, when their ammunition failed, to escape with their vessels if they could; if not, to run into shoal water, destroy the signal books, set fire to the vessels and save their crews.

"The *Appomattox* succeeded in making her escape; the *Seabird* was sunk in the action; the *Ellis* was overpowered and captured, and the *Fanny* ran aground and was set on fire by her commander, who brought her crew safely ashore.

"By the capture or destruction of the gun-boats the enemy gained positions to enfilade the battery (the guns of which could no longer be brought to bear), bringing the magazine in their line of fire, and as further resistance would have availed nothing, the town being at their mercy, the guns of the battery were carefully spiked and the officers and men deliberately withdrawn.

"The *Forrest,* in obedience to my orders, was burned by her officers before leaving Elizabeth City; the *Ellis* was captured; the *Beaufort, Raleigh* and *Appomattox* escaped; the *Fanny* was set on fire and blew up; and the flagship was sunk, so that of our little squadron of gun-boats, the *Ellis* (next to the *Forrest* the most indifferent one) alone fell into the hands of the enemy. Of casualties, I regret to say that Acting Midshipman Jackson and one seaman of the *Ellis,* and Seamen Ballance and Bragg, of the *Sea Bird,* were killed and one seaman of the *Ellis* and Third Assistant Engineer Henderson and four seamen of the *Sea Bird* were wounded.

"The officers exhibited great gallantry, but were not universally sustained by their men, for some of them, being raw recruits, shrank from a hand-to-hand encounter with a greatly superior force. Until better informed, I cannot particularize the conduct of the officers afloat, but will do them full justice in a future communication.

"Lieutenant-Commanding Parker, Acting Master Johnson, and Acting Midshipmen Gardner and Mallory were with me in the battery, and by cool intrepidity sustained the confidence I placed in them. To Lieutenant-Commanding Parker I am specially indebted, as well for his brave deportment in battle as for the judicious manner he conducted upward of fifty officers and men from Elizabeth City to Norfolk. Mr. Hinrick, the civilian whom we found in charge of the battery, stood by us to the last, and deserves to be gratefully remembered.

"WM. F. LYNCH,

"Flag Officer, Commanding Naval Defences of North Carolina and Virginia.

"Hon. S. R. Mallory, Secretary of the Navy, Richmond."

REPORT OF LIEUTENANT COOKE, C. S. NAVY, COMMANDING C. S. S. ELLIS.

(*Official Records Union and Confed. Navies, Series 1, Vol. 6, Page 597*)

"WARRENTON, N. C., 16 April, 1862.

"SIR:—In consequence of being wounded in my right arm, and unable to write, I have until now deferred making out to

you my official report of the engagements of the 8th (7th) and 11th (10th) of February

"That of the 8th (7th), at Roanoke Island, commenced about 10:30 a. m., at long range. At 2 p. m., finding all of my ammunition expended, I obtained your permission to be supplied from the *Forrest.* As I procured that, she had dropped out of the enemy's range in a crippled condition. I very soon expended all that she had, and soon after the *Curlew* becoming disabled and in a sinking condition, I was again supplied from her, and renewed the attack. At about 4:30 p. m., as we were retiring from the engagement, the firing having generally ceased, Midshipman Camm, the second in command, had his left arm taken off just below the shoulder by a Parrott shell. He had fired his eighty-fourth round when wounded, and I can not speak too highly of this efficient and meritorious officer, who had bravely performed his duty throughout the action. I then, by your order, went to the assistance of the *Curlew* to remove ordnance and ordnance stores, etc., to the schooner *Black Warrior,* for the purpose of falling back to Elizabeth City, where we arrived on Saturday morning, and where we were attacked on Monday, the 11th (10th), by the Federal gun-boats by an overwhelming and overpowering force. In consequence of the width of the river, the enemy were enabled to run down upon us with his entire force, numbering, I think, fourteen gun-boats, any one of which was superior to ours, and of a heavier metal. Being surrounded and boarded by two of the enemy's vessels, and having made every possible effort to resistance, and seeing that further resistance was useless, I gave the order to blow the vessel up, which was prevented by one of my negro coal heavers discovering it and betraying it to the enemy. I also gave the order for the men to save themselves, if possible, we being very near the shore, one of the gun's crew being killed and several wounded. The rest left the vessel, and, in endeavoring to make their way to the shore, Midshipman Jackson, the second in command (who came on board in the place of Mr. Camm), was wounded, and died in twenty hours on board one of the Federal vessels. Several of the

men were also wounded in the water, one, I believe, mortally, William Walker, ordinary seaman.

"Midshipman Jackson was a meritorious and promising officer, and the country has sustained a loss in his death.

"I must here speak of the efficient services of Mr. Knight (rated as fireman, but performing the duties of boatswain, gunner, and watch officer); Mr. Mayo, the pilot; also Mr. Bagley, the clerk, and the crew, all of whom performed their respective duties with promptness and efficiency.

"After the surrender, I am sorry to say, that the two negro coal heavers and the steward, as also one or two of the men from the *Sea Bird*, deserted to the enemy, when called upon in my presence to take their parole.

"Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

"J W COOKE,

"Lieutenant Commanding *Ellis*.

"Flag Officer W F Lynch, Commanding Virginia and North Carolina Naval Defences."

Commander John N. Maffitt, C S. N., in his reminiscences (published in United Service Magazine, 1880), writing of the engagement in Albemarle Sound and Elizabeth City, says in reference to the steamer *Ellis,* as follows:

"The *Ellis*, commanded by James W. Cooke, resisted to the bitter end. Boarders swarmed on board of her, and were met, cutlass in hand, by the dauntless captain who, though badly wounded by a musket ball and by a thrust from a bayonet, fought with the fierceness of a tiger, refusing to surrender or haul down his flag.

"Overpowered by numbers he was borne to the deck, and would have been slaughtered on the spot, but for the generous interference of an old associate, who caused him to be safely conveyed to Commodore Rowan's flagship, where extreme kindness was extended.

"The naval battles in Albemarle Sound and off Elizabeth City reflected much credit upon the personal courage of all the Confederate officers therein engaged. With mere abortions for gun-boats, badly armed and spare of ammunition,

they confronted without hesitation the well-equipped and powerful vessels of the North."

The officers and crew of the *Ellis* and *Sea Bird* captured at Elizabeth City on 10 February, were taken to Roanoke Island and there on the 12th were released on parole and allowed to return to their homes to remain until exchanged.

Commander W T. Muse, the first commander of the *Ellis,* was born in Pasquotank county, N. C., and entered the service of the United States Navy as midshipman. He resigned on the secession of his native State, having attained to the rank of Commander.

J W Cooke, who succeeded Commander Muse in the *Ellis,* was born at Beaufort, N C., and entered the United States Navy as a midshipman. After being exchanged he was sent to Edward's Ferry, on the Roanoke river, to superintend the building by Gilbert Elliott, of the iron-clad *Albemarle,* and which vessel he afterwards commanded and fought with such gallantry at Plymouth, N. C.

Thomas M. Crossan was of Northern birth, but having married a lady from North Carolina, on the secession of the State he cast his fortunes with her, and noble service did he perform as the first commander of the *Winslow,* and afterwards as commander of the North Carolina blockade-runner *Ad-Vance* which successfully ran the blockade a number of times, bringing in the much needed supplies for the North Carolina troops in the fields.

Master McCarrick, who succeeded Commander Crossan and Sinclair as commander of the steamer *Winslow,* was of Irish birth, lived in Norfolk, and on the purchase of his vessel by the State of North Carolina, he entered her navy as a master, and up to the day of his death was a great admirer of the Old North State. Vice Consul Schisano's letter of thanks for assistance rendered the French Corvette *Proney* is still in possession of the McCarrick family.

Lieutenant-Commander J W Alexander, formerly of the United States Navy, commander of the *Raleigh,* was born in Lincoln county, North Carolina. He was captured off Savannah in 1863, and taken to Fort Warren, whence he made

a thrilling, but ineffectual, attempt to escape, an account of which is given by him in this work.

In writing this sketch I have endeavored only to follow those boats which composed the North Carolina Navy, and which the State turned over to the Confederate States Navy.

ADAM TREDWELL.

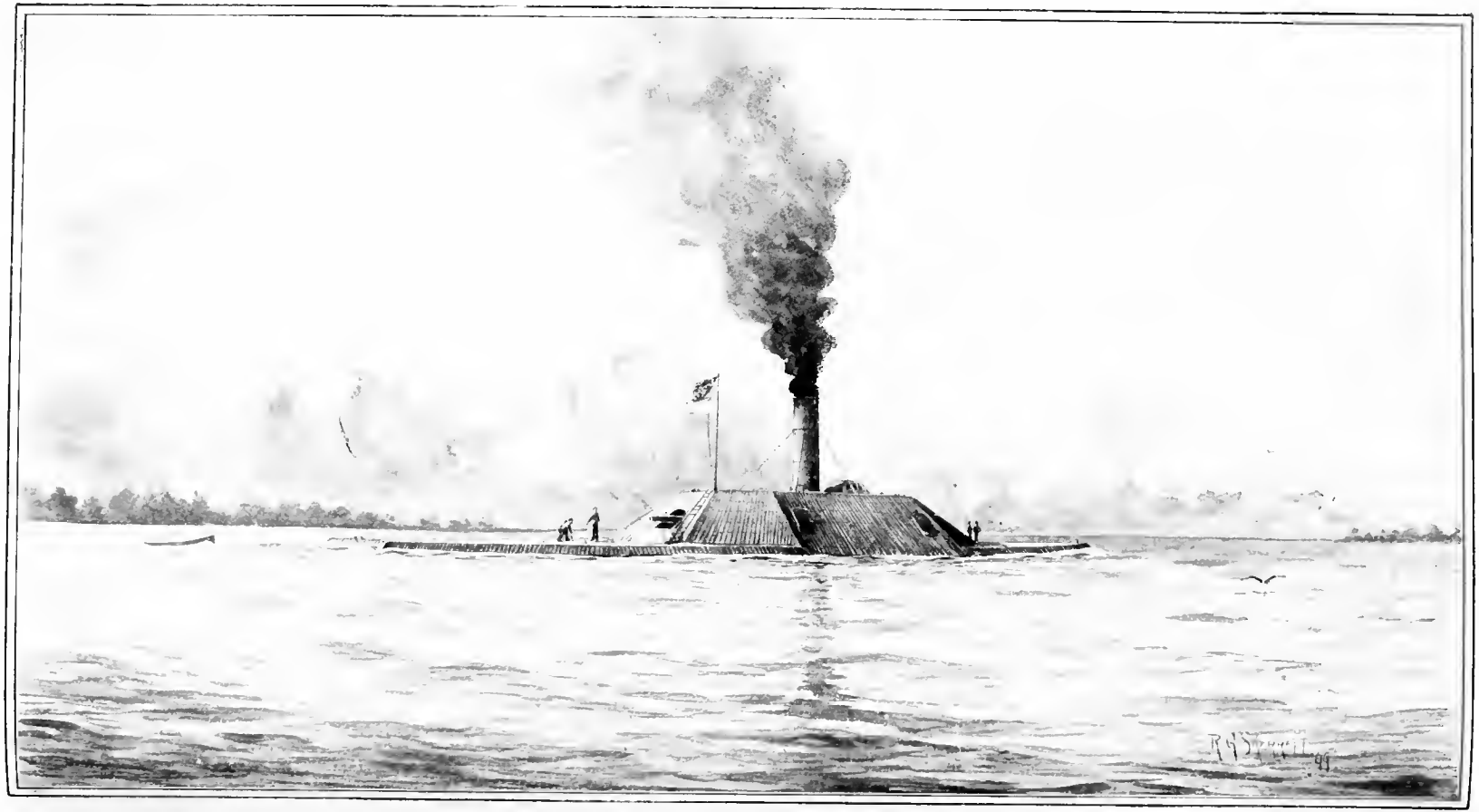
NORFOLK, VA.,
28 October, 1901.

NOTE.—Captain Adam Tredwell was Secretary to Commodore Muse and Acting Paymaster in North Carolina Navy. In 1862 he was commissioned Assistant Paymaster in the Confederate States Navy and attached to the Staff of Commodore W. F. Lynch and Commodore R. F. Pinckney with headquarters at Wilmington, N. C. Since the war he has been and is now one of the most prominent business men of Norfolk. North Carolina's Navy consisted of the seven vessels first above named. She sold and transferred them to the Confederate Navy in the fall of 1861.—ED.

ADDENDA.

No adequate Roster of the North Carolinians, other than officers, serving in the Confederate Navy has been kept. In Moore's Roster, Vol. 4, p. 443–448 is an imperfect roll of the North Carolina rank and file in Navy service. In Vol. 4 of this work at page 402 is a scant reference to the North Carolinians serving in the Naval Battalion. No doubt, those in the Navy formed a considerable part of the "3,100 men from this State serving in other commands and not borne on our rolls" which were reported by the Adjutant General 19 November, 1864.

EDITOR.



CONFEDERATE STATES RAM ALBEMARLE

Prepared from authentic photographs and measurements of the original

THE RAM "ALBEMARLE."

HER CONSTRUCTION AND SERVICE.

By Her Builder, GILBERT ELLIOTT,* Adjutant 17th N. C. T.

During the Spring of 1863, having been previously engaged in unsuccessful efforts to construct war vessels, of one sort or another, for the Confederate Government, at different points in Eastern North Carolina and Virginia, I undertook a contract with the Navy Department to build an iron-clad gun-boat, intended, if ever completed, to operate on the waters of Albemarle and Pamlico Sounds. Edward's Ferry on the Roanoke river, in Halifax County, North Carolina, about 30 miles below the town of Weldon, was fixed upon as the most suitable for the purpose. The river rises and falls, as is well known, and it was necessary to locate the yard on ground sufficiently free from overflow to admit of uninterrupted work for at least twelve months. No vessel was ever constructed under more adverse circumstances. The shipyard was established in a corn field, where the ground had already been marked out and planted for the coming crop, but the owner of the land, W R. Smith, Esq., was in hearty sympathy with the enterprise, and aided me then and afterwards, in a thousand ways, to accomplish the end I had in view It was next to impossible to obtain machinery suitable for the work in hand. Here and there, scattered about the surrounding country, a portable saw mill, blacksmith's forge, or other apparatus was found, however, and the citizens of the neighborhoods on both sides of the river were not slow to render me

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Note.—Gilbert Elliott was born at Elizabeth City, 10 December, 1843, and hence was only 19 years of age when he undertook to build the Albemarle After the war he practiced law in Norfolk, Va., St. Louis and New York. He was a brother of Captain Charles G. Elliott, A. A. G., of the Martin-Kirkland brigade and of Warren G. Elliott, now President of the W & W R R. Company. He died at Staten Island, N Y., 9 May, 1895. This article appeared in the "Century" Magazine, July 1888 by whose kind permission it is reproduced here.—Ed.

assistance, but co-operated, cordially, in the completion of the iron-clad, and at the end of about one year from the laying of the keel, during which innumerable difficulties were overcome by constant application, determined effort, and incessant labor, day and night, success crowned the efforts of those engaged in the undertaking.

Seizing an opportunity offered by comparatively high water, the boat was launched, though not without misgivings as to the result, for the yard being on a bluff she had to take a jump, and as a matter of fact was "hogged" in the attempt, but to our great gratification did not thereby spring a leak.

The plans and specifications were prepared by John L. Porter, Chief Constructor of the Confederate Navy, who availed himself of the advantage gained by his experience in converting the frigate *Merrimac* into the iron-clad *Virginia* at the Gosport navy yard.

The *Albemarle* was 152 feet long between perpendiculars; her extreme width was 45 feet; her depth from the gun-deck to the keel was 9 feet, and when launched she drew 6½ feet of water, but after being ironed and completed her draught was about 8 feet. The keel was laid, and construction was commenced by bolting down, across the center, a piece of frame timber, which was of yellow pine, eight by ten inches. Another frame of the same size was then dovetailed into this, extending outwardly at an agle of 45 degrees, forming the side, and at the outer end of this the frame for the shield was also dovetailed, the angle being 35 degrees, and then the top deck was added, and so on around to the other end of the bottom beam. Other beams were then bolted down to the keel, and to the one first fastened, and so on, working fore and aft, the main deck beams being interposed from stem to stern. The shield was 60 feet in length and octagonal in form. When this part of the work was completed she was a solid boat, built of pine frames, and if calked would have floated in that condition, but she was afterwards covered with 4-inch planking, laid on longitudinally, as ships are usually planked, and this was properly calked and pitched, cotton being used for calking instead of oakum, the latter being very scarce and the

former almost the only article to be had in abundance. Much of the timber was hauled long distances. Three portable saw mills were obtained, one of which was located at the yard, the others being moved about from time to time to such growing timber as could be procured.

The iron plating consisted of two courses, 7 inches wide and 2 inches thick, mostly rolled at the Tredegar Iron Works, Richmond. The first course was laid lengthwise, over a wooden backing, 16 inches in thickness, a 2-inch space, filled in with wood, being left between each two layers to afford space for bolting the outer course through the whole shield, and the outer course was laid flush, forming a smooth surface, similar to that of the *Virginia*. The inner part of the shield was covered with a thin course of planking, nicely dressed, mainly with a view to protection from splinters. Oak knees were bolted in, to act as braces and supports for the shield.

The armament consisted of two rifled "Brooke" guns mounted on pivot-carriages, each gun working through three port-holes, as occasion required, there being one port-hole at each end of the shield and two on each side. These were protected by iron covers lowered and raised by a contrivance worked on the gun-deck. She had two propellers driven by two engines of 200-horse power, each, with 20-inch cylinders, steam being supplied by two flue boilers, and the shafting was geared together.

The sides were covered from the knuckle, four feet below the deck, with iron plates two inches thick.

The prow was built of oak, running 18 feet back, on center keelson, and solidly bolted, and it was covered on the outside with iron plating, 2 inches thick, and, tapering off to a 4-inch edge, formed the ram.

The work of putting on the armor was prosecuted for some time under the most disheartening circumstances, on account of the difficulty of drilling holes in the iron intended for her armor. But one small engine and drill could be had, and it required, at the best, twenty minutes to drill an inch and a quarter hole through the plates, and it looked as if we would never accomplish the task. But "necessity is the mother of invention," and one of my associates in the enterprise, Peter

E. Smith, of Scotland Neck, North Carolina, invented and made a twist-drill with which the work of drilling a hole could be done in four minutes, the drill cutting out the iron in shavings instead of fine powder.

For many reasons it was thought judicious to remove the boat to the town of Halifax, about twenty miles up the river, and the work of completion, putting in her machinery, armament, etc., was done at that point, although the actual finishing touches were not given until a few days before going into action at Plymouth.

Forges were erected on her decks, and blacksmiths and carpenters were kept hard at work as she floated down the river to her destination.

Captain James W Cooke, of the Confederate Navy, a native of North Carolina, was detailed by the department to watch the construction of the vessel and to take command when she went into commission. He made every effort to hasten the completion of the boat. He was a bold and gallant officer, and in the battles in which he subsequently engaged he proved himself a hero. Of him it was said that "he would fight a powder magazine with a coal of fire," and if such a necessity could by any possibility have existed he would, doubtless, have been equal to the occasion.

In the Spring of 1864 it had been decided at headquarters that an attempt should be made to recapture the town of Plymouth. General Hoke was placed in command of the land forces, and Captain Cooke received orders to co-operate. Accordingly Hoke's Division proceeded to the vicinity of Plymouth and surrounded the town from the river above to the river below, and preparation was made to storm the forts and breastworks as soon as the *Albemarle* could clear the river front of the Federal war vessels protecting the place with their guns.

On the morning of 18 April, 1864, the *Albemarle* left the town of Hamilton and proceeded down the river towards Plymouth, going stern foremost, with chains dragging from the bow, the rapidity of the current making it impracticable to steer with her head down stream. She came to anchor about three miles above Plymouth, and a mile or so above the bat-

tery on the bluff at Warren's Neck, near Thoroughfare Gap, where torpedoes, sunken vessels, piles, and other obstructions had been placed. An exploring expedition was sent out, under command of one of the Lieutenants, which returned in about two hours, with the report that it was considered impossible to pass the obstruction. Thereupon the fires were banked, and the officers and crew not on duty retired to rest.

Having accompanied Captain Cooke as a volunteer aide, and feeling intensely dissatisfied with the apparent intention of lying at anchor all that night, and believing that it was "then or never" with the ram if she was to accomplish anything, and that it would be foolhardy to attempt the passage of the obstructions and batteries in the day time, I requested permission to make a personal investigation. Captain Cooke cordially assenting, and Pilot John Luck and two of the few experienced seamen on board volunteering their services, we set forth in a small lifeboat, taking with us a long pole, and arriving at the obstructions proceeded to take sounding. To our great joy it was ascertained that there was ten feet of water over and above the obstructions. This was due to the remarkable freshet then prevailing; the proverbial "oldest inhabitant" said, afterwards, that such high water had never before been seen in Roanoke river. Pushing on down the stream to Plymouth, and taking advantage of the shadow of the trees on the north side of the river, opposite the town, we watched the Federal transports taking on board the women and children who were being sent away for safety, on account of the approaching bombardment. With muffled oars, and almost afraid to breathe, we made our way back up the river, hugging close to the northern bank, and reached the ram about 1 o'clock, reporting to Captain Cooke that it was practicable to pass the obstructions provided the boat was kept in the middle of the stream. The indomitable commander instantly aroused his men, gave the order to get up steam, slipped the cables in his impatience to be off, and started down the river. The obstructions were soon reached and safely passed, under a fire from the fort at Warren's Neck which was not returned. Protected by the iron-clad shield, to those on board the noise made by the shot and shell as they struck

the boat sounded no louder than pebbles thrown against an empty barrel. At Boyle's Mill, lower down, there was another fort upon which was mounted a very heavy gun. This was also safely passed, and we then discovered two steamers coming up the river. They proved to be the *Miami* and the *Southfield*. The *Miami* carried 6 9-inch guns, 1 100-pounder Parrott rifle, and 1 24-pounder S. B. howitzer, and the ferry boat *Southfield* 5 9-inch, 1 100-pounder Parrott and 1 12-pounder howitzer.

The two ships were lashed together with long spars, and with chains festooned between them. The plan of Captain Flusser, who commanded, was to run his vessels so as to get the *Albemarle* between the two, which would have placed the ram at a great disadvantage, if not altogether at his mercy; but Pilot John Luck, acting under orders from Captain Cooke, ran the ram close to the southern shore; and then suddenly turning toward the middle of the stream, and going with the current, the throttles, in obedience to his bell, being wide open, he dashed the prow of the *Albemarle* into the side of the *Southfield,* making an opening large enough to carry her to the bottom in much less time than it takes to tell the story. Part of her crew went down with her. Of the officers and men of the *Southfield*, seven of the former, including Acting Volunteer Lieutenant C. A. French, her commander, and forty-two of her men were rescued by the *Miami* and the other Union vessels; the remainder were either captured or drowned.

The chain-plates on the forward deck of the *Albemarle* became entangled in the frame of the sinking vessel, and her bow was carried down to such a depth that water poured into her port-holes in great volume, and she would soon have shared the fate of the *Southfield,* had not the latter vessel reached the bottom, and then, turning over on her side, released the ram, thus allowing her to come up on an even keel. The *Miami,* right alongside, had opened fire with her heavy guns, and so close were the vessels together that a shell with a ten-second fuse, fired by Captain Flusser, after striking the *Albemarle* rebounded and exploded, killing the gallant man who pulled the laniard, tearing him almost to pieces. Not-

withstanding the death of Flusser, an attempt was made to board the ram, which was heroically resisted by as many of the crew as could be crowded on the top deck, who were supplied with loaded muskets passed up by their comrades below. The *Miami,* a powerful and very fast side-wheeler, succeeded in eluding the *Albemarle* without receiving a blow from her ram, and retired below Plymouth, into Albemarle Sound.

Captain Cooke having successfully carried out his part of the programme, General Hoke attacked the fortifications the next morning and carried them; not, however, without heavy loss, Ransom's Brigade alone leaving 500 dead and wounded on the field, in their most heroic charge upon the breastworks protecting the eastern front of the town. General Wessells, commanding the Federal forces, made a gallant resistance, and surrendered only when further effort would have been worse than useless. During the attack the *Albemarle* held the river front, according to contract, and all day long poured shot and shell into the resisting forts with her two guns.

On 5 May, 1864, Captain Cooke left the Roanoke river with the *Albemarle* and two tenders, the *Bombshell* and *Cotton Plant,* and entered the Sound with the intention of recovering, if possible, the control of the two Sounds, and ultimately of Hatteras Inlet. He proceeded about sixteen miles on an east-northeasterly course, when the Federal squadron, consisting of seven well-armed gun-boats, the *Mattabesett, Sassacus, Wyalusing, Whitehead, Miami, Commodore Hull,* and *Ceres,* all under the command of Captain Melancthon Smith, hove in sight, and at 2 o'clock that afternoon approached in double line of battle, the *Mattabesett* being in advance. They proceeded to surround the *Albemarle,* and hurled at her their heaviest shot, at distances averaging less than one hundred yards. The Union fleet, as we now know, had 32 guns and 23 howitzers, a total of 55. The *Albemarle* responded effectively, but her boats were soon shot away, her smoke-stack was riddled, many iron plates in her shield were injured and broken, and the after-gun was broken off eighteen inches from the muzzle, and rendered useless. This terrible fire continued, without intermission, until about 5 p. m., when the commander of the double-ender *Sassacus* selected his op-

portunity, and with all steam on struck the *Albemarle* squarely just abaft her starboard beam, causing every timber in the vicinity of the blow to groan, though none gave way. The pressure from the revolving wheel of the *Sassacus* was so great that it forced the after deck of the ram several feet below the surface of the water, and created an impression on board that she was about to sink. Some of the crew became demoralized, but the calm voice of the undismayed captain checked the incipient disorder, with the command, "Stand to your guns, and if we must sink let us go down like brave men."

The *Albemarle* soon recovered, and sent a shot at her assailant which passed through one of the latter's boilers, the hissing steam disabling a number of the crew. Yet the discipline of the *Sassacus* was such that, notwithstanding the natural consternation under these appalling circumstances, two of her guns continued to fire on the *Albemarle* until she drifted out of the arena of battle. Two of the fleet attempted to foul the propellers of the ram with a large fishing seine which they had previously procured for the purpose, but the line parted in paying it out. Then they tried to blow her up with a torpedo, but failed. No better success attended an effort to throw a keg of gunpowder down her smoke-stack, or what was left of it, for it was riddled with holes from shot and shell. This smoke-stack had lost its capacity for drawing, and the boat lay a helpless mass on the water. While in this condition every effort was made by her numerous enemies to destroy her. The unequal conflict continued until night. Some of the Federal vessels were more or less disabled, and both sides were doubtless well content to draw off. Captain Cooke had on board a supply of bacon and lard, and this sort of fuel being available to burn without draught from a smoke-stack, he was able to make sufficient steam to get the boat back to Plymouth, where she tied up to her wharf covered with wounds and with glory.

The *Albemarle* in her different engagements was struck a great many times by shot and shell, the upper section alone of the smoke-stack has 114 holes made by shot and shell, and yet but one man lost his life, and that was caused by a pistol-shot

from the *Miami,* the imprudent sailor having put his head out of one of the port-holes to see what was going on outside.

Captain Cooke was at once promoted and placed in command of all the Confederate naval forces in Eastern North Carolina. The *Albemarle* remained tied to her wharf at Plymouth until the night of 27 October, 1864, when Lieutenant William B. Cushing, of the United States Navy, performed the daring feat of destroying her with a torpedo. Having procured a torpedo-boat so constructed as to be very fast, for a short distance, and with the exhaust steam so arranged as to be noiseless, he proceeded, with a crew of fourteen men, up the Roanoke river. Guards had been stationed by the Confederate military commander on the wreck of the *Southfield,* whose top deck was then above water, but they failed to see the boat. A boom of logs had been arranged around the *Albemarle,* distant about thirty feet from her side. Captain Cooke had planned and superintended the construction of this arrangement before giving up the command of the vessel to Captain A. F. Warley. Cushing ran his boat up to these logs, and there, under a hot fire, lowered and exploded the torpedo under the *Albemarle's* bottom, causing her to settle down and finally to sink at the wharf. The torpedo-boat and crew were captured; but Cushing refusing to surrender, though twice called upon to do so, sprang into the river, dived to the bottom, and swam across to a swamp opposite the town, thus making his escape; and on the next night, after having experienced great suffering, wandering through the swamp, he succeeded in obtaining a small canoe, and made his way back to the fleet.

The river front being no longer protected, and no appliances for raising the sunken vessel being available, on 31 October the Federal forces attacked and captured the town of Plymouth. The *Albemarle* was subsequently raised and towed to the Norfolk Navy Yard, and after being stripped of her armament, machinery, etc., she was sold, 15 October, 1867.

GILBERT ELLIOTT.

ST. LOUIS, MO.,
20 April, 1888.

CAPTURE OF THE "UNDERWRITER"

NEW BERN, 2 FEBRUARY, 1864.

By B. P. LOYALL, Commander C. S. N.

After the fall of Roanoke Island in the winter of 1862, the Federals had control of the sounds of North Carolina, and of some of the rivers emptying into them. They had occupied all the towns situated on the water, and among them New Bern, which lies at the confluence of the Neuse and Trent rivers, occupying an angle between the two—a place easily defended by the power having control of the water. They had built strong earthworks on the land side, stretching from river to river, and had several gunboats cruising about to protect the place on the water side.

Among these gunboats one was the *Underwriter,* which had been a heavy ocean tugboat at New York, and, purchased by the United States Government, had been converted into quite a formidable vessel of war. She was the ship that fired the first gun in the attack upon Roanoke Island, where the writer had the misfortune to be captured, and it may be said there was something like the rule of compensation when he had a hand in capturing her. She was armed with two 8-inch guns, one 3-inch rifle and one 12-pounder howitzer, and had a crew of about 85 all told. Picture to yourself a steamer about the size of the *Northampton,* with very low guards and stripped of her sides or bulwarks, except a wooden rail with rope netting from that to her deck. The quiet possession of New Bern by the Federals had distressed and worried the patriotic people of North Carolina, and General Hoke, than whom there was not a more competent or brilliant officer of his rank in the Confederate army, strongly advocated a quick movement upon the place by the army, assisted by the navy on the water, predicting certain success, and large reward in stores, munitions and prisoners. The matter took definite

shape in January, 1864, and it was decided to send General Pickett with as much of his division as might be available to make the attempt. On Friday, 29 January, 1864, orders were received by the four ships lying at Drewry's Bluff, each to fit out a cutter fully armed for service on a secret expedition. No one in the squadron knew of our destination, except myself and Captain Parker, serving on the *Patrick Henry,* and we were ordered to take five days' rations. I was put in command of that part of the expedition, with confidential orders to report to Captain John Taylor Wood (his naval rank) at Kinston, N C

To escape notice as much as possible we pulled down James river to the Appomattox, and reached Petersburg before daylight. There was a railway train waiting for us, and we hauled our boats out of the water, and, by hard work, loaded them on the flat cars before the people were up and about.

We started off at once, and it was a novel sight to see a train like that—Jack sitting up on the seats of the boats and waving his hat to the astonished natives, who never saw such a circus before. Many of them had never seen a boat. We reached Kinston on Sunday morning, and immediately got the boats in the water of the Neuse river, dropped down a short distance below the village and put things in shape for the trial of battle. Captain Wood met us at Kinston (where we were joined by three boats fully armed from Wilmington, N. C) and took command of the expedition. About 4 o'clock in the afternoon we shoved off from the river bank and started down for New Bern, which is about forty miles distant by the river.

When we had gotten some two miles below the town orders were given for every man to put a band of white cotton cloth on the left arm, above the elbow, and the name "Sumpter" was given as the watchword.

These precautions are necessary in a night attack, as there are no flags in sight to rally upon. Every man was armed with a cutlass and navy revolver.

Before dark the Commander ordered all boats to assemble together, and, as we floated down the quiet stream, he offered up the petitions from the prayer book to Almighty God

for those about to engage in battle. It was a solemn and impressive scene—just as the shades of evening were falling—this unusual assemblage of armed men. Then, with muffled oars a single line was formed, and we pulled with measured stroke down the stream. The river is narrow and full of turns, winding in and out, with low sedgy banks. Here and there huge cypress and water oak trees, which almost lock their heavy branches over the stream.

The night was so dark that we could not see each other, and often the leading boat ran into a shoal point, got aground, and the whole line would be jumbled up in a crowd.

After 2 o'clock in the morning the river widened, and we began to see better around us. Soon we reached the mouth of Swift Creek and sniffed the salt air from the sound. Every eye was strained to see a ship. We pulled in the direction of the town of New Bern, and searched in vain to find something afloat, although we got close enough to the wharf to hear talking, probably the sentries on the dock.

There was nothing to be done but find some refuge out of sight until next night, but it was hard letting down from the pitch of excitement and expectation we had been under—the unbending of the bow that had been strung for action. We moved up the river some three or four miles to Bachelor's Creek, where among the reeds and rushes we tried to hide ourselves and rest until next night, and try it again. We felt very uneasy lest we should be discovered, and our purpose known; for unless our attack should be a surprise, it would be useless and madness to undertake it. No force in small boats, except in overwhelming numbers, can capture an armed ship, unless by taking her unawares. We spent a day of tedious waiting. Officers and men laying low, spinning yarns and talking about our prospects. I happened to hear the talking in one of the groups, where a fine young officer said: "Fellows, where will we be this time to-morrow?" He was among the killed, and it was such a lesson on the uncertainty of human life. Among those present were Hoge and Gardner and Henry Cooke and Gill and Palmer Saunders and Goodwin, from Virginia, and Gift and Porcher and Scharf and Williamson and Kerr and Roby, all trained at Annapolis

and true as steel—among these three were from Norfolk and Portsmouth. In plain sight of us was a tall crow's nest, occupied by a lookout of the Federal army on their picket line, and I assure you it gave us a creepy, uneasy feeling to think that our whole movement and intention might be discovered. And here let me remark that this very situation determines and exemplifies what I judge to be a man of war—a leader who does not allow his plans to be upset by what he thinks the enemy is going to do. He must be always combative and not calculating chances. Wood paid no attention to doubts and surmises, but had his eye fixed upon boarding and capturing that ship, and doing his part in the fall of New Bern.

We were in full hearing of Pickett's dashing attack upon the Federal outerworks that day, and knew that he was driving them from the advanced line of fortifications. Before sunset Wood called for the swiftest boat, and, with the writer in company, pulled cautiously down the river, keeping close under the banks. We had not gone two miles, when simultaneously we both cried: "There she is."

We discovered a black steamer anchored close up to the right flank of the outer fortifications of New Bern, where she had come that day, and, having located her exactly, we returned to our hiding place, with the understanding that we would attack her between 12 and 4 o'clock in the morning. Orders were given accordingly, and all hands were made to know the order of battle, and what they had to do. In rushing pell-mell upon the side of a ship with boats, they naturally rebound and leave a gap that is not easy to get across, so each bow oarsman was ordered to be ready to jump aboard with a grapnel as soon as she struck, and make her fast, and our coolest men were picked for that duty, which you will easily see is risky. Some time after midnight we got under way and pulled slowly down the river in two columns of four boats each, Wood to board her forward with his boats and I to board her abaft with mine.

The night was very dark and gloomy, and we could not see a light anywhere, except an occasional glimmer about the town, but we knew pretty nearly where the vessel was, and with our glasses in the evening had made out her build and

structure. The stroke of the muffled oars was almost noiseless, and suddenly the dark hull of the ship loomed up, and, it seemed almost at the same moment there came from her the shout: "Boat, ahoy!" Then we heard the loud and cheering cry from Wood: "Give way, boys," which was caught up and echoed along both lines of boats. Then rang out loud and sharp from the ship the rattle, calling the men to quarters for action, and now the fight was on. No need for orders now to these disciplined men. I suppose the distance was about one hundred yards, and, while our men were straining at their oars, we heard the sharp click of rifles, and the only reply we could make was by the marines (three or four being in each boat) who delivered their fire with great coolness.

It seems to me now that of all the uncomfortable things a fighting man might have to do, that of pulling an oar with his back to his foe must be the most trying and disheartening, but not a man weakened. In less time than is required to tell of this we were into her. Our boat struck the vessel just abaft the wheelhouse, where the guards make a platform, an admirable place for getting on board. The ship's armory, where all the small arms were kept, was in a room just there under the hurricane deck, and they did not stop to reload, but loaded guns were handed to the men, as fast as they could fire. It seemed like a sheet of flame, and the very jaws of death. Our boat struck bow on, and our bow oarsman, James Wilson, of Norfolk, (after the war with the Baker Wrecking Company) caught her with his grapnel, and she swung side on with the tide.

As we jumped aboard Engineer Gill, of Portsmouth, among the first, was shot through the head, and as he fell dead our men gave a yell, and rushed upon the deck, with the crews of the two other boats close behind. Now the fighting was furious, and at close quarters. Our men were eager, and as one would fall another came on. Not one faltered or fell back. The cracking of fire arms and the rattle of cutlasses made a deafening din. The enemy gave way slowly, and soon began to get away by taking to the ward room and engine room hatches below.

They fell back under the hurricane deck before the steady

attack of our men, and at that time I heard the cheers and rush of our comrades from forward, and I knew we had them. They came along from forward with the cutlasses and muskets they had found, clubbing and slashing. In a short time I heard the cry: "We surrender."

They could not stand the force and moral effect of an attack like that, and, remember, they were not Spaniards we were fighting.

Wood gave the order to cease firing, and after a brief consultation, we ordered the two firemen we had with us to go down into the engine and fire room to see if they could get her under way and take her up the river, where we might put her in shape, and, as she was the largest vessel at New Bern we could have temporary command of the river. It was in the fight on the forward deck that the intrepid young Palmer Saunders gave up his life for his country. He attacked a stalwart sailor with his cutlass and killed him, but had his head split open and a shot in his side. I wish I could relate the deeds of individual prowess and gallantry, but in such a melee as that one has all he can do to keep on his feet and look out for himself.

We found the fires banked and not steam enough to turn the wheels over. At this juncture Fort Stevens opened fire upon our vessel, regardless of their own people. One shell struck part of her lever beam, went through a hen coop near where the marines were drawn up, and passed through her side. Upon further consultation we decided to burn her, and gave the order to man the boats, taking special care of our own and the enemy's wounded, and our dead, and all prisoners we could get hold of.

I thought it very strange that the captain of the vessel could not be found, but upon inquiry among his men we learned that he had been wounded in the leg and had jumped overboard. He was drowned.

Poor Palmer Saunders was carefully placed in a blanket, and laid in the bow of my boat, where he could be better supported than aft. He was breathing, but entirely unconscious. Of course, some of the men missed their boats, as nobody

stood upon the order of his going in the face of the firing from those forts.

After seeing all the boats under my charge get away, we shoved off and pulled away from the ship. The duty of setting fire to the *Underwriter* had been assigned to Lieutenant Hoge, of Wheeling, a talented young officer of fine attainments and undaunted courage. When we had gotten half mile from the ship Wood pulled up towards our boats and asked if I had ordered the ship set afire. I said: "Yes," but it looked as if it had not been done successfully. Just then Hoge came along in his boat, and said that he had set fire to her.

Wood ordered him to go on board and make sure of it, and he went promptly. Here was trying duty to perform. The forts were firing every few minutes in our direction, wildly, of course, as big guns cannot be aimed well at night, but you never can tell where they are going to strike.

In about ten minutes we saw a flame leap out of a window forward of the wheelhouse, where the engineer's supplies were kept, and Hoge pulling away. In a very few minutes the whole expanse of water was lighted up, and you may be sure we struck out with a vim to rendezvous at Swift Creek, about six miles up the river, on the opposite side from New Bern, where General Dearing had a small cavalry camp. As we were pulling up we could hear now and then the boom of the guns of the *Underwriter* as they were discharged by heat from the burning ship, and just before reaching our landing place we heard the awful explosion of the sturdy vessel, when the fire reached her magazine.

After daybreak we reached the place on the bank of the creek, where there was a clearing, and landed our cargo of dead and wounded and prisoners.

As we were taking Saunders out of the boat he breathed his last, and so passed into the presence of God the soul of that young hero.

As soon as the surgeon had made the wounded as comfortable as possible under the circumstances, the prisoners were drawn up in line to make a list of them. As I passed down the line, a strapping big fellow, without any trousers on and

barefooted, said: "My Lord, is that you?" I looked him over and recognized him as an old quarter-gunner that had been shipmate with me in the frigate *Congress* ten years before, and among the wounded I was called to have a greeting from a young fellow, who had been a mizzen-topman in the same ship, and after the war got me to give him a certificate to secure his pension.

Our casualties had been six killed, twenty-two wounded, all of them brought away. Two were missing and afterwards accounted for. The Federal loss was nine killed, eighteen wounded, and nineteen prisoners—about thirty of her crew escaped.

The wounded and prisoners were promptly taken care of by General Dearing's command, and sent up to Kinston, Captain Wood proceeded to Richmond at once. As soon as proper arrangements could be made the command was summoned to pay the last rite of burial of the dead. At 3 o'clock in the afternoon, under the stately pines that bordered the stream, I read the church service for the burial of the dead, and the bodies of our lamented comrades were tenderly laid in mother earth, there to rest until we shall all be summoned to the great assize.

General Pickett's plans miscarried, it was alleged, by the failure of one of his brigadiers to make an attack at the appointed time on the Trent river side of the defense

He withdrew his force leisurely and retired upon Kinston.

I could never understand why the other gunboats at New Bern did not attack the *Underwriter* after her capture by us. Instead of that, two of them got under way and steamed around into Trent river, as fast as they could go. While we were getting ready to abandon the ship, it worried us very much to see one of those boats coming directly toward us, but she soon turned and went in the other direction, much to our relief.

In speaking of our casualties, it was said that there were two missing, and it was from laughable circumstances. When we took to our boats two of the men rushed to the stern where they saw a boat made fast, and they slided down into her. In a few moments other men piled into her, and "shove off"

was the word. It soon developed that the boat had eight Yankees and two rebels on board, and these two poor fellows set up a fearful cry for help. We heard them howling from our boat, but could not see, nor imagine what it meant. The poor fellows were rowed ashore to New Bern by their Yankee prisoners—so to speak. They were afterwards exchanged and I met one of them in Richmond. He said he never felt so mean in all his life, and he almost split his throat hallooing for us to get them out of the scrape.

The attack upon New Bern was well planned, and we all know that the assault of that intrepid division was irresistible, but here was another case where somebody had blundered. If General Pickett's orders had been carried out, there would have been another exemplification of the power of a navy, by its very absence in this case; for the neutralizing of the help given by the *Underwriter* in the defense of New Bern would have made General Pickett's assault upon the right flank of those defenses a very different affair.*

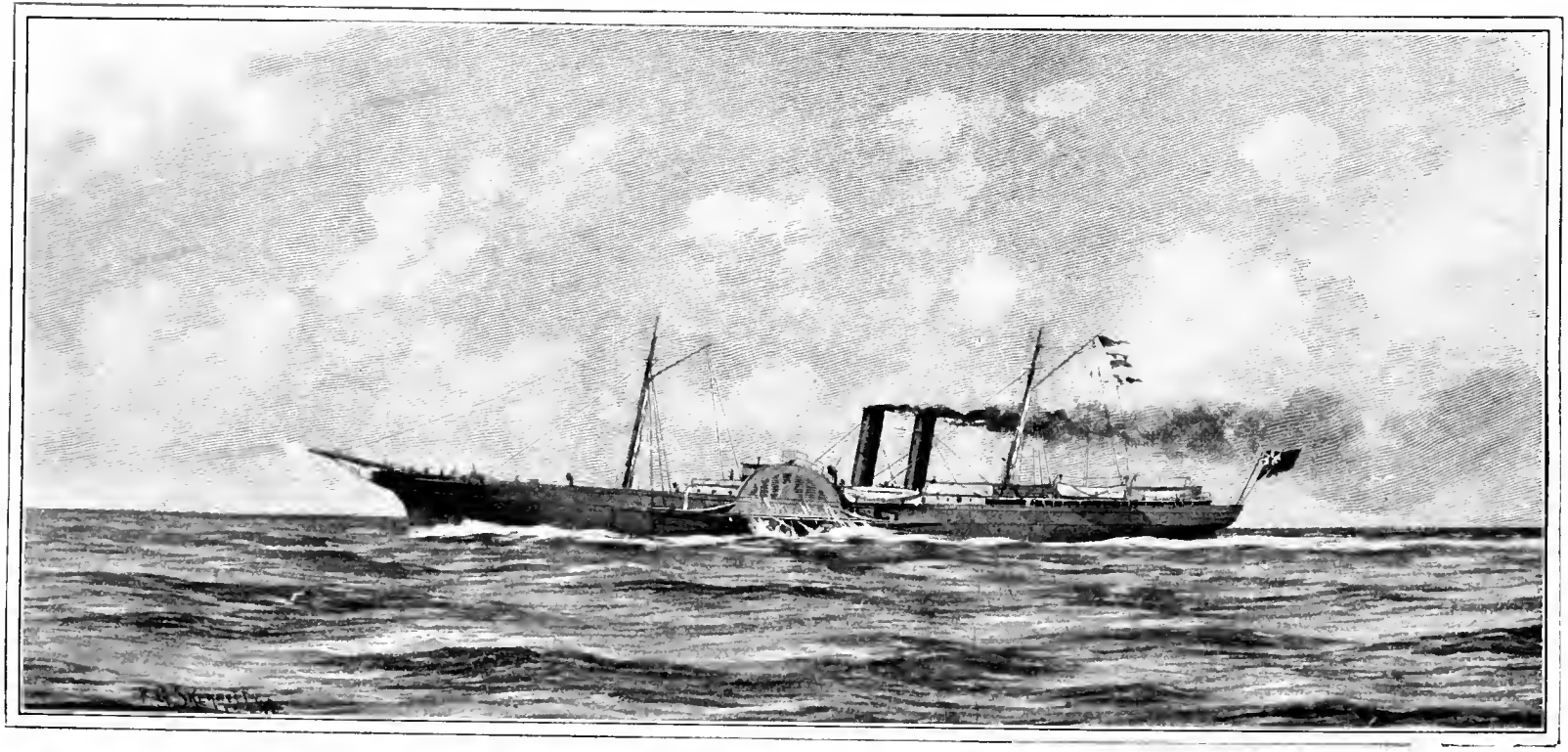
Referring to this capture Admiral Porter, United States Navy, wrote at that time: "This was rather a mortifying affair for the navy, however fearless on the part of the Confederates. This gallant expedition was led by Commander John Taylor Wood. It was to be expected that with so many clever officers, who left the Federal navy and cast their fortunes with the Confederates, such gallant action would often be attempted, and had the enemy attacked the forts, the chances are that they would have been successful, as the garrison was unprepared for an attack on the river flank, their most vulnerable side."

That night our command pulled up to Kinston, tired and fagged from four days of work and unrest, and so we went back to our ships at Richmond.

B. P LOYALL.

NORFOLK, VA.,
2 February, 1901.

*NOTE.—General Pickett was evidently a favorite at Richmond and the command of this expedition, as of part of the charge at Gettysburg, was given him as opportunity to earn higher promotion. It is not improbable that impartial history may write him down as unequal to his opportunities. How differently both would have turned out under a leader like Stonewall Jackson, or Pender, or Hoke.—ED.



Blockade Runner A. D. Vance.

THE STEAMER AD-VANCE.

By JAMES MAGLENN, Chief Engineer.

This steamer, formerly called the "Lord Clyde," running between Dublin and Glasgow, was purchased by the State of North Carolina to carry out cotton and other Southern products, and bring in arms and supplies of clothing and medicines for the North Carolina State Troops, and was named the Ad-Vance.*

I joined the ship on her first arrival in Wilmington, and was with her until captured September, 1864, with the exception of one trip made from Wilmington to Nassau and return, serving in different capacities; first trip as second assistant engineer, second trip as first assistant engineer, then as chief engineer, making several successful trips, one to Liverpool for repairs, returning to Bermuda in June, 1864, thence to Wilmington.

Some of her trips were very exciting and hazardous. On one occasion there were four steamers leaving St. Georges, Bermuda, including the *Ad-Vance,* for Wilmington. But two of these arrived in Wilmington. One put back to Bermuda badly disabled; the other was lost in the gale. On this occasion I was limited to twelve revolutions per minute for thirty-six hours, or during the severest of the gale, which was just enough for the ship to mind the helm, being head to the gale all this time and water increasing in the hold to such an extent that it got within six inches of the grate-bars. In fact, I thought our time had come and, therefore, informed Captain Wiley how matters were in the engine and fire room, and that "we could not hold out this way much longer." I suggested to him the importance of turning the ship around and running before the wind, to enable me to get the water

* This was said to have had a triple significance, Ad. Vance i. e. (1) To Vance, (2) Ad. Vance in honor of Mrs Vance whose name was Adelaide, (3) As the advance or pioneer ship.—Ed.

out by working the engines faster. He remonstrated by saying that "to attempt such a thing in a night like this would be certain destruction to the ship and all on board, but do the best you can until morning and when the worst comes, I may attempt it in daylight, but I feel confident we will have a change for the better by morning. The barometer has commenced to rise and is going up rapidly. It is the first time it has made a movement in that direction for two days." Strange to say, by 8 o'clock the next morning, it was perfectly calm, but a tremendous sea was rolling, which knocked us about considerably. This was the heaviest gale we ever experienced. On our arrival at Wilmington, we made some improvement in bilge and other pumps, which was actually necessary to make her seaworthy in anything like heavy weather.

The ship was in critical and dangerous positions on divers occasions. Once on the shoals off Fort Caswell where she remained for two or three days in range of the enemy's guns, but was finally worked off and arrived in Wilmington without any serious damage. Again, coming from St. Georges, Bermuda, we expected to make Bald Head light about 12 o'clock at night. However, a light was seen ahead about this time, but it proved to be Cape Lookout, and, when this was thoroughly understood and consultation held, Colonel Crossan, Captain Wiley, the pilot Kit Moss and Chief Engineer, as to what was best to be done, it was decided that we should try to get in at New Inlet.

Failing to get in there, she was to be run on the beach, as we did not have coal enough on board to go back to Bermuda. However, we left Cape Lookout about 2 o'clock on a beautiful October morning, all excitement and ship working at full speed close in to the land, determined to go in or on the beach. It being a little hazy along the line, was something in our favor. Did not see any of the fleet until we passed Wrightsville and sighted Fort Fisher. As we approached the fort, the gun-boats made for us, firing shot that fell short. At this time we were approaching them very rapidly; on account of a point of shoal, we had to turn to make the channel inlet. By this time their shot were going over us, and when Colonel

Lamb's Whitworth guns began their firing upon the fleet, one large steamer, supposed to be the *State of Georgia,* came rapidly towards us, and when in dangerous proximity, was about to turn to bring her broadside guns upon the *Ad-Vance,* but a well-directed shot from a 10-inch Columbiad from the northeast salient of the fort crashed into her bow, when she rapidly backed water and withdrew from the chase, enabling the *Ad-Vance* to get safely in, amid the shouts of the garrison and the cheers of the officers and crew and the waving of handkerchiefs by those on deck of the blockade runner. A number of officers came on board to congratulate us, and Captain Wiley and the Rev. Moses D. Hoge, who was on board bringing in a lot of testaments, Bibles and tracts for the soldiers, sent special thanks to Colonel Lamb and his garrison for their timely aid. This was considered one of the most daring and gallant feats performed by the blockade-runners during the war.

HER LAST TRIP AND CAPTURE.

We left Wilmington about 9 September, 1864, Captain Wiley still in command, with a full cargo, principally of cotton, bound for Halifax, N. C., and anchored at New Inlet, near Fort Fisher, and in full sight of the Federal fleet of twenty-five or thirty vessels, who, of course, understood our designs and would be on the lookout for us that night. Although the night was not altogether favorable, we started as soon as the tide would permit. Of course, smoke, sparks and flames from the stack had to be kept down. This was very difficult to do, as our last shovelful of good coal was used shortly after crossing the bar and in plain sight of some of the fleet. Those that could see us would throw rockets, indicating the direction we were going. Then the dodging on our part and the frequent change of the ship's course to keep from running into them. The excitement at this time was very great. Yet all was as quiet as the grave on board and every man was at his post and doing his duty faithfully. The rocket firing and shooting were very heavy, and nothing but good management on the part of our officers could have pulled us safely through the fleet that night. At sunrise there was

nothing in sight, yet our black smoke was giving us away. Some of the fleet were following it, and about 8 o'clock a vessel was discovered chasing us and appeared to be gaining. Everything possible was done to increase the speed of the *Ad-Vance*, but the steaming qualities of the coal were against us. We were using Chatham, or Egypt coal, which was very inferior: in fact nothing but slate or the croppings of the mine. Our good coal at Wilmington was taken for the Confederate cruisers, which accounts for our capture. We were in hopes we could evade the pursuing steamer in the darkness of the night, but, in our present condition, she was too fast for us and was able to throw some shot over us some time before sundown, which caused us to stop the ship and surrender. From the stopping of the ship to the boarding of the United States officers, some time elapsed, causing an accumulation of steam, which was blowing off very freely The United States Engineer Corps, seeing the condition of affairs, asked me to have my men haul the fires and arrange to have the boilers supplied with water. I told him I had nothing more to do with the ship and considered him in charge. He then asked if my assistant engineers would go down and attend to this. I pointed them out to him, saying they would answer for themselves and, on their refusal, the Lieutenant ordered us on the bridge on top of the boilers, saying: "If she does blow up I will send you all to eternity." Imagine us sitting on top of the boilers waiting for the explosion. However, we knew there was no immediate danger, if they could succeed in getting the pumps to work, which they did in a short time, and we were relieved from our dangerous position and sent on board the *Santiago de Cuba,* which captured us. All were examined as to their nationality, many North Carolinians and Virginians on board claiming British protection. In fact, all on board except two, one from Connecticut and one from Virginia, claimed British protection and all could sound the letter "O" in "home" very broad. Mr. Carter, our purser, was the only one on board that was sworn, and this was on account of the clothing he wore, it being a suit of North Carolina home-spun. The Captain looked at him from head to foot and *vice versa,* saying that he was the first

Englishman he ever saw with a suit of clothes of that kind.

On our way to Norfolk, with Cape Henry in sight, Sunday morning we were ordered on deck for prayer (Episcopal service). During the service our Captain Wiley called my attention to the Captain of the *Santiago de Cuba*, saying the prayers were doing him no good, from the fact that he was turning around every minute to see if the valuable prize, the *Ad-Vance*, was coming, and when satisfied that all things were well with her, would turn around again, giving a little more attention to the sermon for a few minutes. We arrived in Norfolk Sunday afternoon and had the freedom of the city, that is inside the Provost Marshal's limits.

We, however, wanted to go "ome," and had to appeal to the British Consul at Norfolk. We had some trouble at first, but the Consul finally took our case to heart and wrote a letter to Lord Lyons, stating the way her Britannic Majesty's subjects were treated. This did the work for us and we were permitted to find our way "ome" as best we could, without interruption.

This was the last I saw of the *Ad-Vance*, but I have been told by Colonel Lamb that she was turned into a gun-boat, *The Frolic*, and was in the second bombardment at Fort Fisher, and has been seen several times at Wilmington since the war.

Many of the North Carolinians made their way from Norfolk to Halifax, N. S., thence to Nassau, where I was appointed Chief Engineer of the steamer *Col. Lamb*, with Captain Thomas Lockwood in command. We were then ready to run the blockade again to Wilmington, but were informed by an incoming steamer that Forts Fisher and Caswell had been taken. This left no port open for us but Galveston. We then left Nassau for Havana, took on supplies and started for Galveston; on arriving off the bar, it was thought too risky to go in as the wind had been blowing unfavorably for several days, which caused low water in the harbor which would increase the risk of the steamer. On consultation with pilots it was decided not to take the risk; we then returned to Havana, all ports being now effectively closed, and after making some repairs to the machinery, we were ordered to Halifax,

N. S., touching at Nassau and Bermuda, arriving at Halifax about 10 April, 1865.

While lying in the harbor, Captain Lockwood gave a dination to the Agents and Confederate friends on Saturday, 15 April, and at sun rise the ship was decorated with flags from stem to stern and the steamer *Col. Lamb* made a very handsome appearance, but they were not allowed to remain there long. About 9:00 or 10:00 a. m., a British boat was seen coming towards us and pulled alongside. The officer in charge inquired for the Captain. When told he was ashore, he then ordered the flags to be taken down, as it was very unbecoming to be rejoicing over the death of the President of the United States in British waters. When told that they were displayed for another purpose, it made no difference. They had to come down at once. This was news to us and created quite a sensation in the city and the newspapers were full of it for several days on both sides, but is was claimed that the flags should have been allowed to remain, as the news of President Lincoln's death did not reach Halifax until about 9:00 o'clock that morning, and the flags were up at sunrise.

The surrender having taken place while we were here, it was decided to take the ship to Liverpool. We left here about 5 May and had a stormy passage all the way—in fact a gale of wind carrying away the foremast a few feet above deck, which came near swamping us; then came the remorse of conscience with those of us that belonged on this side of the Atlantic for not going home immediately after the surrender instead of taking this trip. However, we arrived in Liverpool about 1 June. We remained there a few days and then started for home in the Cunard steamer *China*. This being an ocean-going steamer, we felt much safer than in the *Advance* or *Col. Lamb*. We had a pleasant return trip, arriving in Halifax, N S., on 4 July, 1865, from there to Charlotte, N. C., where my family resided during the last two years of the war. I found all well and was glad to be home with my family once more.

JAS. MAGLENN.

HAMLET, N. C.,
10 September, 1901.

STEAMER "AD-VANCE."

1. Thomas M. Crossen, Captain, Steamer "Ad-Vance."
2. John White, Commissioner to England.
3. James Maglenn, Chief Engineer.

RUNNING THE BLOCKADE ON THE "AD-VANCE."

By REV MOSES D. HOGE, D. D.

Bermuda, Wednesday, October 8, 1863.—At 12 o'clock went on board the *Ad-Vance* (Lord Clyde). My fellow passengers are Rev. Mr. Terry, Mrs. Pender, Messrs. Burton, Walker and Regnault. Got off at 10 o'clock; beautiful view of Bermuda as we rapidly sped along. The Clyde a fine and fast vessel. Officers, Colonel Crossen, Captain Wylie (the English Captain); First Officer, —. —. ———; Surgeon, Dr. Swan; Purser, Mr. Flanner; Signal Officer, Mr. Smith. The Colonel is a noble man; Wylie a warm-hearted Scotchman, though he looks English every inch, big, burly and red faced, full of enthusiasm—full of poetry. Flanner has good points. I have had some pleasant intercourse with young Smith, who became pious at Hampden-Sidney. We have taken no state rooms on the Clyde, although there are a great number of unoccupied ones, but our little company of passengers all stay in the saloon at night. The fare is rather rough, but that is nothing when we have a good ship homeward bound.

We have been in much trouble on the ship to-day. The coal, which was thought to be very good (Welsh coal, Cardiff) is found to be of very bad quality This morning we could not get up steam as usual. The serious question is discussed whether we had better not return to Bermuda. After running fourteen knots we dropped down to five. It is thought to be useless to go on toward the blockaders to ensure a capture. We put the vessel about and sailed a while due east, but after a little while the draft increased and the paddles made their former revolutions from twenty to twenty-three per minute.

The difficulty was there was a mixture of something like kelp and sand, which melted on the bars of the grates and choked the draft, making a deposit they called slag. It was terribly hard on the firemen to keep them clear.

The discipline of this ship is very bad. The sailors came and demanded their bounty the first day, and the second, the firemen came up on the quarter deck, a thing quite contrary to ship etiquette, and made the same demand. They ought to have been paid at once according to custom, but while it was wrong to withhold the money, it was not right for them to demand it as they did.

October 9, 1863.—I am now on board the *Ad-Vance*, (Lord Clyde), about 100 miles from the North Carolina coast. It is 4 o'clock, p. m., and I am sitting on the bottom step of the paddle box, from which I can look down directly into the water and see how beautifully it divides before the bow of the steamer, darting through at a noble speed. This is one of the most pleasant days as to temperature I ever felt, clear, coolish, without being cool and something life-giving in the air.

It is a day for thought, a time for review and anticipation. To-night we will know our fate, whether it is to be the bottom of the sea, a northern prison, or Richmond. I am not apprehensive, but I know the risks. We have heard nothing from Wilmington. No steamers came out while we were in Bermuda, though several were expected. We may be running into a trap—as we know not what progress the Federals may have made in the way of excluding blockade-runners. We may be damaged by the fire of the fleet, even if we succeed in running the gauntlet and although I do not repent coming, and notwithstanding the uncertainty, I have no desire to turn back, yet I know we may be disappointed just on the happy eve of getting home and indeed may never reach it at all. I have spent much time this morning in prayer, in solemn consecration of myself to God, and in supplication for a spirit of submission to His will. I try to commit myself and my dear family and church to His holy keeping.

We have just been mustered on deck and had our places in the boats assigned to us, in case we have to abandon the

steamer to-night. I go with Colonel Crossen and Mrs. Pender, and the rest of our boat's crew are firemen and sailors. Terry, Burton, Walker and Regnault go in the other life-boats, the rest of the crew in the two aft boats. This looks like business. It is the purpose to destroy the *Ad-Vance* and take to the boats if we are intercepted. I should dread capture on my dear wife's account. It would almost break her heart, after our long separation and the sorrow she has borne. (The death of their oldest son while he was in England.—M. R. G.)

But I believe the good Providence which brought me out and gave me such success abroad, will open a door for my safe return to my home and work again.

Wilmington, N. C., October 12, 1863.—I, now on shore, can complete my notes of this voyage. It had a memorable termination. In the record of the events of the 9th, I stated I was making my last entry (a prayer I did not copy, as it was too personal.—M. R. G.) expecting to get ashore that night. We were disappointed, however. Although the Captain and Colonel made an observation at 12 M., they failed to detect the fact that the current of the Gulf Stream *had swept us far to the north of our course.* About 9 o'clock at night we saw a light and the dim outline of the land. At first it was thought to be the signal light near Fort Fisher, and Mr. Smith wanted to make signals, but after long inspection, discovered that it was a light-house. We then changed our course southward and ran along shore, all night in doubt as to where we were. Colonel C. once thought we might be south of the entrance to Wilmington and running toward Charleston. This shows how completely at sea we were! When it grew light enough to see the coast more plainly, our officers recognized certain localities on Masonboro Sound, the salt works, etc., and we ascertained we had just made the land north of Cape Lookout, 80 miles from the point we expected to strike. Colonel Crossen prepared to run up near enough to see which blockaders were within view and I supposed he would then stand out to sea and lie off until night and then run in at his leisure, but to my astonishment, although it was about 8 o'clock in the morning, the sun shining brilliantly

and the sea level as a floor and three blockaders guarding the entrance, he steamed straight on toward Fort Fisher. The blockaders seemed confused for a few moments by the audacity of the movement, but presently they came about and all three struck for the shore, intending to cut us off. They came on very speedily, but finding that we were running so swiftly they opened upon us with shrapnel, shell and solid shot.

It was a scene of intense excitement. We could see people on the shore, watching the result. We doubted not with utmost interest—the shells were ploughing up the water and tearing up the sand on the shore, bursting over and around us, and yet not one struck us. It was almost a miracle. Two or three of their shells struck the sand just at the edge of the water and directly opposite to us and the wonder was how the balls could get there without passing through us. Colonel C. certainly made a hazardous experiment. Had the mist near the coast not veiled us somewhat from the view of the enemy as we approached, and had he seen us in time to make chase ten minutes sooner, he would have headed us off and driven us ashore, or had one of his shot penetrated our boilers, we would have been blown to fragments. Had we been compelled to take to our boats, we would have still been in great danger, for we would have been under fire perhaps an hour, when the smooth sea made it as easy to fire accurately from the deck as from the walls of a fort.

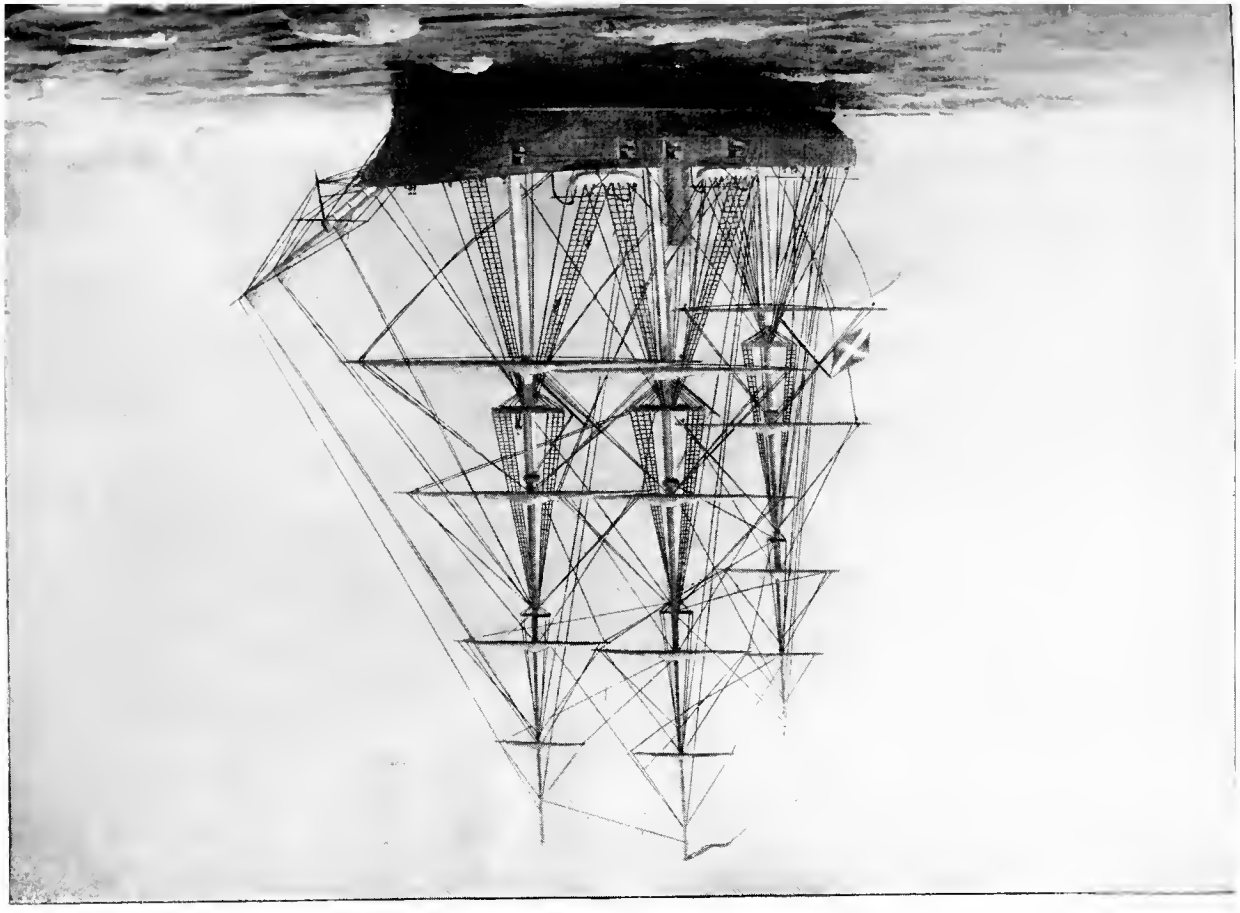
As it was, by the favor of a good Providence, we escaped unharmed and very soon ran by Fort Fisher, when the guns of that fort opened on the blockaders and a pretty little fight took place between them, the vessels quickly withdrawing, however, one of them having been struck.

As we passed the fort our crew cheered heartily, we ran up our Confederate flag.

In a moment more we struck the rip and stuck fast.

MOSES D. HOGE.

WILMINGTON N. C.,
12 October, 1863.



THE SHENANDOAH.

By AN OFFICER THEREOF.

The agents of the Navy Department who are engaged in the compilation of the official records of the Union and Confederate Navies in the late war, have recently brought to light, from Southern sources, a mass of hitherto unpublished information of curious interest and value, relative to the operations of the Confederate privateer *Shenandoah.* In the destructiveness to Union property the work of the *Shenandoah* was second only to that of the *Alabama,* and the former enjoyed the peculiar distinction of having far outstripped the records of all other cruisers in the length of her voyage and the fact that she never met with the slightest opposition from Union arms in her path of destruction, and continued her depredations many months after the conclusion of the war.

It is worthy of remark that the Navy Department at Washington was in possession of information relative to her outfit and plans early in the summer of 1864, but active search was not instituted until January, 1865, and though the United States ships *Santee, Wachusett, Iroquois, Wyoming* and the European and Pacific squadrons at large were successively ordered in pursuit of her, none of them ever succeeded in coming up with her, much less in engaging her in combat. In August, 1865, her commander gained conclusive information that the war had gone against the South, and he leisurely and uninterruptedly made his way to England, where he gave himself and his ship into the hands of the British Government.

The *Shenandoah* was a full-rigged ship of 1,000 tons and 250 horse-power, with a battery of four 8-inch guns—two 32-pounders and two 12-pounders. She was originally the British ship *Sea King,* built in 1863 for the East Indian trade. On her return voyage she was purchased by Confederate agents in Europe and fitted out as a cruiser in the Confed-

erate service, primarily to disperse and destroy the New England whaling fleet in the northern seas. She had been designed as a transport for troops, had spacious decks and large air ports, and was well suited for conversion into a cruiser. A fast sailer under canvas, her steam power was more than auxiliary, as she could exceed eleven knots without pressing. Provided with fifteen months' stores, she sailed from London 8 October, 1864, in command of her English master, Captain Corbett, for Madeira. Ten days later she was delivered over to her new commander, Lieutenant James I. Waddell, who had taken passage from Liverpool with the officers and men detailed for his command. Among the latter were some picked men from the famous Alabama, which had been sunk by the *Kearsage* a few months before. The *Shenandoah* was commissioned 19 October and that day cleared for Madeira.

The journal of Commander Waddell is now in the possession of the Navy Department, and is a most interesting record of the career of the *Shenandoah*.

On 30 October the cry of "Sail ho!" rang out from the *Shenandoah's* masthead. Immediately she bore down upon the distant vessel, an American bark, the *Alma*, of a seaport in Maine, bound for Buenos Ayres with railroad iron. She was on her first voyage, thoroughly equipped, nicely coppered and beautifully clean—a tempting prize. Defense on her part was out of the question, and the Confederates boarded and scuttled her, after appropriating such of her furnishings as they could make use of and taking the crew prisoners, six of whom afterwards volunteered their service as active men on the *Shenandoah*. The *Alma* was valued at $95,000.

On 15 November the *Shenandoah* crossed the equator. Her course thence lay south along the coast of Brazil. Nothing of interest occurred after crossing the line except the interchange of courtesies with neutral vessels until 4 December, when the American whaleship *Edwards*, out of New Bedford three months, was sighted and captured near the Island of Tristan. The *Edwards* had taken a whale and was "cutting out" when captured, her crew being so occupied with the fish that the *Shenandoah* had come within easy range of her unob-

served. The *Edwards'* outfit was of excellent quality, and the Confederates lay by two days supplying their steamer with necessaries. The whaleship was then burned, and Waddell landed for a day at Tristan and made arrangements with the native governor to receive the *Edwards'* crew, most of whom were Sandwich Islanders.

Soon after the departure from Tristan it was found that a serious accident had happened to the propeller shaft of the *Shenandoah,* and it became necessary to seek some considerable port for the repairs. Capetown was nearest, but Commander Waddell preferred making Melbourne, if possible, the course thither lying nearer the more frequented tracks of the United States vessels. The voyage was marked by the capture of several merchantmen.

The character of the *Shenandoah* was known at Melbourne and she was cheered and surrounded by the steamers in the haven. The next day the work of repairing the ship was begun and during the delay several of the crew embraced the opportunity to desert, all of them being men who had joined the *Shenandoah* from captured ships. The attempt of Waddell to pursue and bring back these men was obstructed by the United States consul, as well as by the Australian authorities. The *Shenandoah,* in a fortified British port, was in no position to resist these acts, and on 18 February, the repairs and coaling having been completed, the port was cleared.

The delay of the steamer at Melbourne had operated against success for the *Shenandoah* in the South Pacific. The whaling fleets of that ocean had received warning of the presence of the privateer and had departed for sheltering ports or the Arctic ocean. Learning from a passing steamer that some United States whaling vessels were to be found in a harbor of the Caroline Islands, Waddell directed his course thither, reaching the Islands early in April.

An English pilot, who had been living there for some years, volunteered his services to the Confederates and brought the steamer to anchor in sight of four vessels flying the American flag. The flag of the *Shenandoah* was not yet displayed. After anchorage was secured four armed boats were dispatched with orders to capture the vessels and bring their of-

ficers, ships' papers, log books, instruments for navigation and whaling charts to the *Shenandoah*. After the boats left the steamer the Confederate flag was hoisted and a gun fired. This signal announcing the character of the warship brought down the American flags and the seizure was immediately made. Waddell remained some days in this harbor, where he made friends with the native "king," a savage.

The course of the *Shenandoah* was thence for many days toward the north, and beset with violent storms. Finally the snow-covered Kurile Islands were sighted, and 31 May the Sea of Okhotsk was entered, under the coast of Kamschatka. A few days later the whaling bark *Abigail,* of New Bedford, was overtaken, captured, and burned. The *Shenandoah* continued as far north as the mouth of Chijinsk Bay, but being forced away by the ice she stole along the coast of Siberia on her still hunt amid frequent storms and great danger from floating ice. On 14 June no ships having been sighted, Waddell changed his course toward the Aleutian Islands, entered Behring Sea on the next day and almost immediately fell in with a couple of New Bedford whalers. One of them, the *William Thompson,* was the largest out of New England, and valued at $60,000. These ships were burned.

The following day five vessels were sighted near an ice floe. The Confederates hoisted the American flag, bore down upon them, and ordered the nearest, the *Milo,* of New Bedford, to produce her ship's papers. Her captain complied, but was enraged to find himself thus entrapped. He declared the war was over. Waddell demanded documentary evidence, which the captain could not produce. His vessel was seized and the *Shenandoah* started after the companion ships with the usual result. For several days following the *Shenandoah* had things all her own way and the prizes were frequent and valuable. She struck fleet after fleet of whaling ships, only to consign them and their contents to the flames. On 29 June, alone, five ships, valued collectively at $160,000, were destroyed and a day or two later she reached the climax of her career, burning within eleven hours eleven ships, worth in the aggregate nearly $500,000.

The *Shenandoah* was now overcrowded with prisoners,

most of whom were afterwards transferred to passing ships. Having cruised around daringly for a week or two longer, and sighting no more ships, she turned her prow southward again. Her depredations were at an end, for early in August she spoke the English bark *Barracouta,* from San Francisco to Liverpool, and from her received New York papers which gave conclusive evidence of the end of the war between the States and imparted to Commander Waddell the more personally interesting information that the United States government had sent six gun-boats on his track to the Arctic regions to "catch the pirates and hang them on sight."

Upon receipt of the news Commander Waddell put sixty men to work painting a 16-foot belt of white around the vessel, stowed the guns below the deck, trimmed her as a merchantmen and made Liverpool. On the trip he trusted the ship within range of the half dozen gun-boats that were sent to capture the privateer. In answer to their salutes he dipped the English flag and steamed away

On 5 November, 1865, the *Shenandoah* entered St. George's channel, having sailed 22,000 miles without seeing land. On 6 November she steamed up the Mersey, and the Confederate flag having been hauled down Waddell sent a communication to the English Minister of Foreign Affairs, Earl Russell, placing the ship at the disposal of the British Government. Through Earl Russell the vessel was transferred to the jurisdiction of the American Minister, Charles Francis Adams. The vessel was sold to the Prince of Zanzibar for use as a pleasure craft. On the trip home the famous privateer, which had withstood the buffetings of a cruise of 58,000 statute miles, was caught in a cyclone and vessel, prince and crew were lost.

Such is the record of the *Shenandoah.* She was actually cruising for the Union property but eight months, and during that time she captured and destroyed vessels to the value of more than $1,200,000, and the Union had never been able to direct a blow against her. She had visited every ocean except the Antarctic, covering a distance of 58,000 statute miles. The last gun in defense of the South was fired in the Arctic ocean from her deck on 22 June, 1865.

Captain James Iredell Waddell was a perfect specimen of physical manhood, standing 6 feet 1 inch, and weighing 210 pounds.

NOTE.—*In Vol. 3. Off. Rec. Union & Confed. Navies* at p. 785 is the log of the Shenandoah from which it appears (p. 792) that in her eight months cruise she captured 38 vessels valued at $1,172,223. From p. 793 to 836 is an admirable account of the cruise of the vessel by her commander, at the conclusion of which Captain Waddell says:

"The Shenandoah was actually cruising but eight months after the enemy's property, during which time she made thirty-eight captures, an average of a fraction over four per month.

She released six on bond and destroyed thirty-two.

She visited every ocean except the Antartic Ocean.

She was the only vessel which carried the flag around the world, and she carried it six months after the over-throw of the South.

She was surrendered to the British nation 6 November, 1865.

The last gun in defence of the South was fired from her deck 22 June, in the Arctic Ocean.

She ran a distance of 58,000 statue miles and met with no serious injury during a cruise of thirteen months.

Her anchors were on her bows for eight months

She never lost a chase, and was second only to the celebrated Alabama.

I claim for her officers and men a triumph over their enemies and over every obstacle, and for myself I claim having done my duty."

If space permitted the whole of this article merits reproduction here. —ED.

COLONEL WILLIAM LAMB.

GENERAL W. H. C. WHITING

WHITWORTH GUN.
Captured nine miles north of Fort Fisher by Admiral Lee, and now a trophy in Washington, D. C., Navy Yard.

FIGHT WITH BLOCKADERS.

By COLONEL WILLIAM LAMB, Thirty-sixth Regiment N. C. T.

Shortly after taking command of Fort Fisher I recovered from the wreck of a blockade runner, the British Steamship *Modern Greece,* four 12 pounder Whitworth rifle guns, with a range of five miles. With these guns, we made the U. S. Blockading fleet remove their anchorage from two and a half miles to five miles from the fort. So many vessels were saved with these guns that they soon had a reputation throughout the South, and three of them were transferred to other commands, two going to Virginia.

In August, 1863, the British Steamship *Hebe* with a most valuable cargo, while trying to enter New Inlet, was driven ashore by the enemy and partially destroyed. A detachment of Captain Munn's Company sent to her relief, rescued the Captain and Crew and captured on her, Ensign W. W Crowninshield, Master's Mate John Paige, Third Assistant Engineer Wm. Mason, five petty officers, five seamen and one ordinary seaman, from the U. S. S. *Niphon.* Munn's detachment remained with a Whitworth rifle gun and a Faucett and Preston rifle piece, behind an improvised sand battery, to guard the wreck while its cargo was being removed.

Sunday morning 23 August, the steam frigate *Minnesota,* the flagship of the North Atlantic Blockading Squadron, came up abreast of the wreck, within 600 yards, while the United States Steamship *James Adger* was sent into within 300 yards, to see if the *Hebe* could be hauled off and the United States Steamship *Niphon* was ordered along the beach to cut off any retreat. The heroic detachment instead of retreating as they should have done, with their guns, as soon as they saw this powerful steamship approaching, carrying more guns and ammunition than were in Fort Fisher, defiantly stood their ground and fired on the boat sent by the

James Adger with a tow line towards the *Hebe,* driving her back, wounding one of the crew. The *Minnesota* and *James Adger* then opened a frightful fire on the detachment and guns tearing up the beach, killing private Holland and wounding five others. The detachment barely escaped capture. They carried off their dead and wounded comrades but were obliged to leave their guns. The wreck was over seven miles from Fort Fisher, on the narrow and low beach between Masonboro Sound and the Ocean, and it was wonderful that any escaped alive. The enemy after landing carried off the two guns.*

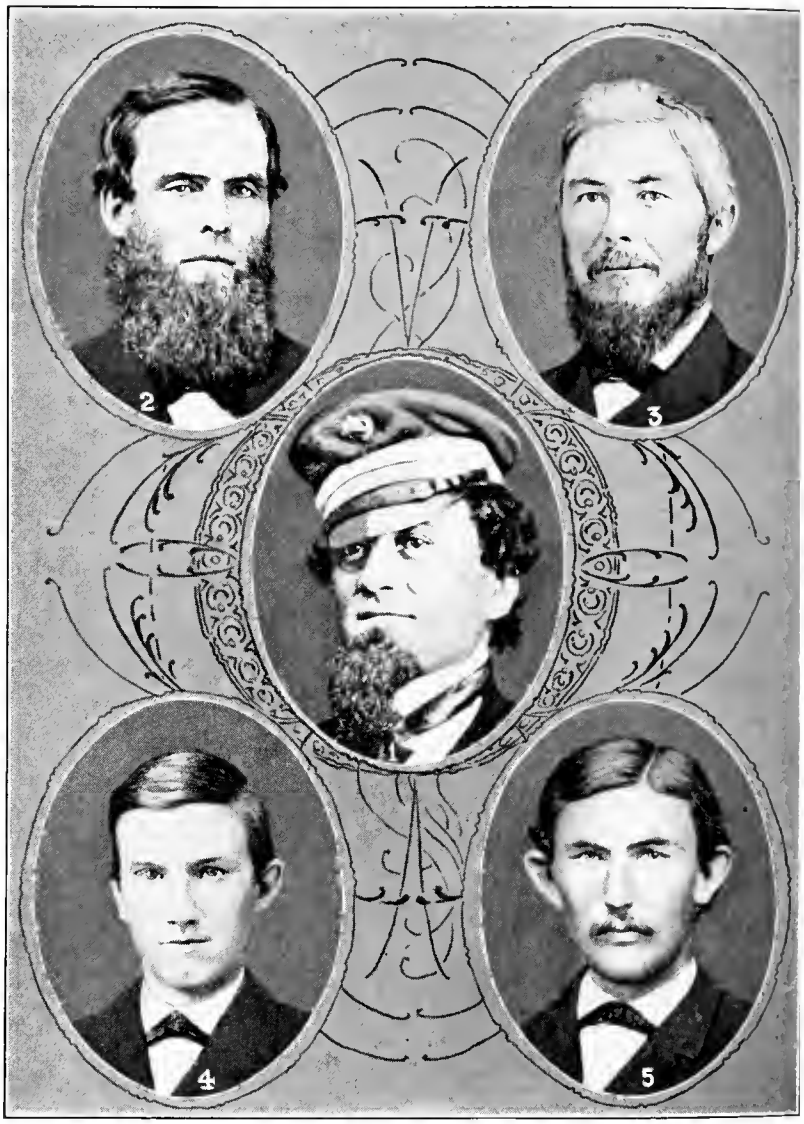
The *Minnesota* fired 173 shot and shell consuming 1,977 pounds of cannon powder. The *James Adger* fired 163 shot and shell using 958 pounds of powder, or a total of 336 shell and shot and more than a ton of cannon powder, to drive a detachment of tar heels from two small field pieces. The *Niphon* fired 172 shot and shell at the detachment as it retreated, and claimed to have wounded many, but did not strike one.

General W H. C. Whiting in reporting this fight to the Secretary of War, Richmond, 24 August, 1863, says: "I have met with a serious and heavy loss in that Whitworth, a gun that in the hands of the indefatigable Lamb, has saved dozens of vessels, and millions of money to the Confederate States. I beg that a couple of the Whitworth guns originally saved by him from the *Modern Greece* may be sent here at once. Their long range makes them more suitable for a seaboard position. Could I get them with horses we could save many a vessel that will now be lost to us."

WILLIAM LAMB.

NORFOLK, VA.,
23 August, 1901.

*See picture in this Vol. of the captured Whitworth Rifle gun, now at Washington, D. C., Navy Yard.



BLOCKADE-RUNNERS.

1. John Newland Maffitt, Captain of Confederate Blockade-runners "Lilian," "Florie," and "Owl."
2. George C. McDougal, Chief Engineer, 60 voyages through the blockade.
3. C. C. Morse, Cape Fear Pilot, North Carolina Steamer "Ad-Vance."
4. James Sprunt, Purser, Confederate Blockade-runners "Lilian" and "Susan Bierne."
5. Fred W. Gregory, Confederate States Signal Officer, Steamer "Susan Bierne."

BLOCKADE RUNNING.

By JAMES SPRUNT, Former Purser Steamer Lilian.

The following serial, undertaken at the request of Hon. Walter Clark, is a compilation of the narrative of some of those who participated in a branch of the Confederate service, which, although not officially recognized, was nevertheless effective in sustaining the war long after the resources of the South had been exhausted.

THE VALUE OF BLOCKADE RUNNING TO THE CONFEDERACY.

There are no records from which computation might be made of the amount and value of goods, arms, supplies and stores brought into the Confederate States during the four years of blockade, but the Hon. Zebulon B. Vance, who was Governor of North Carolina during several years of the war, has put on record the share, in part, of our State in blockade-running, from which a general idea of the amount of values may be obtained.

In an address before the Association of the Maryland Line, delivered in Baltimore 23 February, 1885, he said:

"By the general industry and thrift of our people and by the use of a number of blockade-running steamers, carrying out cotton and bringing in supplies from Europe, I had collected and distributed from time to time, as near as can be gathered from the records of the Quartermaster's Department, the following stores: Large quantities of machinery supplies; 60,000 pairs of hand cards; 10,000 grain scythes; 200 barrels of blue stone for wheat growers; leather and shoes to 250,000 pairs; 50,000 blankets; grey wool cloth for at least 250,000 suits of uniforms; 12,000 overcoats ready-made; 2,000 best Enfield rifles, with 100 rounds of fixed ammunition; 100,000 pounds of bacon; 500 sacks of coffee for hospital use; $50,000 worth of medicines at gold prices, large quantities of lubricating oils, besides minor supplies of

various kinds for the charitable institutions of the State. Not only was the supply of shoes, blankets and clothing more than sufficient for the supply of the North Carolina troops, but large quantities were turned over to the Confederate Government for the troops of other States. In the winter succeeding the battle of Chickamauga, I sent to General Longstreet's Corps 14,000 suits of clothing complete. At the surrender of General Johnston, the State had on hand ready-made and in cloth 92,000 suits of uniforms, with great stores of blankets, leather, etc. To make good the warrant on which these purchases had been made abroad, the State purchased and had on hand in trust for the holders 11,000 bales of cotton and 100,000 barrels of rosin. The cotton was partly destroyed before the war closed, and the remainder, amounting to several thousand bales, was captured, after peace was declared, by certain officers of the Federal army."

President Davis, in a message to Congress, said that the number of vessels arriving at only two ports—Charleston and Wilmington, from 1 November to 6 December, 1864, had been 43, and that only a very small portion of those outward-bound had been captured; that out of 11,796 bales of cotton shipped since 1 July, 1864, but 1,272 bales had been lost. And the special report of the Secretary of the Treasury in relation to the same matter stated that there had been imported at the ports of Wilmington and Charleston since 26 October, 1864, 8,632,000 pounds of meat; 1,507,000 pounds of lead; 1,933,000 pounds of saltpetre; 546,000 pairs of shoes; 316,000 pairs of blankets; 520,000 pounds of coffee; 69,000 rifles; 97 packages of revolvers; 2,639 packages of medicines; 43 cannon; with a very large quantity of other articles. In addition to these articles, many valuable stores and supplies had been brought in by way of the Northern lines, by way of Florida, through the port of Galveston, and through Mexico across the Rio Grande. From 1 March, 1864, to 1 January, 1865, the value of the shipments of cotton on Confederate Government account was shown by the Secretary's report to have been $5,296,000 in specie, of which $1,500,000 had been shipped out between 1 July and 1 December, 1864.

A list of vessels which were running the blockade from

Nassau and other ports in the period intervening between November, 1861, and March 1864 (Scharf's C. S. Navy, 488), showed that 84 steamers were engaged; of these 37 were captured by the enemy, 12 were totally lost, 11 were lost and the cargoes partially saved, and one foundered at sea. They made 363 trips to Nassau and 65 to other ports. Among the highest number of runs made were those of the *R. E. Lee,* which ran 21 times; the *Fanny,* which ran 18 times; the *Margaret and Jessie,* which performed the same feat. Out of 425 runs from Nassau alone (including schooners) only 62, about one in seven, were unsuccessful. As freights were enormous, ranging from $300 to $1,000 per ton, some idea may be formed of the profits of a business in which a party could afford to lose a vessel after two successful trips. In ten months of 1863, from January to October, 90 vessels ran into Wilmington. During August one ran in every other day. On 11 July, four, and five on 19 October.

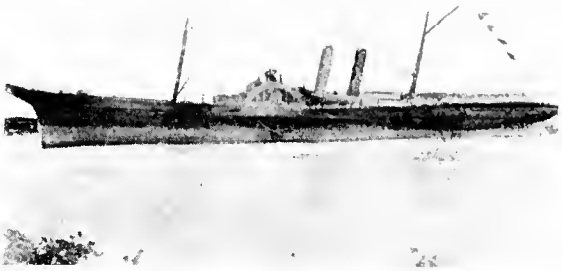
With the termination of blockade running, the commercial importance of Matamoras, Nassau, Bermuda, and other West India ports departed. On 11 March, 1865, there were lying in Nassau 35 British blockade-runners, which were valued at $15,000,000 in greenbacks, and there were none to do them reverence. Their occupation was gone, their profits at an end, and some other service must be sought to give them employment.

A description of Nassau at the time of which I write will be both interesting and instructive. Says Capt. Wilkinson: "It was a busy place during the war, the chief depot of supplies for the Confederacy, and the port to which most of the cotton was shipped. Its proximity to the ports of Charleston and Wilmington gave it superior advantages, whilst it was easily accessible to the swift, light-draft blockade-runners, all of which carried Bahama bank pilots, who knew every channel. The United States cruisers, having no bank pilots, and drawing more water, were compelled to keep the open sea. Occasionally one of the latter would heave to outside the harbor and send in a boat to communicate with the American Consul, but their usual cruising ground was off Abaco light. Nassau is situated upon the island of New Providence, one of

the Bahamas, and it is the chief town and capital of the group. All of the islands are surrounded by coral reefs and shoals, through which are channels, more or less intricate. The distance from Charleston to Nassau is about 500 miles, and from Wilmington about 550. Practically they were equi-distant; for blockade-runners bound for either port in order to evade the cruisers lying in wait off Abaco, were compelled to give that headland a wide berth by keeping well to the eastward. The wharves of Nassau were piled high with cotton during the war, and huge warehouses were stowed full with supplies for the Confederacy. At times the harbor was crowded with lead-colored, short-masted, rakish looking steamers; the streets, alive with the bustle and activity of the day, swarmed with drunken revelers at night. Almost every nationality on earth was represented there, the high wages ashore and afloat tempting adventurers of the baser sort, and the prospects of enormous profits offering equally strong inducements to capitalists of a speculative turn. Monthly wages of a sailor on board a blockade-runner were $100 in gold and $50 bounty at the end of a successful trip and this under favorable circumstances, would be accomplished in seven days.

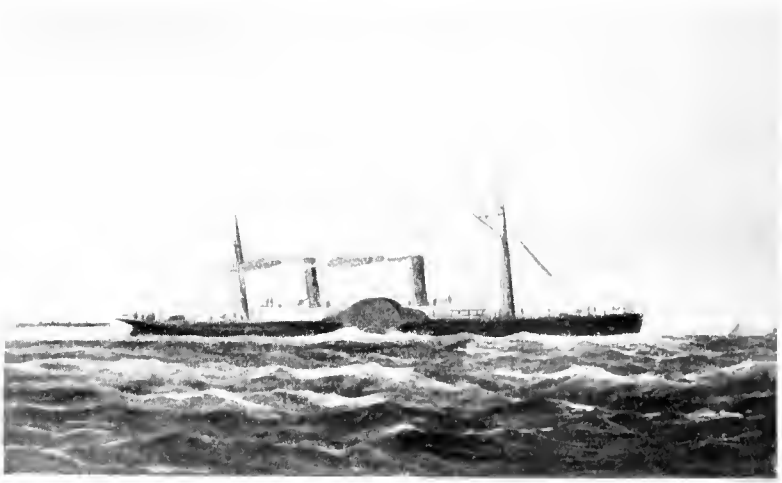
"The captains and pilots sometimes received as much as $5,000 and perquisites. On board the government steamers the crew, which was shipped abroad and under the articles regulating the "merchant marine," received the same wages as were paid on board the other blockade-runners, but the captains and subordinate officers of the government steamers who belonged to the Confederate States Navy, and the pilots who were detailed from the army for this service, received their pay in gold. There is a singular fact connected with the blockade-running vessels which speaks well for the Confederate States naval officers. Though many commanded a large number of these vessels, yet down to 16 August, 1864, and perhaps later, only one blockade-running vessel was lost."

The Cape Fear pilots have long maintained a standard of excellence in their profession most creditable to them as a class and as individuals. The story of their wonderful skill and bravery at the time of the Federal blockade has never been



BLOCKADE RUNNER "ADVANCE."

BLOCKADE RUNNER "BANSHEE."



BLOCKADE RUNNER "COL. LAMB."

written, for the survivors are modest men, and time has obliterated from their memories many incidents of this extraordinary epoch. Amidst impenetrable darkness, without lightship or beacon, the narrow and closely watched inlet was felt for with a deep sea lead, as a blind man feels his way along a familiar path, and even when the enemy's fire was raking the wheel-house the faithful pilot, with steady hand and iron nerve, safely steered the little fugitive of the sea to her desired haven. It might be said of him as of the Nantucket skipper, that he could get his bearings on the darkest night by a taste of the lead.

These are the names of some of the noted blockade-runners and their pilots, well known in Smithville thirty odd years ago:

Steamer *Cornubia,* afterwards called *The Lady Davis,* C. C. Morse; steamer *Giraffe,* afterwards known as the *R. E. Lee,* Archibald Guthrie; steamer *Fannie,* Henry Howard; steamer *Hansa,* J N Burruss; steamer *City of Petersburg,* Joseph Bensel; steamer *Old Dominion,* Richard Dosher; steamer *Alice,* Joseph Springs; steamer *Margaret and Jessie,* Chas. W Craig; steamer *Hebe,* George W Burruss; steamer *Ad-Vance,* C C. Morse; steamer *Pet,* T. W Craig; steamer *Atalanta,* Thos. M. Thompson; steamer *Eugenia,* T. W Newton; steamer *Ella and Annie,* J M. Adkins; steamer *Banshee,* Thomas Burruss; steamer *Venus,* R. Sellars; steamer *Don,* William St. George; steamer *Lynx,* J W Craig; steamer *Let Her Be,* T. J Burruss; steamer *Little Hattie,* R. S. Grissom; steamer *Lilian,* Thomas Grissom; steamer *North Heath,* Julius Dosher; steamer *Let Her Rip,* E. T. Burruss; steamer *Beauregard,* J W Potter; steamer *Owl,* T. B. Garrason; steamer *Agnes Fry,* Thomas Dyer; steamer *Kate,* C C. Morse; steamer *Sirene,* John Hill; steamer *Calypso,* C. G. Smith; steamer *Ella,* John Savage; steamer *Condor,* Thomas Brinkman; steamer *Coquette,* E. T. Daniels; steamer *Mary Celeste,* J W Anderson. Many other steamers might be named, among them the *Britannica, Emma, Dee, Antonica, Victory, Granite City, Stonewall Jackson, Flora, Havelock, Hero, Eagle, Douro, Thistle, Scotia, Gertrude, Charleston, Colonel Lamb, Dolphin, and*

Dream, whose pilots' names may be among those already recalled. These are noted here from memory, for there is no record extant. All of these men were exposed to constant danger, and one of them, J W Anderson of the *Mary Celeste,* died a hero's death. Shortly after leaving the port of Nassau on his last voyage, he was stricken down by yellow fever. The captain at once proposed to put the ship about and return to the Bahamas, but his brave pilot said: "No, you may proceed. I will do my best to get you into port, even if it costs me my life." On the second day he was delirious, but as the little ship approached our dangerous coast he regained consciousness, and spoke of his home and the loved ones awaiting his coming at Smithville. When darkness drew on, his fever increased and his condition seemed hopeless, but with the heart of a lion he determined to take his post on the bridge, and when soundings were reached he was carried bodily to the wheel house, where, supported by two of the sailors, he guided by feeble tones, the gallant ship through devious ways until the hostile fleet was passed. As the well known lights of his home appeared in the distance, his voice grew stronger, but tremulous, for he felt that he was nearing the end of life's voyage. "Starboard; steady; port; ease her; stop her; let go anchor"—with the rattle of the chains he sank to the deck, overcome by the dread disease, and on the following morning breathed his last.

Along the coast may still be seen the storm-beaten hulls of some of the unfortunate ships, which after weathering many a gale at sea, came to grief within sight of a friendly port. The *Beauregard* and the *Venus* lie stranded on Carolina Beach; the *Modern Greece* near New Inlet; the *Antonica* on Frying Pan Shoals; the *Ella* on Bald Head; the *Spunkey* and the *Georgiana McCall* on Caswell Beach; the *Hebe* and the *Dee* between Masonboro and Wrightsville. Two others lie near Lockwood's Folly bar, and others whose names are forgotten, lie half buried in the sands where they may remain for centuries.

THE BLOCKADE-RUNNER AD-VANCE.

I have already quoted a part of Senator Z. B. Vance's address delivered in Baltimore in 1885, with reference to the

operations of the State of North Carolina in blockade-running under his administration during the late war, and I now present the following communication prepared for the compiler by the late Colonel James G. Burr, of Wilmington, which will be read with interest by many of our older citizens who well remember the episode so felicitously described.

"In the month of August, 1862, Zebulon B. Vance, then Colonel of a North Carolina Regiment serving the Army of Northern Virginia, and quite a young man, was elected Governor of the State by a large majority He did not seek the office, in fact, objected to the use of his name for the reason that he preferred the position which he then held in the army, and for the further reason that he thought he was too young to be Governor. The people, however, thought differently, and he was borne into office by a popular upheaval. With what energy and vigor he discharged his duties, how true he was in every way to his State and people are matters of history and need not be referred to here. He was inaugurated the ensuing September and early in his administration he conceived the idea of purchasing for the State a steamer to run the blockade at Wilmington, bringing in supplies for our soldiers in the field and our suffering people at home.

"Colonel Thos. M. Crossan, formerly of the United States Navy, was accordingly sent to England with Mr Hughes, of New Bern, where, in conjunction with Mr. John White, the agent of the State in England at the time, they purchased the fine side-wheel steamer, *Lord Clyde,* then running between Glasgow and Dublin, which name before her advent into Southern waters was changed to that of *Advance* or *Ad-Vance,* the latter in compliment to the distinguished war governor through whose instructions and active influence the purchase had been made.

"In the Spring of 1863 the *Advance* made her first successful trip through the blockaders and arrived safely in the harbor of Wilmington, bringing a large amount of much needed supplies. The Governor was informed of her arrival and came down immediately, and the next day, Sunday, went down on one of the river steamers with a number of his friends to the ship, which was lying at the quarantine station

about fifteen or sixteen miles below the city. After spending several hours on board examining the ship and partaking of the hospitalities of its officers, it was determined to take her up to the city without waiting for a permit from the health officers, as it was assumed the Governor's presence on board would be a justification for the violation of quarantine regulations. Accordingly, steam was raised, and she came up to the city and was made fast to the wharf in front of the Custom House. Then occurred a scene which is well remembered to this day by all who witnessed it.

"Scarcely had the ship been secured to the wharf when a military gentleman in full uniform made his appearance, and though he was told that the vessel belonged to the State, and that the Governor was on board, he seized the occasion to make a display of his authority and to magnify his own importance. With the manner of a Sir Oracle, and in a loud and commanding tone of voice, he peremptorily declared that no one should leave the ship, and ordered her immediate return to quarantine station down the river. Governor Vance happened to be standing near the gangway, heard distinctly the rude speech of the military satrap and noticed his offensive manner; and his crest rose on the instant. With flashing eyes he turned upon him, and in a voice of cencentrated passion exclaimed: "Do you dare to say, sir, that the Governor of the State shall not leave the deck of his own ship?" The reply of the officer was of such a nature as to add fuel to the flames, and an exciting scene would doubtless have occurred (for the Governor was young then and his blood was hot) had not his friends interposed and persuaded him to retire to the cabin where, after a while, his equanimity was restored. In the meantime, the Chairman of the Board of Commissioners of Navigation, the late P W Fanning, who had been sent for, arrived upon the scene and promptly settled the matter by giving his permit for the ship to remain where she was, and the immediate landing of all who desired to do so. The Governor was the first to step upon the gangway, and as he passed down, he stopped for a moment, respectfully saluted Mr. Fanning, and in a ringing voice exclaimed: "No man is more prompt to obey the civil au-

thority than myself, but I will not be ridden over by epaulettes or bayonets." The large crowd which had assembled gave him three cheers as he disappeared from view and added three more for the gallant ship *Ad-Vance,* from whose masts and yards innumerable flags were flying in the breeze.

"The *Ad-Vance* was a first-class ship in every respect; she had engines of great power which were very highly finished and her speed was good. With a pressure of twenty pounds to the square inch she easily averaged seventeen knots to the hour and when it was increased to thirty pounds, she reeled off twenty knots without difficulty. Her officers were: Colonel Crossan, Commander; Captain Wylie, a Scotchman, who came over with her, Sailing Master; Captain Geo. Morrison, Chief Engineer; Mr. John B. Smith, Signal Officer. The only objection to her was her size and heavy draught of water, the latter rendering it difficult for her to cross the shoals, which at that time were a great bar to the navigation of the river, and in consequence of which she could never go out or return with a full cargo either of cotton or supplies. She ran the blockade successfully seven or eight trips, bringing in all kinds of supplies—thanks to the energy and wise foresight of our patriotic War Governor—that were so much needed by our troops and the people. The regularity of her trips was remarkable and could be calculated upon almost to the very day; indeed, it was common to hear upon the streets the almost stereotyped remark, 'To-morrow the *Ad-Vance* will be in.' And when the morrow came she could generally be seen gliding up to her dock with the rich freight of goods and wares which were so greatly needed by our people. In the meantime, however, she had several narrow escapes from capture. Coming from Nassau on one occasion the weather being very stormy and a heavy fog prevailing, she ran ashore opposite Fort Caswell and remained there two days. The sea was so rough that the blockaders could not approach near enough to do her any damage, and after discharging part of her cargo she was relieved from her perilous position and got safely into port. But the most exciting trip was one made in the month of July, 1864, from Bermuda.

"She had on board as passengers a number of prominent

gentlemen, among them Marshall Kane, of Baltimore; Rev. Dr. Moses D. Hoge, of Richmond, Va., and others who had come down from St. Johns, New Brunswick, and joined the ship at Bermuda, and who were extremely anxious to reach the Confederate States. By some error in calculation, instead of making Cape Fear light at 3 a. m., as was intended, they made the light on Cape Lookout, a long distance out of their course. What was best to be done was the question to be solved, and to be solved at once, for daylight comes soon in July. The ship had scarcely enough coal in her bunkers to take her back to the port she had left and almost certain capture stared them in the face should they attempt to run in. However, it was determined to make the attempt, and the ship was headed for New Inlet. Hugging the shore as closely as possible, with all steam on, she dashed down the coast with the speed of a thoroughbred on a hotly contested race course. Fortunately at that time many persons were engaged in making salt on the coast, and the smoke rising from the works created a cloud or mist which concealed the ship from the blockaders, although it was broad day But as she neared the inlet she was compelled to change her course further out to sea on account of a shoal or spit that makes out into the ocean at that point, and was immediately discovered by the blockading fleet who opened fire upon her and gave chase like a pack of hounds in eager pursuit of a much coveted quarry. It was a most trying situation, for the ship was compelled to keep her course, although it carried her nearer and nearer to the enemy—until she could round the shoal and run in towards the land when she would be in comparative safety. Shot and shell were flying around her in every direction, but she held steadily on, though rushing as it seemed to certain destruction, when suddenly a roar was heard from the fort; the heavy guns upon the mound had opened upon the pursuers with such effect as to check their speed and force them to retire, and the gallant ship which had been so hardly pressed, soon rounded the shoal and was safe beneath the sheltering guns of the fort.

"But the pitcher that goes often to the fountain is broken at last, and the time came when the career of the *Ad-Vance* as a

blockade-runner was to cease forever. She was captured on her outward trip a few miles from our coast, owing to an inferior quality of coal she was compelled to use which was very bituminous and which emitted a black smoke that betrayed her to the watchful eyes of the fleet; being surrounded by them, she was obliged to surrender with her cargo of cotton and her officers and crew as prisoners. She was a noble ship, greatly endeared to the people of our State, and her capture was felt as a personal calamity.

"With reference to her capture—her name having been incorrectly referred to as the *A. D. Vance,* and being still misquoted in the United States Navy Records, whence I obtained the accompanying illustration—the newspaper *Carolinian,* published in Fayetteville 17 September, 1864, said: "The loss of the *A. D Vance* is a severe loss to our State. She has done noble service for our North Carolina soldiers, and has paid for herself twenty times."

"In 1867 she made her reapperance in the waters of the Cape Fear as the United States man-of-war *Frolic,* sent to this port to prevent the Cuban warship *Cuba* from leaving Wilmington, which duty was successfully performed. It happened on that occasion that Captain George Morrison, her former engineer, met some of her officers and was asked by them her rate of speed while he had charge of her engines. He replied, "Seventeen knots easily" "Impossible," they said, "for we have not been able to get more than eight or nine out of her." "Something wrong then," said the captain, "and unless you have made some alterations in her machinery, I will guarantee to drive her to Smithville (Southport) at a rate of seventeen knots an hour." He was cordially invited on board to examine, did so, found that they had placed a damper where it ought not to have been and which prevented the generation of steam, removed it and then ran down to Smithville at the rate of nineteen knots an hour, to the great surprise of all on board."

THE AUTHOR'S ADVENTURES.

In the summer of 1864, the Confederate steamer *Lilian,* which had repeatedly reached the Confederacy under com-

mand of the gallant Captain John N. Maffitt, arrived at St. George's, Bermuda, after a successful run from Wilmington, with a cargo of cotton, which was immediately transferred to the clipper ship *Storm King,* for Liverpool. I was then a lad of about 17 years of age, and had been left behind sick by my ship, the steamer *North Heath,* which was subsequently loaded with stone and sunk in the channel of the Cape Fear river by the Confederate authorities, as an obstruction to the Federal fleet then threatening an invasion. Fortunately for me, the purser of the *Lilian,* an Englishman, having decided that he had enough of the perils of blockade-running, tendered his resignation, and I, having been previously recommended by Capt. Maffitt, was at once appointed in his place. Much to the regret of our officers and men, Captain Maffitt was ordered home to take command of the ram *Albemarle,* and a skipper of greatly inferior ability succeeded him on the *Lilian.* Our ship was one of the finest of the large fleet of vessels then engaged in blockade running, and had been specially designed and built for good service, with a speed of fourteen knots an hour, which in those days was considered very fast. Under the direction of Major Norman Walker, the Confederate agent and Quartermaster at St. George's, we soon completed our cargo of arms and ammunition, blankets, bacon, flour, etc., and with a full crew of forty-eight men, proceeded towards Wilmington, about 720 miles distant.

Shortly after getting under way, I began paying the crew the usual bounty money from several kegs of silver dollars which had been rolled on board at the last moment, during which I noticed from the sullen manner of nearly our whole complement of firemen that some trouble was brewing. Just as our pilot was leaving us, the firemen on duty struck work, and without any reasonable excuse, demanded to be put ashore. We soon ascertained that it was simply a plot to "jump the bounty money," and the ship was put about and steered a straight course for the harbor, lying within which was the clipper ship already referred to. Running close aboard, our captain hailed him, *Storm King* ahoy! Will you bring your officers and help us out with some mutineers?"

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THE CHASE OF THE FLEET

Aye, aye, sir, we will," came back the prompt response. In a few moments they were with us, and joined our captain, chief and second officer in an immediate attack upon the malcontents, who had retreated to the forecastle. Each man who refused to work was then unceremoniously knocked down, dragged out, and put in irons, and in an almost incredibly short time we were steaming away to sea again. A few hours meditation in the calaboose without food or water, and the dread of further punishment when we reached the Confederacy, brought the unruly firemen to their senses and to their work.

As night drew on we were out of sight of land, and with horizon clear of cruisers, began the usual precautions against chase or capture. The cabin lights were most carefully screened by heavy curtains across the port holes, and even the binnacle lamp was tightly covered, leaving only a small peephole the size of a silver dollar, for the guidance of the quartermaster at the wheel. We saw and passed in darkness, several vessels, being invisible to them, and at dawn carefully avoided all those which appeared to be under steam; one of the greatest dangers being the proximity of a hostile vessel at daybreak, or upon the clearing of a fog. On the morning of the second day we sighted several United States cruisers, but successfully evaded them. At noon of the third day we found ourselves in a heavy sea, about fifty miles to the northeastward of Cape Lookout, and as we approached nearer the land, we sighted a large man-of-war to windward, which speedily bore down upon us and soon got us within range of his heavy guns. Owing to the swell which kept our paddles rolling out of water, we could not run away, and for several hours both vessels steamed a parallel course, so nearly together that I could see the men at the guns, their broadside batteries raking us fore and aft every minute. Nothing but the heavy seaway upon which we bobbed up and down like a cork, thereby defeating their aim, saved us from destruction. We were truly in a bad position which was made worse by the collapse of one of our boilers, reducing our speed from twelve to eight knots, and by the abject fear of our panic-stricken engineers and stokers, who came up in a body and

begged the captain to surrender at once. But he had no notion of such a thing, and having fortified himself with a bottle of brandy and a big navy revolver, was quite prepared to hold his own against all odds, and roundly swore he would shoot the first man who shirked his duty, a threat which they evidently took in earnest, as they immediately went below to make the best of it. I had never been under fire before, and I confess the situation was painfully distressing to me. Every time the big, conical shells like nail kegs came tumbling over the rail, with their diabolical wailing shriek, my knees became unmanageable and smote together in a most demoralizing way. I thought every moment would be the last, but after a while this desperate feeling was overcome, and I was comparatively indifferent to the firing which, strange to say, did us very little damage. Our pursuer gradually forced us nearer the breakers, along which we dashed with fore and aft sails set, thereby steadying our ship and making better speed. The cruiser being of much deeper draft, kept well off shore and continued a constant and heavy fire which did no harm, the shells passing well over us and landing in the surf. Our captain, expecting to strike bottom, ordered lifeboats lowered to the rail, and the crew to take their stations the moment the ship was stranded.

I greatly admired the pluck of several officers of the Confederate cruiser *Georgia,* who were returning home as our passengers, and who amused themselves by measuring with their sextants the distance between the contending ships, and by noting with their watches the time between the flash of the guns and the passing of the projectiles. They were so sure of capture, however, that they unfortunately threw overboard some valuable rifles and other personal property which might have been saved. I threw the Confederate mail bag into the furnace, by order of the captain as he seemed to think it was quite useless to risk the lives of our crew any longer.

As the sun went down, however, we were inspired with some hope of escape, which increased as night drew on and it became apparent that the cruiser was hauling off a little, evidently fearing shoal water in the darkness. Of course we were careful to make no lights, and later on we were over-

joyed to see that he was firing wildly and forging farther ahead. When it became too dark for him to see us, he burned Drummond lights and sent up rockets, hoping to attract other cruisers to his assistance, but none responded; and then our captain determined upon a bold movement. Lowering our sails, we came to a full stop and anxiously awaited the result. To our great joy, the enemy continued on his course, firing from his broadside guns, under the delusion that we were still in the same position. As soon as he got well ahead of us, we changed our course and ran under his quarter unobserved, leaving him firing at the breakers, the roar of which had overcome the sound of our paddles as we crossed his wake and sped onwards towards New Inlet.

And now a new and perhaps greater danger confronted us. By a careful computation it was ascertained that in our crippled condition we could not possibly reach the bar before daylight, but as our reduced speed would not save us in a chase, our captain resolved to run the gauntlet of the blockaders rather than risk capture at sea during the next day We passed a very anxious night, watching with the utmost solicitude our unsatisfactory progress as we labored through a heavy sea towards our dangerous destination. At the first streak of dawn we were off Masonboro Sound, and soon after distinguished through the haze no fewer than eight blockaders apparently waiting to gobble us up. To our astonishment, however, they took no notice of our approach, as our ship was painted the exact color of the sand dunes along the beach, which we hugged as closely as we dared, and steered straight for the fleet, through which we passed without a gun being fired; and when we anchored off Fort Fisher it was broad daylight. We learned afterwards that the blockaders had not observed us until we were quite near the bar, and then they believed, until it was too late, that we had come to join the fleet; a steamer of our description being then due. We received a hearty welcome from the boarding officer at Fort Fisher, and steamed up towards Wilmington shortly afterwards. While passing Fort Anderson, a gun was fired, but having received no intimation at Fort Fisher that we would be detained on the river, we continued our course, which was

immediately arrested by another gun sending a round shot through out rigging. We were boarded by Lieutenant McNair (still known as crazy Mac) who laughingly remarked that his next shot would have sunk us, as his orders were to stop all vessels passing the fort, for inspection. After this function was completed, we continued our course to Wilmington, where we were boarded by the quarantine physician, the late Dr. William George Thomas, who was greatly interested and amused by my description of our exciting adventure. Our ship was consigned to Messrs. DeRosset & Brown, the collector of the port at that time being Major Henry Savage. We discharged cargo at a wharf near the foot of Chestnut street and dropped down to the Clarendon Iron Works for repairs, which caused a detention of three weeks.

During this time several changes were made in our crew. The engineers were discharged and sent through the blockade as passengers on another steamer, and several stokers who had behaved badly during the chase were summarily dealt with. When ready for our outward freight, we were laden with 1,250 bales of cotton at the Confederate cotton press, which stood on the west side of the river below the ferry, and which was subsequently destroyed by fire, together with a large quantity of cotton. The unbroken brick chimney still stands like the leaning tower of Pisa, a conspicuous relic of an extraordinary era in the foreign trade of Wilmington.

It was almost a universal custom of the officers of blockade-runners to smuggle a few bales of cotton for their personal benefit along with the cargo—but I had received strict orders from our new captain not to take any on my account, nor to permit any one else on board a single bale. I was simple enough to follow his instructions, notwithstanding the fact that he, with characteristic duplicity, had a dozen bales put on board secretly at night for himself. I was not sorry a few days after to see this sharp adventure go overboard with the rest of the deck load to lighten the ship during an exciting chase by a Federal cruiser. The bales were bound with rope, and axes were used to cut them asunder when pitched over the rail, in order that they would fall to pieces

in the sea before being picked up by the pursuers at their leisure.

Sometimes the wake of a blockade-runner could be traced for miles by floating bales of cotton which were thrown over in an emergency I remember, while a prisoner on board the United States steamer *Keystone State,* seeing the crew pick up as many as a hundred bales in the Gulf Stream, which were held together by the bagging only.

On 22 August, 1864, the *Lilian* hauled out from the cotton press on the west side of the Cape Fear, and anchored in the stream, ready for her sixth voyage through the blockade. The Federal squadron, flushed with numerous captures of prizes, had become more aggressive and the cordon of watchful blockaders more closely drawn than ever before.

In addition to the ships of war, numerous armed launches patrolled the bar and river under cover of the darkness. These scouting barges proved to be to the alert blockaders what the sacred cackling geese were to the sleeping Romans, for they lay in the track of incoming and outgoing steamers, and at the constant risk of being run down, gave quick and timely warning to the enemy of any approaching vessel, by burning Drummond lights and by firing their rockets and howitzers after the phantom steamers, as they loomed up and quickly disappeared in the gloom. It was said that occasional captures were made of timid blockade-runners by these small fry, but only such as were open to the charge of cowardice took any notice of their hail beyond an immediate attempt to run them down.

Extraordinary preparations had been made for a successful voyage. In addition to the usual cargo of about 1,200 bales of cotton, we had five Cape Fear pilots on board, four of whom were passengers, going out for as many new steamers awaiting them in Bermuda. Two of the five survive, the other three have run their last course and "crossed the bar." Young Tom Grissom, our ship's pilot, fearless and daring to the last, was lost during a memorable gale some years ago with four others in the ill-fated *Mary K. Sprunt.* Joseph Thompson and William Craig died some years ago; James W. Craig, a highly respected citizen, is still to the fore, and

James Bell is now a well known pilot at Fernandina, Florida.

After the usual precautions against spies and stowaways by the cruel test of fumigation, and farewell tokens to the thirsty officers from the forts, we were at last free to face the music with which we were usually greeted in our attempts to get outside. While feeling our way cautiously in the darkness, and before we reached the first line of blockaders, a large barge appeared close aboard from which came the warning cry, "Heave to, or I'll sink you." Instantly our helm went hard a-port in the pilot's eagerness to run him down. The barge was too wary, however, as striking our sponsons with an unsuccessful cast of his grappling irons, he fired his signal rocket almost simultaneously with his bow gun and quickly dropped astern. The silence was now broken by the order "Full speed ahead!" followed by a blinding glare of pyrotechnics from every ship in the squadron, and by a pandemonium of artillery both deafening and confusing. I can never forget the antics, on this occasion, of our second steward, old Mickey Mahoney, who, calling upon all the saints in the calendar for deliverance, tumbled headlong down the companionway, with such groans and shrieks of terror, that we thought the poor fellow had gone mad.

The cannonading was a repetition of the Kilkenny cat fight, as the shells crashing over us were apparently doing more damage to the fleet than to us. Boom! Boom! went their heavy ordnance, with such rapidity and recklessness that we drove at our best speed without serious damage, and in half an hour had left them all behind except one of their fastest ships which pursued us until nearly daylight, when he returned to the station.

After the storm, the calm. Next morning dawned upon a scene so quiet, so peaceful, that the events of the night seemed but an ugly dream which passed away with the darkness. The sea, like glass, with not a ripple upon its surface, dense white clouds above the horizon reflecting the glory of the sun resplendent in the east; the watch on deck tranquil and motionless, with naught to disturb the profound stillness save the monotonous rumble of our feathered paddles as the

staunch little ship sped on her course toward the distant Bermudas.

To some of us, the danger of yellow fever, which was then raging in St. George's, was more dreadful than that of the blockade. Among the hundreds of its victims some weeks later were many gallant Southerners, including our genial friend and fellow townsman, Captain Robert Williams, purser of the *Index*. At eight bells, which was announced from the bridge, but never struck unless in port, the lookout in the crow's nest aloft aroused the sleepy company with his shrill cry of "Sail ho!" "Where away?" responded the skipper. "Two points on the starboard bow, sir." At first only a thin haze was visible; then the spars and hull of an unmistakable cruiser gradually came into view, showing a decided inclination for closer acquaintance.

Again the warning cry from aloft: "On deck there. Another steamer on the starboard beam. He rises fast, sir, and is heading for us!" Almost immediately a third steamer appeared dead ahead. Our course was then changed to bring two steamers abeam and one astern, and a few minutes later two more steamers joined in the chase from the port bow We had run into the Gulf Stream squadron, the second cordon of gunboats in the track of the blockade runners one day out, by which many were picked up at daybreak who, having escaped the previous night, found themselves under the guns of a cruiser in the haze of the morning. Hopeful and fairly confident of our ability to outstrip the first three pursuers, we had run up a new Confederate flag in the face of our enemies, which was soon made the target of their artillerists, and carried away in the beginning of the fray. The shrieking shells from three directions which passed far ahead of us in line shots, proved very soon our inability to get away; nevertheless, our Captain determined to attempt an escape by running between the two nearest ships, *Keystone State* and *Gettysburg*, thus getting them within the danger line of their own fire, as well as that of our other pursuers.

The *Lilian's* engines were already going at such speed that it was impossible to stand the heat of the fire room more than a few minutes at a time, while she tore through the water

like a thoroughbred on a race course. As we rapidly approached the two ships in close action, it seemed as if we were running into the jaws of destruction. Their firing was frightfully accurate; the spray from the falling and plunging shells flying over the rail and into our faces. Old *Boston* dragging behind, managed to make himself both heard and felt as he blazed away with his heavy bow chaser. After about three hours of this hot work, a conical shell from the *Gettysburg* pierced us in the starboard bow just below the water line, which sent a sharp quiver through the entire ship and caused such a rush of water into the forehold that our speed was immediately slackened, and the *Lilian* for the first time refused the helm. Ineffectual efforts were made to stop up the hole with blankets, and within another half hour of keen suspense, came the reluctant last order, "Hard a-port! Ease her! Stop her!" and the little vessel lay motionless like a dying stag surrounded by his foes. A barge from the *Gettysburg* was quickly alongside, joined later by one from the *Keystone State,* and a Federal officer, making his way to the bridge and to our sullen and disgusted commander, formally declared the *Lilian* a prize to the United States, and the ship's company prisoners of war. Many of our people then hastily prepared such valuables and clothing as could be readily taken with them, but, lost in contemplation of the novel and startling scene, I continued to gaze with wonder until we were unceremoniously hustled away to the *Keystone State,* when I realized that I had left nearly everything behind.

A few weeks of imprisonment, sleeping upon a hard floor, developed such holes in the posterior of my nether garment, that I was obliged to strike a hard bargain with our chief officer, Bill Jones, and envelop my attenuated extremities in an old pair of his trousers intended for a person twice my size. After the war was over, this worthy, while captain of the schooner *Luola Murchison,* made a formal demand of "twelve dollars for them pants," which was promptly paid with some mental reservation.

Some of our officers and men, including the Captain, were kept on the *Gettysburg,* but the majority were transported

to the *Keystone State,* commanded by a gentleman of the old navy, Pierce Crosby, who subsequently became an Admiral, and who is, I believe, still living in Washington. I found that my company was immediately desired in the ward-room, where several impatient officers were waiting, with pencils in hand, to ascertain their proportion of prize money; and having no reason to conceal facts which would be inevitably revealed later, I gave them, as purser, all the information about our cargo necessary to make them, in turn, most courteous and considerate in their treatment of myself and shipmates during our confinement on board. I was assigned quarters in the ward-room, where I messed with the lieutenants and paymaster; a comfortable hammock and a servant to attend to me, with every necessary convenience, made me feel more like a guest than a prisoner, the only restriction being between sunset and sunrise, during which I was required to be below.

Shortly after our arrival on board the *Keystone State,* our company was mustered on deck and sent in squads of two for examination by the commander below. The five pilots already referred to had agreed at the moment of surrender, to personate firemen, and each passed inspection, apparently without suspicion, until Tom Grissom, our regular pilot, was called down with me. He was interrogated first, and in answer to the question as to his place of residence ashore, responded promptly, to my amazement, "Smithville, North Carolina."

I saw at once from the quick, searching look of our inquisitor, that our pilot had betrayed himself, it being well known that Smithville was a pilot village, and special efforts having been made by the United States authorities to apprehend the Smithville pilots who were indispensable to the success of blockade running. Indeed, nearly every man examined, was urged to inform on the ship's pilot, our captors never dreaming we had no fewer than five on board. When, some weeks after, nearly all of our people were released, Mr. Grissom, as might have been expected, was detained and confined in prison for several months. I did all I could to avert suspicion from him during our united confinement, but it proved

ineffectual. On our return to the deck we saw in the faces of our companions that something had gone wrong in our absence. While Messrs. Bell and Craig were quietly congratulating each other upon the apparent success of their ruse, they saw approaching them the pilot, who had come aboard to take the *Keystone State* into Beaufort harbor, and who, to their consternation, proved to be George F. Bowen, a Cape Fear pilot who had been decoyed on board a Federal gunboat in the early part of the war and induced to remain in the service until the close. They naturally feared exposure by Bowen's recognition, or by his information to the Federal officer, but were reassured by his apparent indifference as he passed them. A few minutes later Mr. Bowen repassed us and looking furtively at our party, said in a low voice, to our intense relief: "Don't recognize me; you are safe. I will not betray you."

The *Lilian* in the meantime had been temporarily repaired and sent for adjudication to Philadelphia, where she was subsequently fitted out as a gun-boat, and took part in the bombardment of Fort Fisher. For several days our life on board the *Keystone State* was pleasant enough, chasing blockade-runners, picking up cotton which had been thrown overboard by a hard-pressed Confederate, and communicating with other vessels of the Federal squadron, of which was the *Monticello*, commanded by the celebrated Lieutenant Cushing, who was nearly sunk by Colonel Lamb's batteries while in our company, a large ragged hole in his hull between wind and water proving the accuracy of Fort Fisher's gunners.

Our easement was soon ended, however, for one unlucky morning we were transported to a casemate inside of Fort Macon, North Carolina, then occupied by a battalion of North Carolinians, known by the Confederates as "Buffaloes," who had joined the Federal army. Our treatment at the hands of these people was the reverse of that received on the *Keystone State*. There was not sufficient space in our quarters for us all to lie down at once, and consequently I slept nightly for several weeks with my head upon my neighbor on one side and my legs over another. Our food was

served twice daily and was of the coarsest description, but we were permitted to buy butter, crackers, sardines and the like at high prices from the sutler.

We were allowed to march out upon the parapet for an hour daily, under guard, from which we gazed with longing eyes upon the opposite shore in Dixie's Land. From Fort Macon we were transferred to an old tub still sailing out of Boston, which shall be nameless. This vessel was commanded by a volunteer captain of the United States navy; a character unspeakably different from that of the gentlemen of the regular navy. I was at once confined between decks, denied any liberty, and forced to mess with our sailors and firemen upon salt pork and mouldy hardtack, with the bare deck for a bed and rats for companions. How I loathed that ship and its beastly commander during the long, miserable days and nights, rolling and pitching on the Atlantic, without the least hint of our destination or fate! It seemed an age before we were ordered out of our hold and were transferred to Fortress Monroe, where we were again mustered and some of our number sent to Fort Delaware and others to Point Lookout.

Upon our release from confinement as prisoners of war at Fortress Monroe, I joined a small party of the *Lilian's* officers and, by the help of one of our number who had discreetly hidden several twenty dollar gold pieces under his shirt, we proceeded to Boston—a dangerous place for Southerners at that time—where we found a steamer bound for St. John, New Brunswick, *via* Eastport, Maine, by which we hurriedly embarked, and in a few days landed again upon British soil. The tide at St. John's rises more than forty feet, owing to the extraordinary formation of the Bay of Fundy, and having occasion to return to the steamer a few hours after our arrival, I was astonished to find the vessel above the level of the wharf, upon which we had required a ladder to debark.

From St. John we travelled by train to Halifax, Nova Scotia, where we reported to the Confederate agent, Alexander Keith, Jr. This person, the son of an eminent gentleman, said to be a member of the Provincial Parliament, was

at that time one of the most popular Southern sympathizers. He was a man of fine presence, good business qualifications, courteous and amiable to a degree. He was trusted by all, and he acted as banker for nearly every Southerner who came his way Halifax was then the center of large Confederate interests. Several Confederate war steamers were there, among them the *Chickamauga* and the *Tallahassee.* It was the rendezvous of blockade-runners who had escaped from confinement or who had been discharged after several months detention by the Federals. Keith was attentive to all of them. When the war ended he suddenly disappeared with the cash entrusted to him.

Several years after, there was a great explosion upon the deck of a German mail steamer which produced a sensation throughout the entire world. An infernal machine, intended to wreck the *Moselle,* had prematurely exploded on the quay and killed and maimed a large number of persons, among whom was the shipper, under an assumed name. This man, mortally wounded, was eagerly questioned by the police as to his diabolical plans and accomplices; the only clue they obtained from his incoherent ravings was an intimation that he had been in some way connected with the Confederacy, and strangely enough he said something about Captain Maffitt and my ship, the *Lilian.* The authorities took photographs of him, which were imperfect because of the reclining position of the dying man. Further investigation after his death revealed one of the most fiendish plots in commercial history; large shipments of bogus goods had been made by the liner, and heavily insured by this stranger, who had designed a clock machine intended, it was said, to explode three days after the sailing of the steamer, and sink her with all on board. For many months the secret service detectives were working on this case; at length one of them came to Wilmington and questioned me about the man whose picture was exhibited. Neither I nor any of the pilots at Smithville could identify him, although his face was strangely familiar to me The detective went away, but returned in a few weeks and asked me if I had known a man named Keith. "Yes," I at once replied, "and he was the author of this

awful crime." Such proved to be the case. It was the old story of depraved associates and the downward road to ruin.

Halifax was an important fish market. The codfish trade stowed the stock of dried fish in the open wharves in stacks of several tons in weight for convenient shipment in bulk, principally to the West Indies. The city market for fresh fish was perhaps the finest on the continent. Running sea water through large glass tanks above the street level kept the live fish in the best condition, from which they were taken as desired with scoop nets. At that time communication with Bermuda was suspended because of the prevailing epidemic of yellow fever, which carried off a large proportion of the population of St. George's and Hamilton. Being therefore obliged to remain in Halifax for several weeks, I obtained comfortable quarters in a private boarding house, with a friend from Smithville, who was waiting to pilot another steamer to the Confederacy He esteemed himself above the common herd of his profession, and although possessing the excellent traits of courtesy and kindliness, was pompous and illiterate in his manner of speech. He was not a *pilot,* he said, but a *pilate,* which pretension, coupled with the generous girth of his waist-band, suggested the nickname of "Paunchious Pilate," which has stuck in my mind ever since. At length the brig *Eliza Barse* was advertised to sail for Bermuda and I was directed to take passage in her for St. George's and join the new steel steamer *Susan Beirne,* which was expected to arrive shortly for blockade-running service. I accordingly sailed on the brig with several others who decided to risk the yellow fever in the islands, then reported as diminishing. Our vessel was old and badly found, as we soon realized to our dismay. The food was coarse and limited, ascertaining which just before sailing, one of our party supplemented it with a bushel of hard, green pears of the variety that never ripens, the effect of which is still a painful memory.

We had scarcely left Nova Scotia when we ran into stormy weather, during which our captain lost his reckoning and after floundering about in search of more competent navigators, the sun and stars having been obscured for several days and

nights, we sighted in the distance a French barque, which we immediately attempted to signal. Our halyards parted before the flags reached the truck of the mainmast; we then tried the foremast with like result; the signal halyards were rotten. After some delay a new line was found and fearing to order a man aloft in such a sea, the captain called for a volunteer to reeve the halyards. A big, ordinary seaman came forward and with the end of the line in his mouth, got safely up the shrouds, but when he began to climb the main-top-gallant mast our hearts stood still, for with each lurch and roll of the ship his body swung out in mid air, supported only by the grip of his hands upon the stays. Viewed from the deck, we expected each moment to be his last, the frightful arc described by the rolling top-gallant mast appalling every one of us, accustomed as we were to the dangers of the sea. The captain, by shouts and signs, ordered him back, but the poor fellow could neither go up nor come down until a fortunate roll of the ship enabled him to clasp his legs around the stays. When he reached the deck a few minutes later he was weeping from the nervous shock. None of the sailors would attempt the feat, and the captain was in despair until the mulatto cook volunteered to go. From his first steps on the futtock shrouds we felt that he would succeed; agile and alert he reached the main truck, through which he reeved the line and descended without accident. It was grand to see the Frenchman respond to our signals of distress; raised to the mountain tops of a raging sea until his copper glistened above the waves, he would then plunge downward into the hollow troughs beyond our view, to reappear again and again as we drew nearer. Presently two men ascended her main rigging, holding a blackboard, upon which in large chalk letters was shown her last reckoning. With thanks we parted, to meet some hours later a greater peril.

It happened at night in a heavy sea. I was sitting on deck when a puff of smoke came from the poop. I ran aft and found the binnacle lamp upset and the cabin on fire. Our only boat was an old rotten affair, fastened upon chocks on deck, unseaworthy and utterly useless. It was, therefore, an exciting time until we succeeded by the use of buckets

over the side, in putting out the fire. We landed at Bermuda after a voyage of two weeks, and joined a few survivors of the plague, among them Signal Officer Gregory, of North Carolina, who reported the death of Captain Robert Williams, of Wilmington, formerly commander of the Wilmington Rifle Guards.

A few days afterwards the *Susan Beirne* arrived under command of Captain Wylie, of the *Ad-Vance,* and Eugene Maffitt as first officer. They gave her a bad name, which she fully sustained upon subsequent acquaintance. Built of steel one-eighth of an inch thick, for space and speed, she was too frail for service at sea, and quite unfit for heavy weather. To look upon, she was a beautiful specimen of marine architecture, long and narrow, with a speed of fourteen knots—a type of the latest designs for blockade-running, regardless of the lives of those on board. We began at once to load the new steamer at the Confederate States' agency, and proceeded to sea, bound for Wilmington. Trouble appeared when we were only five hours out. The weather was threatening when we sailed, but the moon was increasing and dark nights were indispensable to successful blockade-running. There was no time to spare and our captain decided to risk the chances of bad weather in the hope that our speed would run us through the worst of it in a few hours. On the second day we encountered a storm which soon strained our frail vessel, and caused a dangerous leak. Before midday the storm increased to a hurricane. The leaks multiplied, as the rivets which held the steel plates gave way, and twelve of our fourteen furnaces were soon submerged. All hands were put to work bailing and pumping, but the water gained on us until we feared the ship would founder at any moment. When night drew on the scene was appalling; sometimes the ship would wallow in the depths like a log, the added weight of water in her hold keeping her down until we feared she would never rise again. Some of our men, exhausted by the continued strain of unceasing work, fell at their posts and became unconscious. I will never forget the horrors of that night; running through the fleet under fire would have been welcome relief. The vivid flashes of lightning illuminated

the black and angry sky in which there was no hope of the storm's abatement. The men were tied to life lines, haggard and despairful as they toiled wearily at the pumps. Steadily the leaks gained until the firemen stood in water up to their hips. Our lives depended upon getting the ship about so that we could head her for Bermuda. This movement would bring us broadside to the sea, and the captain waited several hours for a favorable lull in which to make the venture. At last he put the helm hard over and took the only alternative; great masses of water surged over the side and for several moments we sank into the trough until it seemed we would never rise again. A merciful Providence spared us; the ship groaned and shook as if she would go to pieces under the strain, but we got her head to the wind, and steered back towards St. George's. On the morning of the third day we sighted the islands. The water in the fire rooms was reduced by the pumps so that we could drive along at a fourteen knot pace. The captain, worn with anxiety and lack of sleep, and perhaps stupid from the effect of stimulants, forgot the dangerous reef which runs miles out from the islands, and suddenly, without a moment's warning, our ship struck the rocky bottom with terrible force, tearing a hole in the bow, through which the water rushed like a mill stream. The concussion threw us flat on the deck, and our captain, losing his head completely, sang out: "All hands take to the boats!" Immediately the firemen and stokers and sailors rushed to the side, some of them so frantic with fear that I saw them chop with an axe the iron davits, the falls of which they had fouled in their eagerness to escape. In the midst of this exciting scene, I saw General Preston, who was a passenger with us, dragging a large trunk about the deck in a vain endeavor to get it in one of the boats.

Our signal officer, Mr. Gregory, stood with me waiting for the panic to subside. We noticed that the engines were still driving at full speed ahead, and we supposed that the engineer on duty had fled. Such, however, was not the case. There was one man who had kept his head, our chief engineer, Jack Chambers, of Georgia, who was fortunately on duty when the ship struck. Our captain had not ordered the

engines stopped and Chambers said he never acted without orders from the bridge. Consequently, his presence of mind saved the ship and our lives; the furious movement of the paddle wheels lifted the steamer over the reef into deep water and then we ran for the beach upon which, inside the harbor, we were stranded a short time afterwards. Several weeks were spent in patching up, by means of divers whose movements under the water so interested our captain that he decided to put on the diving dress and descend to inspect the work. He had scarcely reached the bottom, about twenty feet deep, when he made frantic signals to be hauled up again, and he declared upon the removal of the helmet that he had seen the devil or a shark making straight for him, and that he thought his end had come. We, of his subordinates, inclined to the latter hypothesis, because we believed that the former was his warm, personal friend who need not have sought the captain in such an out-of-the-way place. We failed to get permission from the British Government to use the naval dry-dock, and we found it necessary to proceed to Nassau in a crippled condition, to complete repairs on the public dock there. For several days we did not secure a crew, owing to the unseaworthy condition of the ship, but at last we signed on a sufficient number at high wages, and after an uneventful voyage reached Nassau, where we were immediately docked.

While we were repairing at Nassau, the Confederate steamer *Owl*, commanded by Captain Maffitt, appeared in the offing and later ran close past us in the harbor, a shot hole through her funnel, several more in her hull, standing rigging in rags, and other indications of a hot time, confirming our apprehensions that she had failed to reach the Confederacy. A few minutes later the gallant Maffitt reported that Fort Fisher had fallen and that Charleston harbor was also in possession of the Federals. The gateway to the South was at last closed and the occupation of blockade-runners was at an end.

It was not believed that the war would terminate so soon after, and I accepted an invitation to join Major Green, with dispatches for the Confederate Government from representa-

tives abroad, which he proposed to take in our steam launch by way of Florida. This launch was forty feet long and could steam about ten miles an hour. Our chief engineer, Mr. Lockhart, and his first assistant, Mr. Carroll, and one of John Morgan's men, an escaped prisoner, accompanied us. We parted with our friends, some of whom tried to dissuade us from what they termed a foolhardy undertaking, by which they said, we were certain to lose our lives. We hoped to reach the Florida coast in two days, instead of which we were more than a month on the way

The first night out from Nassau, one of the cylinder heads broke, and when morning dawned we got out our oars and laboriously toiled until evening to reach the island of Green Turtle Cay, inhabited entirely by negroes, none of whom could aid us in repairing the damage to our engine. Mr. Lockhart fell desperately sick with internal inflammation, and I took the part of nurse for two weeks. The situation was most depressing. Upon Lockhart's recovery, we decided to abandon the launch, and a small schooner used for sponging at the islands was purchased for the voyage to Florida. Captain Wark, a Bahama pilot, and two negro boys, were employed to sail her, and they were to be rewarded with the vessel if they landed us safely. Our food consisted of fish which we caught with hook and line over the side, fried bacon and hardtack.

There was room for only three of us to lie down, so we arranged watches accordingly. Our morning ablutions were simple. We washed our faces in the green sea, which was only sixteen inches from the deck of the vessel. I would not now cross the Cape Fear in such a craft, and I look back in wonder and thankfulness that our lives were spared through the dangers of that expedition. We had fine weather for ten days at sea, otherwise our frail craft would never have seen the land again. At last we sighted the tall, white lighthouse on Cape Carnavoral, off which a mile distant we anchored and proceeded two at a time in our cockle shell of a dingy to land in the surf. I was much interested at the sight of cormorants fishing in a circle off the Cape. These creatures assembled there by thousands, and, forming a huge

circle on the water about a mile in circumference, gradually narrowed the inside space by swimming towards the center, driving the fish before them and filling their peculiar and spacious pouches under their bills until they were too heavily laden to fly I waited on board until the last passage to the beach. The others had landed in safety, although with wet skins. Before leaving the schooner, Captain Wark warned me against standing up in the small boat while in the breakers, which would inevitably capsize it. This precaution would have been heeded but for a school of ravenous sharks which met us on the way and seized the two oars, breaking them like pipe stems in their ugly mouths. The negro boy who was with me in the boat became panic-stricken and stood up against my warning as we entered the surf on a big roller. We were instantly thrown high in the air, the boat came down with a crash and I found myself on the bottom clawing the sand until I emerged upon dry land. The others rushed in and saved the darkey and the boat, upon which he managed to return to the schooner. With a wave of the hand, Captain Wark hoisted sail and left us helpless on the beach. We tramped to the lighthouse about a mile away and found it dismantled and deserted. From its lantern gallery, sixty feet high, we surveyed the Cape upon which there was no human habitation. We then set out to walk across the Cape and reached an old landing on the estuary of St. John's river, which we afterwards learned was called the Bay of Biscay because of its exposed position and rough sea. Here we found a rough batteau hewn from a cypress log, and in it our entire party of five persons crossed that dangerous sea, fourteen miles, to the main land. I never in all my life had seen so many alligators; within a cable's length of our boat I counted forty-five large ones. In paddling our canoe we carefully avoided them, but several of these ugly creatures rose within a few feet of our boat. We were thankful to get on shore again and we shaped our course at once to walk toward Ocala, one hundred and seventy-five miles distant. The spring had been unusually dry and we suffered much during the first two days from lack of drinking water. We were armed with sheath knives and pistols strapped to our waists. The former

were very useful for digging holes two feet deep in the porous earth through which enough brackish water oozed to quench our thirst.

On the third evening at dusk I missed my knife and went back to look for it, the others going forward. The road was blind and the darkness settled upon me so rapidly that I lost my way The melancholy cry of the whippoorwill met me at every turn, and I realized for the second time in my life a sense of abject and hopeless fear. I recalled to the minutest detail a similar experience when I had been sent from a kinsman's plantation in Duplin county to the salt works on Masonboro Sound.

Fortunately for me our company made their camp fire for the night shortly after we were separated by which I soon rejoined them. We usually slept on the ground under a tree, as all the plantation houses we found were deserted, and we were warned by the only man whom we met against any demonstration likely to attract attention from the Federals who sometimes were seen in the vicinity, or from bushwhackers and deserters who were simply highwaymen. About a week from the time we landed on the cape we reached the outskirts of Ocala, when we learned for the first time of the general surrender. We then buried the Confederate dispatches under an old tree and continued our tramp to Gainesville, thence to Jacksonville, from which we proceeded to Fernandina. From there we were sent under guard to Hilton Head to report to General Gilmore, where we arrived after dark. I was left with Mr. Carroll to watch the knapsacks while the others went to headquarters. A tug was alongside bound for Charleston. Carroll and I thought the chance too good to be lost and leaving the baggage we quickly slipped over the side and hid ourselves on the tug, which landed us in Charleston the next morning. There we dodged about the wharves all day, evading the sentries, and secured at dusk passage on another tug for Wilmington. As we approached the main bar without a blockader in sight, we realized the fact that peace had returned to our distracted country. When we landed at Wilmington, neither Carroll nor I

had taken any oath of allegiance since we left Nassau, nor had we been paroled nor questioned on the way.

THE CAREER OF CAPTAIN JOHN N. MAFFITT.

The biography of this modest hero has never been written. I give the following brief sketch prepared by the accomplished Mrs. J. N Maffitt at the time of her distinguished husband's decease.

"John Newland Maffitt was born at sea on 22 February, 1819. His parents were Rev. John Newland Maffitt and Ann Carnicke, his wife. Rev Mr. Maffitt, having determined to emigrate to America, left Ireland with his wife and family late in January or early in February, and landed in New York on 21 April, 1819, his son having been born on the passage. Their first home was in Connecticut. When John was about five years old his uncle, Dr. William Maffitt, who had accompanied them to America, visited his brother, Rev Mr. Maffitt, and finding him in straightened circumstances, begged to adopt their son, and on the consent of his parents, Dr. Maffitt brought his nephew to Fayetteville, N. C. Some years were passed in this happy home of his boyhood, when his uncle determined to send him to school at White Plains, N Y As a little stripling, he started by the old time stage coach with his ticket tacked to his jacket, and on his arrival much curiosity was shown to see the little boy who had come alone from his distant Southern home. He remained at this school under Professor Swinburn until he was 13 years old, when his father's friends obtained for him a commission as midshipman in the United States navy.

"His first orders were to the *St. Louis,* then at Pensacola navy yard. His second sea orders were to the *Constitution,* the flagship of the squadron, commanded by Commodore Elliott, then fitting out for the Mediterranean. This cruise lasted three years and six months, and it was during that time that most of the incidents related in the *Nautilus* took place. Having been appointed aid to Commodore Elliott, the young midshipman had many advantages not otherwise obtainable. He was next ordered to the frigate *Macedonian* as past midshipman, and it was while in port at Pensacola,

Fla., that he had his first experience of 'yellow jack' and came near losing his life. His first independent command was the *Gallatin*. He commanded also the brig *Dolphin* and several others. He was engaged under Professor Bache for some years on the coast survey, and was of great service to the professor, which the latter was not slow to acknowledge. Much of their work was in the harbors of Nantucket, Charleston, Wilmington and Savannah. A channel in the harbor of Charleston still bears his name.

"In January, 1860, while in command of the *Crusader*, and also acting as paymaster of the vessel, he was ordered by the Secretary of the Navy to proceed to Mobile and there cash a check on the collector of the port for prize money due the officers and crew. The city being agitated at the time by the ordinance of secession just passed by the State of Alabama, he was forced to put his vessel in a defensive position and soon retired to the port of Havana. Here, failing to negotiate with the Bank of Havana for the funds requisite for the necessities of the vessel, he advanced from his private funds the money needed to work the steamer to New York, where he was ordered. He turned the steamer over to the proper authorities and went to Washington to settle his accounts. His cash accounts received no attention, though for several months he was a constant applicant for settlement. A trying position was his since his wife was dead and his children had no kinsfolk save in North Carolina. If he remained in the navy his property, which was all North, would be secured to him. All that appealed to his interests lay there. Love of profession was entwined with every fibre of his being. On the other hand he would have been compelled to fight against his people—perhaps fired upon the very home that had sheltered him and was then sheltering his defenceless children. One night a friend informed him that his name was down for arrest the next day. His affections drew him South. His resignation having been accepted, he felt free to leave and cast his fortunes with his people.

"His war record is well known. Captain Maffitt reached Nassau 16 May, 1862, and at the request of Captain Bullock, Confederate navy agent in Europe, he took charge of

the gunboat *Oreto,* afterwards christened the *Florida,* and hastened to sea. Afterwards he was in command of the blockade-runners *Lilian, Owl* and other vessels engaged in bringing in supplies and munitions of war for the South. His brilliant career on the seas continued until the failure of his health compelled his resignation in April or June, 1864.

"At the close of the war, his property confiscated and he an exile, he applied for a command in the English merchant service and was given the command of a fine steamer running between Liverpool and Rio Janeiro. She was subsequently sold to the Brazilian Government, and used as an army transport. While conveying several hundred soldiers to the scene of action, smallpox broke out among them, and as the well refused to nurse the sick or bury the dead, these duties devolved upon Captain Maffitt, and a fearful time he had—'sickening to the last degree'—he described it; and the soldiers were mutinuous and without discipline. He retained command of this steamer for eighteen months, when at the urgent entreaty of his family, he resigned the command and came home. He soon after purchased a small farm near Wilmington, where he resided for nearly eighteen years. In July, 1885, he moved to Wilmington. For a year or two his health had been failing, but he determined to make a brave effort to retrieve his fortunes and provide for his young family. The disappointment of that hope was too great a shock for his feeble frame; the thought that he could no longer provide for his loved ones broke his heart. After an illness of more than three months, he died on 15 May, 1886, in the 68th year of his age."

The following experience of Captain Maffitt in running the blockade, is told by himself:

"In consequence of my knowledge of the Southern coast, I was ordered to command one of the steamers offered to the government by Frazier, Trenholm & Co., of Charleston, S. C. She was reported to be unusually fast, and could stow to advantage 700 bales of cotton. With the cargo on board we departed from Wilmington and before sunset anchored off the village of Smithville (Southport). Twilight afforded an

excellent opportunity to reconnoitre the enemy. They were numerous and assumed their stations with an air of vigilance that seemed to announce the channel as hermetically sealed for the night. The prospect afforded no joyful anticipations of a pleasant exit. As it was necessary to bide the movements of the moon, her sluggishness in retiring for the night was regarded with considerable impatience. At last her royal majesty, over the margin of the western horizon, tips us a knowing wink and disappears. In silence Caswell is passed and a dim glimpse of Fort Campbell affords a farewell view of Dixie as the steamer's head is turned seaward through the channel. The swelling greetings of the Atlantic billows announce that the bar is passed; over the cresting waves the good craft swiftly dashes as if impatient to promptly face her trials of the night. Through the settled darkness all eyes on board are peering, eagerly straining to catch a view of the dreaded sentinels who sternly guard the tabooed channel. Nothing white is exposed to view, every light is extinguished save those that are hooded in the binnacle and engine room. No sound disturbs the solemn silence of the moment but the dismal moaning of the northeast wind and the unwelcome but unavoidable dashing of our paddles. Night glasses scan the bleared horizon for a time in vain; suddenly an officer with bated breath announces several steamers. Eagerly pointing, he reports two at anchor and others slowly cruising. Instantly out of the gloom and spoon-drift emerges the sombre phantom form of the blockading fleet. The moment of trial is at hand; firmness and decision are essential for the emergency. Dashing between the two at anchor, we pass so near as to excite astonishment at our non-discovery, but this resulted from the color of our hull, which under certain stages of the atmosphere, blended so perfectly with the haze as to render the steamer invisible. How keenly the grim hulls of the enemy are watched! How taut, like harp strings, every nerve is strung, anxiously vibrating with each pulsation of the throbbing heart! We emerged to windward from the two at anchor. 'Captain,' whispered the pilot, 'according to my chop logic, them chaps aren't going to squint us this blessed night!' Ere a response could

be uttered, a broad spread flash of intense light blazed from the flag's Drummond, for in passing to windward the noise of our paddles betrayed the proximity of a blockade-runner. 'Full speed!' I shouted to the engineer. Instantly the increased revolutions responded to the order. Then came the roar of heavy guns, the howl of shot and scream of bursting shells. Around, above and through the severed rigging the iron demons howled as if pandemonium had discharged its infernal spirits into the air. Under the influence of a terrible shock, the steamer quivers with aspen vibrations. An explosion follows; she is struck!

"'What's the damage?' I asked.

"'A shell, sir, has knocked overboard several bales of cotton and wounded two of the crew,' was the response of the boatswain. By the sheen of the Drummond lights the sea is so clearly illuminated as to exhibit the perils of our position, and show the grouping around us of the fleet as their batteries belched forth a hail storm of angry missiles. In the turmoil of excitement, a frightened passenger, contrary to orders, invaded the bridge. Wringing his hands in agony, he implored me to surrender and save his life and the lives of all on board. Much provoked, I directed one of our quartermasters stationed near me to take the lubber below. Without ceremony he seized the unhappy individual, and as he hurried him towards the cabin, menacingly exclaimed, 'Shut up your fly trap, or by the *powres* of Moll Kelly, I'll hold ye up as a target for the derision of them Yankee gunners.'

"As perils multiplied our Mazeppa speed increased, and gradually withdrew us from the circle of danger. At last we distanced the party. Spontaneously the crew gave three hearty cheers as relief to their pent-up anxiety, and everyone began to breathe more naturally This was my tenth episode in running the blockade. During the night we were subjected to occasional trials of speed, to avoid suspicious strangers whose characters could not be determined. In fact, nothing in the shape of a steamer was to be trusted, as we entertained the belief that Confederates were Ishmaelites upon the broad ocean—the recipients of no man's courtesy.

"Day dawned upon one of the ocean's most beautiful mornings; the soft, blue sky circled the blue horizon, and over the broad expanse a profound calm settled upon the sleeping waters. It seemed difficult to realize that such serenity was ever tortured into the most wild and terrific commotion by the rude storms and hurricanes that often hold high revelry where now not a ruffled wave appeared or a gentle ripple bleared the mirrored surface. Solitary and alone we pursued our voyage, flattered with the hope that it would terminate without interruption. At 4 in the afternoon we were aroused from this felicitous reverie by the familiar cry from the mast-head of 'Sail ho!'

" 'Can you make her out,' was the official interrogatory.

" 'Yes, sir; a large steamer heading for us.' Our course was immediately changed; so was that of the stranger. When she was reported we were engaged in overhauling the engines and cleaning fires. Of course, our speed under these circumstances was inconsiderable, and the steamer neared us without difficulty The old flag was recognized—in former days a welcome banner—and the chase commenced. Night approaches in a royal blazonry of gold and crimson, the sun sinks below the horizon, leaving a brief twilight to light up the scene of contest. Some derangement of our engines depletes our speed, and the unpleasant knowledge causes the thermometer of hope to fall below zero. Perplexed and annoyed, I debated the expediency of relieving the vessel by throwing overboard a portion of her cargo. Fortunately a happy thought came into my mind. Promptly acting upon the mental suggestion, I sent for the chief engineer and inquired if he had a quantity of coal dust convenient. 'I have, sir.' was the response. 'Be ready in fifteen minutes to feed with it, and have at hand clean fuel that will not smoke. The order will be given in due season.'

"In the darkness of night a chasing vessel is guided by the smoke of the fleeing craft. This fact was familiar from experience, and at the proper time I availed myself of the acquired knowledge. The enemy held his own, though at times we thought he gained upon us. At length I directed the engineer to give a liberal application of coal dust, and in-

stantly dense volumes of sooty vapor rolled out of the funnels and traveled on the bosom of the northeast winds to the southward and westward. By the aid of good glasses we were charmed to observe that the bait had been swallowed, as the Federals steadily pursued our bank of smoke. When this became obvious, clean coal was applied that emitted no tell-tale evidence of our position. The course was changed to the northward, and our pursuer left to capture the Confederate shadow. This successful ruse excited much hilarity and considerable laughter over what was considered a 'cute trick.' At sunrise, entering the friendly port of Nassau we were warmly greeted by many friends—by none more vociferously than the sons of Africa. The cargo was promptly landed, and the return freight received on board. * * *

"We are ready to depart; friends bid us farewell with lugubrious indulgence of fears for our safety, as the hazards of blockade-running had recently increased in consequence of the accumulated force and vigilance of the enemy. Disregarding gloomy prognostications, at dusk we left the harbor. Before break of day Abaco light was sighted, a place of special interest to Federal cruisers as the turning point of blockade-runners. At the first blush of day we were startled by the close proximity of three American men-of-war. Not the least obeisance made they, but with shot and shell paid the early compliments of the morning. The splintering spars and damaged bulwarks warned us of the necessity for traveling, particularly as 900 barrels of gunpowder constituted a portion of our cargo. A chance shell exploding in the hold, would have consigned steamer and all hands to Tophet. We were in capital running condition and soon passed out of range. Tenaciously our pursuers held on to the chase, though it was evident that the fleet Confederate experienced no difficulty in giving them the go by. In the zenith of our enjoyment of a refreshing sense of relief the old cry of 'Sail ho!' came from aloft. The lookout announced two steamers ahead and standing for us. A system of zigzag running became necessary to elude the persistent enemy. Our speed soon accomplished the object. In about three hours the Federals faded under the horizon, and our proper

course for the Cape Fear was resumed. Those who needed repose retired for the indulgence. My relaxation from official cares was of brief duration, as a gruff voice called out: 'Captain, a burning vessel reported aloft, sir!' Repairing on deck, by the aid of a spy glass, I could distinctly see some four miles ahead a vessel enveloped in smoke. Though not ourselves the subjects of charity, nevertheless we were human and as seamen, cherished the liveliest sympathy for the unfortunate who came to grief on God's watery highway. Regardless of personal interest, your true Jack Tar scorns the role of Pharisee and prides himself upon the Samaritan proclivities that fail not to succor the sufferer by the wayside. Increasing our speed, we ran quite near to the burning vessel. She proved to be a Spanish barque, with ensign at half-mast. Out of her fore hatch arose a dense smoke. Aloft were clustered a panic-stricken group of passengers and crew. Among them several ladies were observed. An ineffectual effort had been made to hoist out the long boat, which was still suspended by the yard and stay tackles. Sending an officer aloft to keep a sharp lookout, that we might not be surprised by the enemy while succoring the unfortunate, the chief mate was dispatched in the cutter to render such assistance as his professional intelligence might suggest. He found the few passengers, among whom were four ladies, much calmer than the officers and crew; the latter, instead of endeavoring to extinguish the fire, which had broken out in the forecastle compartment, were confusedly hauling upon the stay tackle in a vain effort to launch the long boat. Our mate, with his boat's crew, passed the jabbering, panic-stricken Spaniards, and proceeded at once to the forecastle, which he instantly deluged with water, and to the astonishment of all hands, speedily subdued the trifling conflagration, which proved to have resulted from the burning of a quantity of lamp rags that had probably been set on fire by one of the crew, who had carelessly emptied his pipe when about to repair on deck. The quantity of old duds that lay scattered about Jack's luxuriously furnished apartment supplied abundant material for raising a dense smoke, but the rough construction of the vessel in this locality fortunately offered nothing inflam-

mable and the great sensation, under the influence of a cool head, soon subsided into a farce. The mate, who was much of a wag, enjoyed the general perturbation of the passengers, particularly on ascertaining that three of the ladies hailed from Marblehead, and were returning from a visit made to an uncle who owned a well stocked sugar plantation near Sagua LaGrande, in Cuba. A Spanish vessel bound to Halifax had been selected to convey them to a British port convenient for transportation to New York or Boston without risk of being captured by Confederate 'buccaneers,' who, according to Cuban rumors, 'swarmed over the ocean and were decidedly anthropophagous in their proclivities.'

"A hail from the steamer caused the mate to make his adieu, but not before announcing himself as one of the awful Southern slave-holders they had in conversation anathematized. They could not believe that so kind and polite a gentleman could possibly be a wicked 'rebel.' 'But I am, ladies, and also a slave-holder, as is your uncle; farewell!' Instead of manifesting anger at the retort, they laughed heartily and waved their handkerchiefs in kind adieu, utterly unsuspicious of having received kindness and courtesy from a blockade-runner. We made the best of speed on our way to Wilmington. The following day, our last at sea, proved undisturbed and pleasant. At sunset the bar bore west-northwest 70 miles distant. It would be high water at 11:30, the proper time for crossing. Sixty miles I determined to dash off at full speed, and then run slowly for disentangling ourselves from the fleet.

"None but the experienced can appreciate the difficulties that perplexed the navigators in running for Southern harbors during the war. The usual facilities rendered by light houses and beacons had ceased to exist, having been dispensed with by the Confederate government as dangerous abettors of contemplated mischief by the blockaders. Success in making the destined harbors depended upon exact navigation, a knowledge of the coast, its surroundings and currents, a fearless approach, and banishment of the subtle society of John Barleycorn. Non-experts too often came to grief, as the many hulks on the Carolina coast attest. Under a pressure

of steam we rushed ahead, annihilating space and melting with excited fancy hours into minutes. Our celerity shortens the distance, leaving only ten miles between us and the bar. With guiding lead, slowly and carefully we feel our way. 'Captain,' observed the sedulous chief officer, as he strove to peer through the hazy atmosphere, 'it seems to me from our soundings that we should be very near the blockaders. Don't you think so?' 'I do,' was my response. 'Hist! there goes a bell—one, two, three, four, five, six, seven—11:30, a decidedly good calculation, and it is high water on the bar. By jove! there are two just ahead of us, and I think both are at anchor. Doubtless others are cruising around there, indicators of the channel.'

"I ordered the helm put hard a-starboard, directing the wheelman to run between the two blockaders, as it is too late to steer clear of either. Through a bank of clouds huge, grim objects grew distinctly into view and necessity forced me to run the gauntlet, trusting against hope that our transit would not arouse their vigilance. They were alert vessels, for a crackling, hissing sound was instantly followed by the fiery train of a rocket, succeeded by the dreaded calcium lights with a radiance brilliant though brief, so as to illuminate distinctly an area of miles.

" 'Heave to, or I'll sink you!' shouted a gruff, imperious voice, so near that we could fancy his speaking trumpet projected over the steamer. 'Ay, ay, sir!' was the prompt response, and to the horror of all on board I gave the order in a loud voice, 'Stop the engine!' Then was heard the boatswain's whistle, the cutting away of cutters and the tramping of boats' crews. Our impetus had caused the steamer to nearly emerge from between the Federals. Back your engines, sir, and stand by to receive my boats,' said the same stern voice. Affirmatively acknowledging the command, I whispered loud enough for the engineer to hear me, 'Full speed ahead, sir, and open wide your throttle valve.'

"The movements of the paddles for a moment deceived the Federal commander into the belief that we were really backing, but, speedily comprehending the manœuver, with very fierce execrations, he gave the order to fire. Drummond

lights were burned, doubtless to aid artillerists, but so radiated the mist as to raise our hull above the line of vision, causing the destructive missiles to play havoc with the sparse rigging instead of shattering our hull and probably exploding the nine hundred barrels of gunpowder, with which General Johnston afterwards fought the battle of Shiloh. It certainly was a miraculous escape for both blockader and blockade-runner.

"We paused not recklessly, but at the rate of sixteen knots an hour absolutely flew out of unhealthy company who discourteously followed us with exploding shells, and for some time kept up such a fusillade as to impress us with the belief that the blockaders had inaugurated a 'Kilkenny Cat Muddle,' and were polishing off each other, a supposition which I subsequently learned was partially correct.

"The breakers warned us of danger, and the smooth water indicated the channel through which we passed in safety, and at 1 o'clock in the morning we anchored off the venerable village of Smithville (now Southport). Then came the mental and physical reaction, producing a feeling of great prostration, relieved by the delightful realization of having passed through the fiery ordeal in safety and freedom.

> " 'If after every tempest came such calms,
> May the winds blow 'till they have weakened death ;
> And let laboring barks climb hill of seas
> Olympus high ! and duck again as low
> As hell's from heaven.'

"After sunrise we proceeded to Wilmington, where our cargo was quickly discharged. Having obtained our return cargo, in company with two other blockade-runners I started for Nassau; and although the sentinels of the bar presented me with affectionate souvenirs in the way of shot and shell, they did but little damage. My companions came to grief, thereby adding to the prize fund that was shared by the government with the officers of the blockade squadron."

Shortly after joining the Confederacy, Captain Maffitt went to England, took command of the blockade-runner *Lilian,* of which this compiler was purser, and returned to the Confederacy through the port of Wilmington. He was

then ordered to relieve Captain Cooke at Plymouth, N. C., from the command of the *Albemarle,* which had been so wonderfully constructed and handled by Captain Cooke in the attack on the *Southfield* and *Miami.* From this duty Captain Maffitt was soon relieved and ordered to the command of the *Owl,* one of the blockade-runners purchased by the Government in England. The 21st of December, 1864, found him on board the *Owl,* at Wilmington, receiving her cargo of 750 bales of cotton. With three other blockade-runners in company, he started for the bar. He escaped the Federal sentinels "without the loss of a rope yarn," though one of his companions came to grief through an accident to her machinery. Their destination was St. George's, Bermuda, which they reached in safety and found several steamers loaded and anxiously awaiting news from the Federal expedition under General Butler against Fort Fisher. A Halifax steamer brought in the Northern papers which apprised them of the failure of the expedition; and in company with six other steamers and many gallant spirits the *Owl* started on her return to Dixie, much cheered by the joyful news. In the meantime another expedition, fitted out under General Terry and Admiral Porter, had been successful, and the river was in possession of the Federals. In communication with Lockwood's Folly, all was reported quiet and Fisher still intact. Captain Maffitt steamed for the Cape Fear. At 8 o'clock it was high water on the bar and the moon would not rise before 11. Approaching the channel he was surprised to see but one sentinel guarding the entrance. Eluding him, he passed in.

Some apprehension was excited by a conflagration at Bald Head and non-response to his signals; but, as Fort Caswell looked quiet and natural, he decided to anchor off the fort wharf. He was immediately interviewed by the chief of ordnance and artillery, E. S Martin, and another officer, who informed him of the state of affairs, and that the train was already laid for blowing up Fort Caswell. Gun-boats were approaching, and in great distress Captain Maffitt hastily departed. The solitary blockader pursued him furiously for some time, and far out at sea he heard the explosion that

announced the fate of Caswell. As his cargo was important and much needed, Captain Maffitt determined to make an effort to enter the port of Charleston, although he had been informed that it was more closely guarded than ever before.

The rest of the story is told in Captain Maffiitt's inimitable style:

"The history of the five steamers, in whose company I sailed from the harbor of St. George's, is briefly told.

"Captain Wilkinson, the late gallant commander of the *Chickamauga,* was too experienced and keen a cruiser to be caught in a trap. Convinced from observation that there was 'something rotten in the state of Denmark,' he judiciously returned to Bermuda. The remaining three were decoyed into New Inlet by the continuance of Mound light, and became easy prey under the following circumstances. First, the *Stag,* with several English officers on board as passengers, deceived by Admiral Porter's cuteness, crossed the bar, and, as was customary, anchored under the mound, then to abide the usual visit of inspection from the boarding officer of Fort Fisher. Waiting for some time without receiving the official call, the captain naturally concluded it had been deferred until daylight. He therefore directed the steward to serve the entertainment that had been elaborately prepared to celebrate their safe arrival in the Confederacy. The gastronomic hidalgo flourished his baton of office, and escorted his guests to the festive board. In shouts of revelry and with flowing bumpers, the jocund party huzzahed for Dixie, and sang her praises in songs of adulation that made the welkin ring, and aroused the seamen from their peaceful slumber. A pause from exhaustion having occurred in their labor of justice to the luxurious repast gave to an English captain a desired opportunity to ventilate in appropriate sentiments his appreciation of the joyful occasion. Mysteriously rapping to enjoin attention, in the silence that followed, he solemnly arose. At a wave of his dexter, the steward, all alertness, replenished the glasses.

" 'Gentlemen,' said the captain, 'after a successful voyage, fraught with interesting incidents and excitements, we have anchored upon the soil of battleworn, grand old Dixie. We

come not as mercenary adventurers to enlist under the banner of the Confederacy, but like true knights errant to join as honorable volunteers the standard of the bravest lance in Christendom, that of the noble, peerless Lee. (Cheers—'hear hear") In gaining this Palestine of our chivalrous aspirations, we have successfully encountered the more than ordinary perils of the sea in storm, the lingering chase, and hazards of the blockade. Through all vicissitudes there was a mind to conceive, a hand to guide, a courage to execute. Gentlemen, I propose the health, happiness, and speedy promotion of the officer who merits these commendations—our worthy commander.'

"Mingled with vociferous applause came the customary hip! hip! huzzah! hip! hip! huz-

"The half uttered huzzah froze like an icicle on the petrified lips of the orator, who—

> " 'With wild surprise,
> As if to marble struck, devoid of sense,
> A stupid moment, motionless stood '

as the apparition of a Federal midshipman appeared upon the cabin stairway.

" 'Who commands this steamer?' was the Federal's interrogatory

" 'I am that unhappy individual,' groaned the commander as reminiscences of a long confinement came painfully to his mind.

" 'You are a prize to Admiral Porter's squadron, and I relieve you from all further responsibility. Gentlemen, as paroled prisoners, you are at leisure to finish your repast.'

"The withering enunciation of capture blighted like a black frost the hopeful blossoms that had under the inspiring influence of the sparkling Epernay, bubbled into poetic existence One by one the lights soon faded in this banquet hall deserted, their last glimmer falling mournfully on the debris of the unfinished congratulatory repast. Ere an hour elapsed two more unfortunates, lured by the channel lights, entered and likewise anchored off the mound, and became a prey to Admiral Porter's fleet.

"My cargo being important and the capture of Fort Fisher

and Cape Fear cutting me off from Wilmington, I deemed it my duty to make an effort to enter the harbor of Charleston in order to deliver the much needed supplies. I had been informed that the blockade of that port was more stringently and numerically guarded than ever before since the beginning of hostilities. The *Owl's* speed was more accommodated to the necessary time of arriving off the bar, which was 10 p. m. Throughout the day vigilant steamers were seen along the shore inspecting inlets and coves regardless of their want of capacity for blockade purposes. This spirit of inspection and watchfulness was most assiduous, as if an order had been issued to overhaul even the coast gallinippers to see that aid and comfort in the shape of muskets and pistols were not smuggled into the needy Confederacy. Ocasionally one of these constables of the sea would fire up and make a dash after the *Owl;* a little more coal and stirring up of the fire draft was sufficient to start the blockade-runner off with such admirable speed as to convince the Federal that he was after the fleetest steamer that ever eluded the guardians of the channel-ways.

"Seasonably making the passage, 9 o'clock p. m., found us not far from the mouth of Maffitt's Channel. Anticipating a trying night and the bare possibility of capture, two bags were slung and suspended over the quarter by a stout line. In these bags were placed the government mail not yet delivered, all private correspondence, and my war journal, including the cruise of the *Florida,* besides many other papers. An intelligent quartermaster was ordered to stand by the bags with a hatchet, and the moment capture became inevitable, to cut adrift and let them sink.

"When on the western tail end of Rattlesnake Shoal, we encountered streaks of mist and fog that enveloped stars and everything for a few moments when it would become quite clear again. Running cautiously in one of these obscurations, a sudden light in the haze disclosed that we were about to run into an anchored blockader. We had bare room with a hard-a-port helm to avoid him some fifteen or twenty feet, when their officer on deck called out, 'Heave to, or I'll sink you!' The order was unnoticed and we received his entire

broadside, that cut away turtle back, perforated forecastle and tore up bulwarks in front of our engine room, wounding twelve men, some severely, some slightly.

"The quartermaster stationed by the mail bags was so convinced that we were captured that he instantly used his hatchet, and sent them well-moored to the bottom; hence my meagre account of the cruise of the *Florida*. Rockets were fired as we passed quickly out of his range of sight, and Drummond lights lit up the animated surroundings of a swarm of blockaders, which commenced an indiscriminate discharge of artillery. We could not understand the reason of this bombardment, and, as we picked our way out of the melee, concluded that several blockade-runners must have been discovered feeling their way into Charleston.

"After the war, in conversing with the officer commanding on that occasion, he said that a number of the steamers of the blockade were commanded by inexperienced volunteer officers, who were sometimes overzealous and excitable, and hearing the gun-boat firing into me, and seeing her rockets and signal lights, they thought that innumerable blockade-runners were forcing a passage into the harbor; hence the indiscriminate discharge of artillery which was attended with unfortunate result to them. This was my last belligerent association with blockade-running. Entering the harbor of Galveston and finding it in the possession of Federals, I promptly checked progress and retreated. The last order issued by the Navy Department when all hope for the cause had departed, was for me to deliver the *Owl* to Frazier, Trenholm & Co., in Liverpool; which I accordingly did."

GEO. C. M'DOUGAL, A REMARKABLE BLOCKADE-RUNNER.

The most successful blockade runner of the four years' war, the man who began at the beginning as chief engineer of the first steamer, and ended his career in the same capacity at the termination of the Confederacy, is one of the quietest, most unobtrusive persons who walks the streets of Wilmington. A stranger interested in the heroic stories of the war, would never single him out as a fearless, intrepid engineer, who bore the highest record of sixty-five successful

voyages through the blockade, and who was only once captured during his four years' service at sea, but would more likely suppose him to be the owner of a timber raft or a well-to-do farmer who had come to see about the chances of a rise in cotton. He might talk to him all day and never be the wiser, for this modest man, Mr. George C. McDougal, is not given to stories of his own exploits, and is only known to those who appreciate his sterling worth and who have the privilege of his friendship.

At the close of the war, Mr. McDougal retired to Rosindale, on the Carolina Central Railroad, where he engaged in turpentine distilling and in general merchandise for ten or fifteen years until the business becoming unprofitable, he gave it up. His product in spirits turpentine and rosin were so carefully prepared and handled that the mark "G. C. McD." became a favorite brand, especially in Baltimore, to which point many thousands of his barrels were shipped from Wilmington. Strictly honorable in all his dealings, accurate and painstaking in every detail, his name in trade as in his profession "goes" everywhere he is known without question. He still retains his residence in Wilmington and spends a part of his time near the scene of his blockade-running exploits.

He began his professional life as chief engineer of one of the steamers plying between Wilmington and Charleston before the building of the railroads, and at the outbreak of the war was selected as chief engineer of the Confederate steamer *Gordon,* by her well-known commander, Captain Thomas J. Lockwood, his brother-in-law. Lockwood was one of the most capable blockade runners of the war, and as long as he had the benefit of Mr. McDougal's superior mechanical skill and quick judgment, was very successful. They were together in the *Gordon,* the *Kate,* the *Elizabeth,* and in several other boats subsequently, and when Lockwood went abroad to take command of his splendid new steamer, the *Colonel Lamb,* McDougal was made chief engineer of the little *Sirene,* which proved to be the most successful blockade-runner of the war, because the Mascot went with her. If they made a landfall on the darkest night and McDougal ascer-

tained the bearings within a hundred miles of Cape Fear bar, he could tell by his revolutions and by the scraping of the ship's bottom on the lumps usually formed near the coast inlets all the way up or down, the exact position of his steamer from hour to hour until the goal was reached. His thorough knowledge of the coast, his coolness under fire and his never failing good judgment extricated the *Sirene* from many tight places when the captain was at his wit's end.

On one occasion in the *Kate,* Lockwood had run inside the line of blockaders at the main bar some distance up the beach, and suddenly took the ground while jammed between an anchored man-of-war and the breakers. The blockader did not see him, although so near that no one on board the *Kate* was permitted to speak above a whisper. The tide was near the last of the ebb and there were only a few hours of darkness in which to work. McDougal, always ready for an emergency, had promptly loaded the safety valve down with a bag of iron castings to prevent any noise from escaping steam, and when it became absolutely necessary the steam was blown off very gently under the water. The boats were lowered noiselessly and several passengers and a lot of valuables landed in the surf on the lee side of the vessel with orders to proceed to Fort Caswell in the distance. At first it seemed impossible to save the ship as any noise from her paddles would inevitably have led to her destruction by the blockaders, which were seen plainly only a cable's length from the *Kate's* perilous position. Lockwood held a consultation with his trusted engineer, and decided to open the gangway and quietly slide overboard a lot of lead wire in heavy coils, which was part of the inward cargo, and which was intended to be cut into bullets by the Confederate Government. This served to lighten the ship and also as an effectual bulkhead which prevented the vessel from working higher up on the beach when the tide turned, and the discharge went on for some time without apparent effect; but the rising tide soon after began to bump the bilges of the vessel against the sand bank inside. Lockwood proposed an attempt to back clear or to beach her at once, but the "Boss," as McDougal was called, calmly showed him that unless they were sure of float-

ing clear on the first attempt they would never be permitted to make a second trial, as the paddles would surely betray them to the fleet. Another fifteen minutes that seemed an hour of suspense, and the captain again urged immediate action, but the imperturbable engineer said: "Wait a little longer, Oakie; she is rising every minute; let us be sure of getting off before we make the effort." Meantime the bumping increased and at last with everything in readiness and a full head of steam, the engines were reversed full speed, and the *Kate* quickly afloat and responding to the wheel, gallantly passed the blockading fleet in the gray dawn and shortly afterwards anchored under the guns of Fort Caswell. She had hardly swung to the anchor before she was seen by the disappointed blockaders who sent shell after shell flying after her, bursting in such uncomfortable proximity, that the *Kate* was moved up to Mrs. Stuart's wharf at Smithville, where the shell and solid shot still followed them, many passing in a line more than a thousand yards beyond the wharf. With the aid of a good glass a man could be seen in the foretop of the Federal flagship with a flag in his hand which he waved to right or left as he saw the effect of the firing; this enabled the gunners to better their aim until the shells struck just astern of the *Kate* or passed in a line ahead of the vessel. On a closer approach of the fleet they were driven off by Fort Caswell's heaviest guns. The *Kate* and her crew were in great peril on this occasion, owing to the fact that there were a thousand barrels of gunpowder on board for the Confederacy, making the risk from the shells extremely hazardous. Mr. McDougal said to me on this occasion that when the Yankees began shelling them at Fort Caswell, a detachment of soldiers was being embarked for Wilmington on the Confederate transport, *James T Petteway,* and that when the first shell struck the beach near the *Petteway,* the whole company broke ranks and ran like rabbits for the fort again.

Some time ago the Wilmington Daily *Review* published an account of the recovery of a large lot of lead wire from the bottom of the sea near Fort Caswell. This was doubtless part of the *Kate's* cargo thrown overboard as described.

On one occasion the *Sirene* nearly fell into a trap, but was

saved by the cool judgment and remarkable skill of her pilot, John Hill. Captain Ryan had anchored during the day at Smithville, in full view of the blockading fleet, intending to run out after dark. At sunset the squadron concentrated around the western bar, leaving only one guard ship at the main bar, and the *Sirene* was accordingly run that night for the apparently unguarded channel. She had scarcely crossed the main bar, however, before she ran into a blockader, evading which she ran afoul of another, then a third, fourth and fifth. The sea was alive with cruisers. At that moment the ship was slowed down and Hill said to McDougal: "What do you think of this, boss?" to which he immediately replied: "They have played us a Yankee trick, John, by making a show of force at the western bar before nightfall, and after dark concentrating at main bar to receive us with open arms. Our only chance is to get back inside and race for the western bar." It was a difficult undertaking to get the ship round again, requiring the most delicate handling, surrounded as she was with a hostile fleet, but Hill was equal to it, and evading each blockader, with his master hand on the wheel, brought her slowly back inside again without a shot being fired. Then the race for life began. "Now, let her go!" said he. McDougal was down in the engine room on the instant where Barbot, first assistant, was on duty. "Have you plenty of water in the boilers?" "Aye, aye, sir." "Then off with your pumps, down with the damper, shut the flue caps, prick out the fires, and give her the throttle as fast as steam rises!" In a few minutes the engines were driving furiously. Niemeyer, the second assistant, said they were trying to see which could get over the bow first. The little ship went flying past Fort Caswell, and ignoring the slue, drove straight over the western bar with not a blockader in sight! There were others not so fortunate, however, as several captures were made by this ruse of the Federal fleet until it became generally known, and even then the blockade-runners were puzzled because the changes of the fleet were irregular and always uncertain.

THE CONFEDERATE STATES SIGNAL CORPS—FREDERICK W. GREGORY, A SUCCESSFUL OPERATOR.

The Confederate States Signal Corps frequently rendered some very efficient service to the blockade runners after they had succeeded in getting between the blockaders and the beach, where they were also in danger of the shore batteries until their character became known at the forts. As the signal system developed, a detailed member was sent out with every ship, and so important did this service become that signal officers, as they were called, were occasionally applied for by owners or captains of steamers in the Clyde or at Liverpool, before sailing for Bermuda or Nassau to engage in running the blockade. The first attempt to communicate with the shore batteries was a failure, and consequently the service suffered some reproach for a while, but subsequent practice with intelligent, cool-headed men resulted in complete success, and some valuable ships, with still more valuable cargoes, were saved from capture or destruction by the intervention of the signal service, when owing to the darkness and bad landfall, the captain and pilot were alike unable to recognize their geographical position.

To Mr. Frederick W Gregory, of Crowells, N C., belongs the honor of the first success as a signal operator in this service. Identified with the corps from the beginning of the blockade, and with the Cape Fear, at Price's Creek station, which was for a long time in his efficient charge, he brought to this new and novel duty an experience and efficiency equalled by few of his colleagues and surpassed by none. It was well said of him that he was always ready and never afraid, two elements of the almost unvarying success which attended the ships to which he was subsequently assigned. It was my good fortune to be intimately associated with Mr. Gregory for nearly two years during which we had many ups and downs together as shipmates aboard and as companions ashore. He was of the few young men engaged in blockade-running who successfully resisted the evil influences and depraved associations with which we were continually surrounded. Unselfish and honorable in all his relations with his fellows, courageous as a lion in time of danger, he

was an honor to his State and to the cause which he so worthily represented. During a recent visit to Wilmington, after an interval of nearly thirty years, Mr. Gregory gave me the following narrative, which will doubtless prove of interest.

"Sometime early in 1863, the Confederate Government purchased on the Clyde (I think) two steamers for the purpose of running the blockade. The first to arrive was the *Giraffe*. While in the Cape Fear, Captain Alexander, who had charge of the signal corps at Smithville, suggested the propriety of putting a signal officer aboard to facilitate the ship's entering the port at night, by the use of two lights, a red and a white, covered with a shade in front of the globe to lift up and down, by which we could send messages as we did with the flag on land in the day, and with a torch at night; the red light representing the wave to the right and the white light the wave to the left. After some consultation, General Whiting ordered Captain Alexander to send up a signal officer to join the *Giraffe*, and Robert Herring was detailed for that purpose and sent to Wilmington, where the lights were prepared and he went aboard. The *Giraffe* went out and returned successfully, but from some cause—I never understood why—Herring failed to attract the attention of the land force and sent no message ashore. In the meantime, the other steamer, the *Cornubia*, arrived in port, and Captain Alexander having been ordered elsewhere and Lieutenant Doggett having been sent down from Richmond to take charge of the signal corps, General Whiting ordered a signal officer to the *Cornubia*, and I was detailed and sent to Wilmington to prepare the lights and report on board.

"We cleared the bar successfully, with Captain Burroughs in command and C. C. Morse as pilot, and had a good voyage to St. George's, Bermuda, where we unloaded our cargo of cotton and reloaded with supplies for the Southern army. On our return trip we made the land fifty or sixty miles above Fort Fisher, and coasted down to the inlet, our intention being to get near the land inside the blockade fleet, which was obliged to keep off a certain distance on account of shoal water. As well as I remember, when within fifteen or twenty miles of Fort Fisher, Captain Burroughs sent for me to

come on the bridge, and asked if I had my lights ready and if I thought I could send a message ashore, Pilot Morse in the meantime telling me that he would let me know when we were opposite the signal station on land, where a constant watch was kept all night for our signal. We had not gone far before Morse told me that we were opposite the post. We were feeling our way very slowly in the dark. I was put down on the deck with the gangway open, my lights facing the land and a screen behind, when I was ordered to call the station. The officers and sailors were highly interested in the movement and crowded around to watch the proceedings. I called but a few times, when I was answered from the shore by a torch. I turned to Captain Burroughs and told him that I had the attention of the land forces and asked what message he wished to send. He replied as follows: 'Colonel Lamb: Steamer *Cornubia*. Protect me. Burroughs.' I got the O. K. for the message from shore, and saw the corps on land call up one station after another and transmit my message to Fort Fisher miles ahead of us, and afterwards learned that General Whiting was notified by telegraph of the arrival of the *Cornubia* before she crossed the bar that night. When we arrived at the fort, we found Colonel Lamb down on the point with his Whitworth guns ready to protect us if necessary. The success of this attempt gave an impetus to the signal corps, and from that time every steamer that arrived applied to the Government for a signal officer before leaving port."

The name of the *Cornubia* was subsequently changed to *Lady Davis,* in honor of the wife of President Davis, at Richmond, and Captain Gale, an officer in the old navy who had gone over to the Confederacy, was placed in command. "About 20 December, 1863," Mr. Gregory adds, "we left Bermuda with a cargo for Wilmington, in charge of Captain Gale, with Mr. Robert Grissom as pilot and myself as signal officer. We made land some miles above Wilmington, apparently through bad navigation, almost as far north as Cape Lookout, and when opposite Masonboro, in coasting down, we observed rockets going up behind us and not long after, they were going up directly ahead of us. We were running

at full speed when to our consternation rockets appeared quite near abreast of us; in fact we were, apparently, surrounded by cruisers. There was a hurried consultation on the bridge. I was at my post with my lights waiting to be called when the order was given to head for the beach and drive the ship high and dry. The blockaders were then cannonading us very heavily When our good old ship struck the beach she ploughed up the sand for a considerable distance, and keeled over on her side. The boats were lowered and every man was told to look out for himself, which I assure you we lost no time in doing, as we had scarcely left the ship before the enemy were boarding her from the opposite side and firing briskly with small arms. They followed us to the beach, and kept up a heavy fire from cannon and small arms for an hour. We dodged about in the bulrushes as best we could and made our way towards the fort. Captain Thomas, acting chief officer, took ashore with him two fine chronometers, and selected me to carry one for him, but after beating around with them in the rushes for an hour or so, we became exhausted and had to throw them away. I have no doubt they are still lying in the rushes on the beach. We at last met a company of soldiers who protected and escorted us to the Sound. We forded the Sound and remained all night, and we were sent to Wilmington next day, overland, by mule teams. I always thought that it was a shame for the *Lady Davis* to be lost, having no doubt we could have put to sea and escaped on the occasion referred to, although I was not informed as to the supply of coal on board. Captain Gale had been very sick the day before and was too feeble to leave the ship, so remained on board and was captured and taken to Fort Warren.

"The United States steamer *James Adger* commanded by Captain James Foster, of Bloomington, Ind., had the good fortune to capture our ship and hauled her off as a prize. Strangely enough, Captain Foster was an intimate friend of the lady whom I afterwards married in his native town, and he frequently related the incident referred to, thinking it a great joke that he forced her husband to take to the water.

"After reaching Wilmington and supplying myself with clothing and a hat, having lost mine in the rush for the shore, I immediately went on board the steamer *Flora,* with Captain Horner, and made a successful run to Bermuda. The *Flora* was considered too slow and sent back to England. I then joined the *Index,* commanded by Captain Marshall, and made several successful voyages on her, but she, too, was condemned as too slow and was returned to Glasgow I had a thrilling adventure on this ship on a homeward voyage, when for the first time in all my experience we made land opposite Bald Head light on Frying Pan Shoals. As we were coming around to New Inlet we fell in with a Federal cruiser who was so close when we discovered her that we could easily discern the manœuvers of her men on deck. She seemed to have anchors weighed and was moving about and could have easily captured us, so we were at a loss to understand why she did not fire into us. Some of our people decided that she wished to secure us as a prize without injury, as she steamed alongside of us for four miles, and all at once put her helm hard down and went close under our stern, attempting to go between us and the shoals. I remember the remark of our pilot, Tom Grissom, to Captain Marshall: 'If she follows us on that course, I will wreck her before we reach the inlet.' The cruiser had only steamed half a mile or so, when she suddenly passed from view, and in a few moments a rocket went up near where we last saw her, which was repeated at short intervals. After a few minutes rockets could be seen going up from the whole squadron, and there was evidently a great commotion among them on account of our pursuer who seemed suddenly to have gotten into serious trouble. We passed through the inlet without further molestation, as the entire fleet had centered their attention upon their unfortunate cruiser which had so suddenly gone down. When morning dawned, it revealed the Federal cruiser hard and fast on the reef with the other vessels of the squadron working manfully to relieve her. Colonel Lamb went down to the extreme point with his Whitworth guns and opened fire upon her. A month or so afterwards, while in Bermuda, I saw a spirited sketch of the whole affair in Frank

Leslie's *Illustrated News,* giving an account of the wreck and of an investigation of the conduct of the officers in charge. I think the vessel was the gun-boat *Petrel.*

"After the *Index* was sent back to Glasgow, Captain Marshall took charge of the steamer *Rouen,* and I joined her as signal officer. We loaded our cargo and started for Wilmington, and on the third day out sighted a steamer about 1 o'clock p. m., which proved to be the United States steamer *Keystone State,* which captured us after a hot chase of six hours. We were all transferred to the *Margaret and Jessie,* a former blockade-runner which had been captured and utilized as a cruiser. We were taken to New York and confined in the Tombs prison. Subsequently all of the officers and crew were discharged except four of us, and we were transferred to the Ludlow street jail for further investigation. After about six weeks imprionment, we succeeded in effecting our escape through the medium of English gold, after which we went down to East river and found an old barque loaded with staves and hay for St. Thomas. Each one of us gave the captain $25.00 in gold, with the understanding that he would sail by St. George's, Bermuda, and land us there. We reached this place after several weeks to find it devastated by yellow fever. Many personal friends died with this scourge, among whom was our lamented purser of the *Index,* Mr. Robert Williams, a well-known native of Wilmington, much beloved for his personal qualities. I made one voyage on the steamer *Owl,* which became famous under the command of Captain John N. Maffitt. After this I joined the new steel steamer *Susan Beirne,* commanded by Captain Martin, of which my old friend and shipmate, James Sprunt, was purser. After a very hazardous voyage in this ship, during which we weathered a fearful gale and nearly foundered, we returned to Nassau to learn from Captain Maffitt of the steamer *Owl,* which had just arrived, that the last port of the Confederacy had been closed, and that the war was practically over.

"A small party of almost reckless Confederates, composed of our chief engineer, Mr. Lockhart; our second engineer, Mr. Carroll; our purser, Mr. James Sprunt, and the purser

of another steamer in port, Mr. William Green, bought the steam launch belonging to our ship, a boat about forty feet in length and six feet breadth of beam, and made a perilous voyage by way of Green Turtle Cay, to Cape Carnavoral, Fla., where they landed in the surf after a two weeks' voyage, and proceeding on foot one hundred and seventy-five miles to Ocala, Fla., succeeded in evading the Federal pickets and sentries at various points along the route, and at last reached Wilmington, having occupied about two months on the way. I chose an easier and more agreeable route and proceeded *via* New York to visit some relatives in Indiana, returning later to North Carolina to find peace restored to our unhappy and desolated country."

DISTINGUISHED ENGLISHMEN WHO AIDED THE CONFEDERACY.

One of the most distinguished Englishmen who espoused the cause of the South during the Civil War, was the Hon. Francis C. Lawley, a kinsman of Gladstone, who was subsequently editor of the famous London *Telegraph,* and later a member of Parliament. He came to General Lee as a *Times* war correspondent, accompanied by Lord Wolseley, with whom he ran the blockade. The personal devotion of these distinguished strangers was warmly reciprocated by the great Southern chieftain, to whom both Wolseley and Roberts have referred as one of the foremost military leaders in history, Wolseley placing General Lee before all others.

A few years ago Mr. Lawley wrote in his inimitable style several papers in the daily London *Telegraph* on the subject of his personal experience in blockade-running. His reference to a voyage in my ship, the *Lilian,* prior to my appointment as purser for three voyages, led to a pleasant correspondence in which we exchanged notes on the same theme. I trust therefore, that this is a sufficient apology to the *Telegraph* for copying that part of Mr. Lawley's most interesting allusion to blockade-running at Wilmington:

"In three previous papers I have described some of the adventures which befell Lord Wolseley and myself when engaged in running the blockade on the Potomac river during the American Civil War, and also the hardships endured by

the Duke of Devonshire (then Lord Hartington) and Colonel Charles Leslie, M. P., when they successfully accomplished the same feat in the upper waters of that majestic river, which divides the North from the South. Less fortunate than ourselves, the late Mr. George Lawrence was fired upon, wounded and taken prisoner not far from the awful gorge where the Potomac cuts its way through the rocks at Harper's Ferry, and thence glides rapidly onward to the city of Washington. It should be premised that my experience of blockade-running both by land and sea, as a special war correspondent between 1862 and 1865, were more extensive than in my printed account of them I shall ever attempt to delineate. All that I now propose to do—I hope without wearying my readers—is to contrast the two modes of getting into and out of the Southern States when, with an energy and tenacity which did the Washington Government and the gallant soldiers and sailors under its command infinite credit, it was resolved that were it possible not an ounce of quinine or other necessary medicine, not a musket or a cannon, not a copper cap or a pound of gunpowder, not a tooth brush or a pair of lady's stays—the last two articles being in almost universal request before the war had entered its third year—not a suit of uniform or a military great coat should enter Dixie Land from the hour when the blockade was proclaimed until the 'rebels' had reached their last ditch. Fortunately for the latter, it was not possible, even when the war was in its final stage, to prevent courageous and experienced blockade-runners from slipping through the meshes and evading the traps plentifully set to catch them.

"In every great emergency that arises on a large scale in human affairs, a new race or profession of hardy men, and occasionally of equally hardy women, springs into existence to meet it. I do not believe that any of the soldiers who fought in a war wherein the most magnificent courage was exhibited on both sides, were braver men than some of the captains, officers, engineers and common sailors engaged month after month and year after year, in defying the blockading fleets and their satellites—the swift cruisers—to keep them out of Wilmington, Charleston, Mobile, Galveston, and

one or two other Southern ports. A grander school to teach sailors their business, and to cultivate in them the presence of mind, readiness of resource, iron nerve, grim tenacity, and power of magnetizing all around them, which every fresh revelation as to Lord Nelson's wondrous career showed that he possessed, it would be impossible to imagine. Let it not be forgotten, moreover, that excepting a few Southerners, the captains, officers and engineers of the blockade-running craft were Englishmen, Scotchmen and Irishmen. Were I to attempt to pay my humble tribute to each of the captains I knew—and I knew them nearly all—who ran into the Cape Fear river, upon which Wilmington, in North Carolina, stands, the space at my command would be exhausted before I could begin to do them justice. Their names might be as familiar to their compatriots as those of the heroic commanders of the men-of-war that won Copenhagen, the Nile and Trafalgar, were it not that the Muse of History is often compelled to be mute about some of the pluckiest of human achievements. Because Captains Hobart, Hewett, Murray-Aynsley, and Burgoyne, all of the Royal navy, were obliged to change their names and resign their commissions before engaging in what international law declared to be a surreptitious trade, they can never share the fame belonging to Nelson's captains, although in daring and resource they never had superiors. More fortunate than the bearers of her Majesty's commission, Captain Steele, of England's mercantile navy, ran the blockade in his own name more frequently than any of his congeners, and all that I have said of Hobart, Hewett and Murray-Aynsley—I omit Captain Burgoyne because he only made two or three trips—is at least equally applicable to Captain Steele (a Yorkshireman), and also to Captain Wilkinson and Captain Halpin. Wilkinson, a Confederate naval officer, ran the blockade twenty-one times in ten months and Halpin, of the British mercantile marine was, as a blockade-runner conspicuous for his courage and coolness, and afterward commanded the *Great Eastern* when she was laying ocean cables. 'Nor,' to quote from a capital paper contributed by the still living Colonel Lamb, of the Confederate army, to the Southern Historical Papers, 'must

plucky Tom Taylor be forgotten, super-cargo of the *Banshee* and the *Night Hawk*, who, by his coolness and daring, escaped with a boat's crew from the hands of the Federals, after capture off Fort Fisher, and was endeared to the children of the Confederacy as the Santa Claus of the War.' This tribute to Mr. Thos. E. Taylor, who is happily still living, and has lately given the world a fascinating little volume called 'Running the Blockade,' is not one whit handsomer than he deserves.

"There are four works more or less upon the same subject as that to which Mr. Thos. E. Taylor devotes his pen, which should be carefully studied by those—may I include the Board of Admiralty among them?—who wish to understand the blockade and its lessons aright. The first is by Prof. J. R. Soley, of the United States Navy, and is called 'The Blockade and the Cruisers.' It was published at New York by Charles Scribners & Sons, in 1883. The second is 'Never Caught; or Personal Adventures Connected with Twelve Successful Trips in Blockade Running During the American Civil War, 1863-'64,' by Captain Roberts, *alias* Captain the Hon. Augustus Hobart, afterwards Hobart Pasha. It was published by John Camden Hotten (London) in 1867. The third is 'The Secret Service of the Confederate States in Europe; or How the Confederate Cruisers Were Equipped,' by James D. Bulloch, naval representative of the Confederate States in Europe during the Civil War; two volumes published by Richard Bentley (London) in 1883. The fourth is 'Running the Blockade; a Personal Narrative of Adventures, Risks and Escapes During the American Civil War,' by Thomas E. Taylor, published by John Murray (London), 1896.

"Three out of the four are written by sympathizers with the Southern cause, the fourth by Prof. Soley, of the United States Navy. Of the four, perhaps the most valuable contribution to universal history is Captain Bulloch's 'Secret Service of the Confederate States in Europe;' as in addition to revealing much about the blockade, how it was maintained and how it was violated, there is in it some useful information as to how the Confederate agents in Europe managed

to get the *Alabama,* the *Florida* and other armed cruisers to sea; how their crews were engaged and their armaments put on board; how they succeeded in coaling and taking in provisions, and many other important items with which the British Admiralty ought to be thoroughly familiar. There cannot be the smallest doubt that in the event of England being engaged in a big war, any amount of pirate vessels—the phrase universally applied by the ambassadors, politicians, and newspapers of the North to the *Alabama, Florida, Sumter* and their sisters—would issue from American ports under the banner of the belligerent opposing us, and seek to drive English commerce off the seas, as effectually as a few British-built cruisers carrying the Confederate flag dealt with the commercial ships of the Northern States between 1861 and 1865. Captain Bulloch's two volumes are written in a thoroughly fair and honest spirit, and the reports of trials in the prize courts of the United Kingdom, of its colonies and of foreign countries, and other official documents, speeches and dispatches which they contain give the work a value which within the same compass cannot elsewhere be found. Let us take the following quotation as an example:

"'The *Alabama* left Liverpool on 29 July, 1862. She was commissioned off the island of Terceira on 24 August, and kept at sea almost incessantly for two years. During that period she was rarely in harbor and never long enough to effect a thorough overhauling of rigging, hull or engines. While cruising she was mostly kept under sail with screw up, but was purposely taken to the great thoroughfare of American marine traffic where it was reasonable to expect that United States warships would be sent to keep guard. Hence she was in constant expectation of having to run or to fight. Any morning's light might find her close to an enemy's ship, and prudence required a sharp lookout and constant readiness. Her engines got rest, but her boilers none. The fires were never allowed to go wholly out, but were banked; and the water was kept in such condition that steam might be quickly got up. The chief engineer has since told me that rarely had he an opportunity to cool the boilers and clean flues and pipes. A great portion of her cruising was in the

tropics, although she faced every climate. The icy fogs of the Newfoundland banks, the steaming moisture of the equatorial belt, the burning sun of the Malacca and China Seas, all these in quick succession tested her endurance and quality The wear and tear of such a cruise, with no means to repair injuries except what might be found in captured vessels, told upon the little craft at last, so that early in 1864 Captain Semmes began to think of her requirements, and coming back round the Cape of Good Hope into the Atlantic, worked leisurely up through the paths of commerce, capturing a prize now and then, but finding few; for by that time the American mercantile flag had well nigh disappeared.'

"This passage will, I hope, call renewed attention in influential quarters to Captain Bulloch's monumental work. But justice requires that I should turn to its correlative from a Northern pen, and afterwards to their two lighter sisters. Prof. Soley's little book is valuable, because, published eighteen years after the end of the war, it gives authoritative statements of the strength of the Northern Navy in March, 1861, and what it grew to in March, 1865. Eighteen sailing vessels and twenty-seven steamers (forty-two in all), was the available complement at the beginning, and 671 vessels of all kinds at the end of the war. In 1865,' writes Prof. Soley, 'there were 7,600 officers and 50,000 seamen in the naval service of the Federal Government.' The work should also be studied because it gives a capital description of the four intermediary points, Bermuda, Nassau, Havana and Matamoras, from which the neutral trade into and out of the South was conducted. Every detail, showing the utter inadequacy of the Northern navy with only 42 vessels (37 of which were modern) to maintain at first an effective blockade over more than 3,000 miles of indented coast, is given with perfect frankness by Prof. Soley, and his book is as fair and reasonable as that of Captain Bulloch, though not quite so entertaining.

"The 'Never Caught' of Captain Roberts and the 'Running the Blockade' of Mr. Thomas E. Taylor, are equally amusing; but the latter is of higher value and more full of instruc-

ion than its tiny predecessor. Hobart Pasha was born to ıe a pirate, and in self-confidence and audacity none could urpass him. Mr. Taylor, on the other hand, though quite s brave as the object of his well deserved admiration, Cap- ain Steele, or as that universal favorite, Admiral Aynesley- Murray (who called himself for the purpose of the blockade Captain Murray, and was one of the most undemonstratively ourageous men that I ever came across), possessed little of he bounce of Hobart Pasha. For instance, 'Running the Blockade' would have been better without its introduction, vhich, although intended apparently to serve as an endorse- nent, is the least satisfactory part of the little volume. Oth- rwise, Mr. Taylor's 176 pages are so modest and so full of nterest that they might safely be recommended for Christ- nas reading to old and young. It is high time, however, in rder to justify the words at the head of this paper, that I hould now give my own experience in connection with the irst time that I ran the blockade inwards by sea.

"Early in 1864 I started from Richmond, in Virginia, nd making my way across the Potomac, reached New York *via* Washington, without mishap, though I had a still nar- rower escape from capture at Marlborough, in Maryland, han that from which Lord Wolseley, and I emerged un- scathed about seventeen months before near Port Tobacco, nd which I have already described in another paper. Upon the twentieth day after I left Richmond, I landed on Brit- ish soil at Liverpool, and can well remember how 'the sacred calm that breathed around' as I journeyed on a lovely sum- mer night from Liverpool to London, contrasted with the constant roar of angry cannon, the rattle of musketry, and the thousand daily incidents of grim-visaged war which I had just left behind me. After passing nearly four months in Europe, half in England and half in Rome, I started again from Liverpool for 'Secessia,' where, in truth, my heart, touched by the splendid courage of her sons and the tender- ness and devotion of her daughters, had remained all the time of my absence. As I was carrying back with me to Rich- mond several presents, such as books for Mr. Jefferson Davis and Mr. Benjamin, and little souvenirs to be given to some

few of my friends in the field, it was impossible to run the blockade by the Potomac. All that you could carry with you by land was a small valise, called in Yankee language a 'grip-sack,' in which moreover, you had to take good care to have no compromising documents. I resolved therefore, to run in by sea, knowing that I should be able to carry any amount of luggage on board a blockade-runner. Upon 15 May, 1864, I started from Queenstown for Halifax, Nova Scotia, on board the Cunard royal mail steamship *China,* passing on from Halifax to Bermuda in a small commercial steamer—how she did roll!—belonging to the same great steamship company. Among the funny coincidences of the war and its adjuncts that still dwell in my memory, I remember that acording to the invariable practice of the Cunard line, all hands on board were summoned to attend divine service in the saloon on Sunday morning. The captain, an engaging little fellow, and a brother Yorkshireman of mine, who talked in the broad Doric of that noble county with as rich an accent as that of Sim Templeton, the jockey, or of the late Mr. Dudley Milner, or of the present Countess of Wharnecliffe when she imitates the Yorkshire dialect, had, of course, to read the service, to which, by the way, I have often listened with delight on one of the big Cunarders between New York and Liverpool, and never have I heard it better read than by old Commodore Judkins, or by that prince of good fellows, Captain Shannon. I saw from the first that the captain was very nervous, but after sundry halts and try-backs we got successfully to the First Lesson. It was a chapter of Isaiah, containing two or three long names in the first verse, at which for a moment the poor little man gazed helplessly, then suddenly thrusting the Bible in my hand, bolted from the saloon. Of course, I had no alternative but to read the lesson and finished the rest of the service, as there was obviously no *animus revertendi* on the part of the sacred fugitive.

"On arriving at Bermuda—as lovely a little group of islands as eye could rest upon—I found that the same good luck which throughout the war attended my blockade-running efforts, did not desert me on this occasion. Two brand new

vessels, both built by Messrs. Thompson, of Glasgow, and both credited with behaving during their voyage out from England like capital sea boats, lay in the harbor of Hamilton, Bermuda, ready to sail next day for Wilmington, in North Carolina. The distance in a bee line is 674 miles, and by that time, more than two years after the commencement of the war, the sea was alive with fast Yankee cruisers, of all sizes and descriptions. From the moment that a blockade-runner left Bermuda or Nassau, she was liable to be sighted by the *Vanderbilt,* or by the *James Adger,* or some other fourteen or fifteen-knot boat, which allowed her to get some hundred miles out to sea, so that she could not double back and take shelter in a British port, and then went for her, as poor Bromley-Davenport sings, 'With the Rush of the Limited Mail.' Fortunately by that time the builders of the light gossamer craft, with three funnels apiece (the only strong and heavy articles in them being their big, tubular boilers, capable of standing a tremendous pressure of steam), knew how to send blockade-runners out to sea with a knot or two more per hour 'up their sleeves' than their fastest pursuers could boast.

"Two ships, the *Lilian* and the *Florie* lay in Hamilton harbor when I entered it on the last day of May, 1864. They seemed like a couple of beautiful steam yachts of about 500 tons, but without rigging. They were painted a dull, leaden grey color, to make them as invisible as possible at sea. Their engines were, of course, in tip-top order; plentiful supplies of Welsh steam coal brought out from England, enabled them to fill their bunkers just before starting. The weather was beautiful and everything portended a swift and successful trip. The only question still to be decided was to which of the two should I commit my fortunes. Both were to start for Wilmington next day, 1 June, and each claimed to be faster than the other. The same company owned both, and bets had been freely made by their respective crews as to which would reach Wilmington first. The *Lilian* was commanded by Captain Maffitt, an officer of the United States Navy before the war, who, however, being a North Carolinian, had followed his State when she seceded from the

Union. I knew that Captain Maffitt was a favorite of General Lee, who was always glad to relieve the strain upon his mind by listening to his old friend's sea yarns, and one glance at his resolute, straightforward face made me determine that I would go with him. He was, in truth, a fine specimen of a Carolina sailor, and the more I saw of him during our short three days and four nights voyage, the more I liked him.

"We started in the evening almost abreast of the *Florie*, our sister ship, with which we kept company until darkness fell. The sea was like a mill dam. What wind there was blew from the right quarter, and during that first night, our little company of passengers, eight in number, enjoyed themselves as Englishmen and Americans always do when there is a spice of danger and adventure in the job upon which they have embarked. The cool sea breeze was delightfully refreshing after the hot coral rocks of Bermuda, and no vigilant Yankee steamer, such as the *Rhode Island,* from whose too strenuous attentions many a blockade-running vessel had suffered on putting forth from Bermuda, seemed to be in pursuit. We all slept like tops, and when morning came a fairer sight than that which presented itself never had met my eyes at sea. Not a vessel was anywhere visible to the lookout perch—aloft in the crow's nest, the *Florie* had disappeared, the sea sparkled in the glorious sunshine, and lots of flying fish, the first that I had ever seen, emerged from the ocean, and after a short, sharp flight of two or three hundred yards dropped again into the billowy depths. I confess that I was never tired of watching them, much to Captain Maffitt's amusement, who had seen more than enough of flying fish when in command of the *Oreto,* afterwards the *Florida* with which he audaciously ran into Mobile in broad daylight, and although cut to ribands by the heavy short-distance fire of the blockaders, got safely through without being sunk, and moored his little vessel at Mobile wharf, more than thirty miles distant from Fort Morgan, the Confederate fort which guarded the entrance to Mobile Bay and kept the blockaders at a respectful distance.

"Returning to the 'airy, fairy *Lilian,*' we had got about 350 miles away from Bermuda, when Captain Maffitt's quick

eye discerned a sail upon our port bow, enveloped in a dense canopy of smoke. She lay in a part of the ocean continually swept by Federal cruisers, and our wily captain well knew that nowhere was more guile displayed by both belligerents than in connection with blockade-running. The vessel might very likely prove a trap to lure the *Lilian* on to her destruction, but after carefully scrutinizing her through his glasses, Captain Maffitt came to the conclusion that she might be on fire. Time was ineffably precious to us, but after generously exclaiming, No luck can betide a vessel which leaves a comrade in distress at sea,' our humane captain ordered our course to be altered, and bore down upon the stranger. She was soon made out to be a Federal cruiser, emitting a dense white cloud with her Cumberland coal and beating rapidly eastward in pursuit of another outward bound delinquent. The *Lilian's* helm was therefore changed and she resumed her original course.

"Meantime the fine weather had deserted us, and the noon of our third day out was so dull and dark that it was impossible to take an observation. It was generally believed by the captain and his officers that ere day dawned on the following morning it was possible that we might make a run into Wilmington, and onward we pressed. The *Lilian's* sharp bow seemed to cleave the waves like a razor, and the exhilaration of flying through the water at a speed which defied pursuit, raised our spirits to such a pitch, that Charles Mackay and Henry Russell's famous old song, 'There's a Good Time Coming, Boys!' burst in chorus from our lips, followed by such familiar Confederate war strains as—

> " 'Then let the big guns roar as they will,
> We'll be gay and happy still;
> Gay and happy, free and easy,
> We'll be gay and happy still.'

"By the way, poor Frank Vizetelly used to substitute for the third line 'Free and easy, fat and greasy,' the last words being only too suggestive of his own appearance on a hot Summer day.

"Before long, however, the captain silenced our ill-timed mirth, and soon our position, as we drew nearer and nearer

to the land, became too excited to admit of irrelevant ebullitions.

"It was impossible at such a moment to withhold one's admiration from the fitness of the vessel under our feet for the purpose for which she had been built, and also for the perfection of the system under which she was handled, and which experience had already shown to be necessary to give her and her consorts every chance of success. When night fell, not a single light was visible in any part of the ship, and no one under any circumstances was allowed to smoke, lest his cigar or cigarette or pipe might be seen by a lookout on board of one of our vigilant enemies. Steam was blown off under water, our coal made no visible smoke, and our feathering paddles no noise; our hull rose only a few feet out of the water; our only spars were two short lower masts with no yards, and only a small crow's nest in the foremast. The forward deck was constructed in the form of a turtle back to enable the *Lilian* to go through a heavy sea. Our start from Bermuda was so well timed that a moonless night and high tide were secured for our running into Wilmington. For the rest, we trusted to our speed, which, as will shortly be seen, saved our vessel next day from capture, and ourselves from the distinguished honor of passing a few months as prisoners in the Old Capitol, or in a fort off Boston or Baltimore harbor. The blockading vessels, too, were admirably managed. No lights were carried by them except on board one vessel, that in which the Flag-Admiral sailed. She changed her position every night, and the absence of strong lights on shore, discernible two or three miles away from Fort Fisher, greatly augmented the difficulty of hitting New Inlet, a narrow channel leading into the Cape Fear river. Moreover, the vessels which maintained the blockade were provided with calcium or other incandescent lights, which they flashed forth on the slightest provocation, and also with rockets which they let off in the direction a blockade-runner was taking,—talking to each other, in fact, with colored lights at night as effectually as they did with signals by day.

"It will readily be imagined that during our third night out from Bermuda, going to bed was far from our thoughts. The

night wore rapidly away; 2 o'clock, 3 o'clock, 3:30 came, but no eye peering through the thick gloom could descry the light on top of the mound at Fort Fisher. Then, as morning dawned, Captain Maffitt stopped his engines and prepared to lay to for the day between the outer and inner cordon of blockaders. It was too much to hope that for sixteen or seventeen hours of broad daylight we could escape observation in that cruiser-haunted neighborhood; nevertheless from four in the morning till 1:30 p. m., we were unmolested. Then the tall masts of a big steamer, her immense paddle wheels and lofty, black hull hove in sight from the direction of Wilmington, going at full speed, and by the keen eyes on board her, the little *Lilian* was instantly descried. Before we could get up steam fully, our gigantic enemy drew uncomfortably near, and orders were given to have all the mail bags carried by the *Lilian* made ready, in case of capture, to be dropped with weights attached to them, into the all devouring ocean. Several shots flew over our heads or dropped by our side, but going at such a pace it is not easy to hit a little vessel with projectiles fired from the unstable platform of a pursuer going fifteen knots an hour through a lumpy sea.

"Presently our beautiful little craft began to answer in earnest to the driving power within her, as a thoroughbred horse gallantly responds to the spur of his rider. As the pressure of steam ascended from fifteen pounds to twenty, from twenty to twenty-three, from twenty-three to twenty-six, and as the revolutions of the paddle mounted from twenty-six to twenty-eight, from twenty-eight to thirty-three per minute, the little vessel flew out to sea swift as a startled wild duck. Before two and a half hours had passed the hull of the big Yankee was invisible and her top-gallant sails a mere speck on the distant horizon. As, however, she and doubtless others of her sisters lay between us and Wilmington, it became necessary to run around them. Our helm accordingly was changed and as the sun dropped into the sea our pursuer, though a long way off, still hung upon our rear. There was nothing for it but to stick to our course; but such had been the speed of our flight that the inside blockading squadron was clearly sighted by us before the close of the day. Grim

and forbidding enough in all conscience the black hulls looked and so close did they lie to each other that it seemed hoping against hope to expect that a little craft like ours would pass unscathed between them or among them, taking the fire of two or three broadsides at little more than pistol range, or that she could eventually escape destruction at the hands of such formidable antagonists. But in command we had a captain who, in broad day, had braved the worst that the blockaders off Mobile could do to the little *Oreto,* without being scared or sunk. It is at such moments that you realize how paramount is the influence of a dauntless chief upon all around him; and it is felt more in so confined a space as the deck of a ship than in a great battle on land. Nevertheless, we could not but perceive—indeed, Captain Maffitt's anxious face plainly told us so—that our position was far from comfortable, pursued as we were by a vessel a few miles off to the rear, which clearly saw us, and, swiftly approaching a powerful squadron of heavily armed blockaders, which had not yet caught sight of the *Lilian's* two masts, but might do so at any moment.

"Fortunately for us, before we got close in, night fell. The crews on board the blockaders were taking their evening meal as we approached them, and I suppose the lookout were not quite so sharp as they undoubtedly became before the end of the war. Not a moment was lost by Captain Maffitt, or by our excellent pilot, a Wilmington man, when darkness had fairly settled upon the face of the deep. Silently, and with bated breath we crept slowly in, passing blockader after blockader so close that at every moment we expected a brilliant light to flash forth, turning night into day, and followed by a hurricane of shot and shell, which might easily have torn the little *Lilian* to pieces. It was destined, however, that upon this occasion she was not to receive her baptism of fire, for the shots sent after her by her big Yankee pursuer hardly deserve the name. Just as we approached the big mound, close to which Fort Fisher stands, a dark spot was discerned on the bar. It was a Federal launch groping for secrets, or perhaps sinking rocks and other obstructions into the channel immediately under the fire of Fort Fisher's

guns. I am afraid that if Captain Maffitt had seen her a little earlier he would have run her down. As matters stood, the launch escaped, and those on board were either too much scared to fire a musketry volley into us, or reluctant to do so, as Fort Fisher would doubtless have opened upon them, and, as I had many subsequent opportunities of ascertaining, her guns were seldom fired without effect upon any object within their range.

"Another moment, and we lay safe and sound below the mound, eagerly asking for news from within the Confederacy, and as eagerly questioned in our turn for news from without. The welcome extended to us by Colonel Lamb, commandant of the fort, and one of the most lovable men in existence, was so hearty that he made us regard entering the mouth of the Cape Fear river as tantamount to returning home. Moreover the *Florie* had not yet arrived, which raised the spirits of the *Lilianites* to fever heat."

Another of the distinguished commanders of blockade-running steamers was Captain Roberts (so called), of the twin screw steamer *Don*, a quick, handy little boat, admirably adapted to the trade. I had the pleasure of knowing him personally through frequent intercourse with his signal officer, a fine young fellow named Seldon, from Virginia, and we were much impressed with the superior bearing and intelligence of this remarkable man, who afterwards became famous in the war between Russia and Turkey as Hobart Pasha, Admiral and Chief of the Turkish Navy.

"Captain Roberts" was the Hon. Augustus Charles Hobart Hampden (son of the Earl of Buckinghamshire), post captain in the Royal Navy and for a time commander of Queen Victoria's yacht *Victoria and Albert*. He had seen service in the war between Emperor Nicholas, France and Great Britain in 1854, under the great Admiral Sir Charles Napier, when he commanded H. M. S. *Driver*, and after the general order, "Lads, sharpen your cutlasses," boarded the Russian warships before Cronstadt, stormed the seven forts which guarded the entrance to that harbor and sailed up the Neva even to St. Petersburg itself. Having made several runs into Wilmington during his absence from England on

leave, he returned home, and fretting under the dull routine of service ashore, accepted the command of the entire Turkish Navy, at the outbreak of the war with his old antagonists, the Russians. He died in 1886 and was buried in the English Cemetery at Scutari. Following is his account of adventures in blockade-running to Wilmington:

"We left the quay at Wilmington, cheered by the hurrahs of our brother blockade-runners, who were taking in and discharging their cargoes, and steamed a short distance down the river, where we were boarded to be searched and smoked. This latter extraordinary proceeding, called for, perhaps, by the existing state of affairs, took me altogether aback. That a smoking apparatus should be applied to a cargo of cotton seemed almost astounding. But it was so ordered, the object being to search for runaways, and, strange to say, its efficacy was apparent, when, after an hour or more's application of the process (which was by no means a gentle one) an unfortunate wretch, crushed almost to death by the closeness of his hiding place, poked with a long stick until his ribs must have been like touchwood, and smoked the color of a backwoods Indian, was dragged by the heels into daylight, ignominously put into irons and hurled into the guard boat. This discovery nearly caused the detention of the vessel on suspicion of our being the accomplice of a runaway; but after some deliberation, we were allowed to go on.

"Having steamed down the river a distance of about 20 miles, we anchored at 2 o'clock in the afternoon near its mouth. We were hidden by Fort Fisher from the blockading squadron lying off the bar, there to remain till some time after nightfall. After we anchored we went on shore to take a peep at the enemy from the batteries. Its commandant, a fine, dashing young Confederate officer (Colonel Lamb), who was a firm friend of blockade-runners, accompanied us around the fort. We counted twenty-five vessels under way; some of them occasionally ventured within range, but no sooner had one of them done so than a shot was thrown so unpleasantly near that she at once moved out again.

"We were much struck with the weakness of Fort Fisher,

which, with a garrison of 1,200 men, and only half finished, could have easily been taken at any time since the war began by a resolute body of 5,000 men making a night attack. It is true that at the time of its capture it was somewhat stronger than at the time I visited it, but even then its garrison was comparatively small, and its defences unfinished. I fancy the bold front so long shown by its occupiers had much to do with the fact that such an attack was not attempted till just before the close of the war.

"The time chosen for our starting was 11 o'clock, at which hour the tide was at its highest on the bar at the entrance of the river. Fortunately the moon set about 10 and as it was very cloudy we had every reason to expect a pitch-dark night. There were two or three causes that made one rather more nervous on this occasion than when leaving Bermuda.

"In the first place, five minutes after we had crossed the bar we should be in the thick of the blockaders, who always closed nearer in on the very dark nights. Secondly, our cargo of cotton was of more importance than the goods we carried in; and thirdly it was the thing to do to make the double trip in and out safely. There were also all manner of reports of the new plans that had been arranged by a zealous Commodore lately sent from New York to catch us all. However, it was of no use canvassing these questions, so at a quarter of 11 we weighed anchor and steamed down to the entrance of the river.

"Very faint lights, which could not be seen far at sea, were set on the beach in the same position as I have heretofore described, having been thus placed for vessels coming in; and bringing these astern in exact line, that is, the two into one, we knew that we were in the passage for going over the bar. The order was then given, 'Full speed ahead,' and we shot at a grand speed out to sea.

"Our troubles began almost immediately; for the cruisers had placed a rowing barge, which could not be seen by the forts, close to the entrance, to signalize the direction which any vessel that came out might take. This was done by rockets being thrown up by a designed plan from the barge. We had hardly cleared the bar when we saw this boat very near

our bows, nicely placed to be run clean over, and as we were going about fourteen knots her chance of escape would have been small had we been inclined to finish her. Changing the helm, which I did myself, a couple of spokes just took us clear. We passed so close that I could have dropped a biscuit into the boat with ease. I heard the crash of broken oars against our sides; not a word was spoken.

"I strongly suspect every man in that boat held his breath till the great white avalanche of cotton, rushing by so unpleasantly near, had passed quite clear of her.

"However, they seemed very soon to have recovered themselves, for a minute had scarcely passed before up went a rocket, which I thought a very ungrateful proceeding on their part. But they only did their duty, and perhaps they did not know how nearly they had escaped being made food for fishes. On the rocket being thrown up, a gun was fired uncommonly close to us, but as we did not hear any shot, it may have been only a signal to cruisers to keep a sharp look-out.

"We steered a mile or two near the coast, always edging a little to the eastward, and then shaped our course straight out to sea. Several guns were fired in the pitch darkness very near us. (I am not quite sure whether some of the blockaders did not occasionally pepper each other.) After an hour's fast steaming, we felt moderately safe, and by the morning had a good offing.

"Daylight broke with thick, hazy weather, nothing being in sight. We went on all right until 8:30 o'clock, when the weather cleared up, and there was a large paddle-wheel cruiser (that we must have passed very near to in the thick weather) about six miles astern of us. The moment she saw us she gave chase. After running for a quarter of an hour, it was evident that with our heavy cargo on board, the cruiser had the legs of us, and as there was a long day before us for the chase, things looked badly. We moved some cotton aft to immerse our screws well, but still the cruiser was steadily decreasing her distance from us, when an incident of a very curious nature favored us for a time.

"It is mentioned in the book of sailing directions that the course of the Gulf Stream (in the vicinity of which we knew

we were) is in calm weather and smooth water plainly marked out by a ripple on its inner and outer edges. We clearly saw, about a mile ahead of us, a remarkable ripple, which we rightly, as it turned out, conjectured, was that referred to in the book. As soon as we crossed it, we steered the usual course of the current of the Gulf Stream, that here ran for two or three miles an hour. Seeing us alter our course, the cruiser did the same; but she had not crossed the ripple on the edge of the stream, and the course she was now steering tended to keep her for some time from doing so. The result soon made it evident that the observations in the book were correct; for until she too crossed the ripple into the stream, we dropped her rapidly astern, whereby we increased our distance to at least seven miles.

"It was now noon, from which time the enemy again began to close with us, and at 5 o'clock was not more than three miles distant. At 6 o'clock she opened a harmless fire with the Parrot gun in her bow, the shot falling far short of us. At sunset at 6:45, she had got so near that she managed to send two or three shots over us, and was steadily coming up.

"Luckily, as night came on, the weather became very cloudy and we were on the dark side of the moon, now setting in the west, which occasionally breaking through the clouds astern of the cruiser, showed us all her movements, while we must have been very difficult to make out, though certainly not more than a mile off. All this time she kept firing away, thinking, I suppose, that she would frighten us into stopping. If we had gone straight on, we should doubtless have been caught, so we altered our course two points to the eastward. After steaming a short distance we stopped quite still, blowing off steam under water, not a spark or the slightest smoke showing from the funnel; and we had the indescribable satisfaction of seeing our enemy steam past us, still firing ahead at some imaginary vessel.

"This had been a most exciting chase and a very narrow escape; night only saved us from a New York prison. All this hard running had made an awful hole in our coal bunkers, and as it was necessary to keep a stock for a run off the blockaded Bahama Islands, we were obliged to reduce our ex-

penditure to as small a quantity as possible. However, we were well out to sea, and after having passed the line of cruisers between Wilmington and Bermuda, we had not much to fear till we approached the British possessions of Nassau and the adjacent islands, where two or three very fast American vessels were cruising, although 500 miles from American waters. I am ignorant, I confess, of the laws of blockade, or indeed if a law there be that allows its enforcement, and penalties to be enacted, 500 miles away from the ports blockaded. But it did seem strange that the men-of-war of a nation at peace with England should be allowed to cruise off her ports, to stop and examine trading vessels of all descriptions, to capture and send to New York, for adjudication, vessels on the mere suspicion of their being intended blockade-runners, and to chase and fire into real blockade-runners so near to the shore that on one occasion the shot and shell fell into a fishing village, and that within sight of an English man-of-war lying at anchor in the harbor of Nassau. Surely it is time that some well-understood laws should be made and rules laid down, or such doing will sooner or later recoil on their authors.

"Having so little coal on board, we determined on making for the nearest point of the Bahama Islands, and luckily reached a queer little island called Green Turtle Quay, on the extreme north of the group, where was a small English colony, without being seen by the cruisers. We had not been there long, however, before one of them came sweeping round the shore, and stopped unpleasantly near to us; even though we were inside the rock, she hovered about outside, not a mile from us.

"We were a tempting bait, but a considerable risk to snap, and I suppose the American captain could not quite make up his mind to capture a vessel (albeit a blockade-runner piped full of cotton) lying in an English port, insignificant though that port might be. We got a large white English ensign hoisted on a pole, thereby showing the nationality of the rock, should the cruiser be inclined to question it. After many longing looks, she steamed slowly away, much to our satisfaction. Coals were sent to us from Nassau the next

day which, having been taken on board, we weighed anchor, keeping close to the reefs and islands all the way We steamed towards that port, and arrived safely, having made the in and out voyage, including the time in unloading and loading at Wilmington, in sixteen days.

"To attempt to describe at length the state of things at this usually tranquil and unfrequented little spot is beyond my powers. I will only mention some of its most striking features. Nassau differed much from Wilmington, inasmuch as at the latter place there was a considerable amount of poverty and distress, and men's minds were weighed with many troubles and anxieties; whereas at Nassau everything at the time I speak of was *couleur de rose*. Every one seemed prosperous and happy You met calculating, far-seeing men who were steadily employed in feathering their nests, let the war in America end as it might; others, who, in the height of their enthusiasm for the Southern cause, put their last farthing into Confederate securities, anticipating enormous profits; some men, careless and thoughtless, living for the hour, were spending their dollars as fast as they made them, forgetting that they would 'never see the like again.' There were rollicking captains and officers of blockade-runners, and drunken, swaggering crews; sharpers looking out for victims; Yankee spies, and insolent, worthless, free niggers—all these combined made a most heterogenous, though interesting, crowd.

"The inhabitants of Nassau, who, until the period of blockade-running, had, with some exceptions, subsisted on a precarious and somewhat questionable livelihood gained by wrecking, had their heads as much turned as the rest of the world. Living was exorbitantly dear, as can well be imagined when the captain of a blockade-runner could realize in a month a sum as large as the Governor's salary. The expense of living was so great that the officers of the West India Regiment quartered here had to apply for special allowance, and I believe their application was successful. The hotel, a large building, hitherto a most ruinous speculation, began to realize enormous profits; in fact, the almightly dollar was

spent as freely as the humble cent had been before this golden era in the annals of Nassau.

"As we had to stay here till the time for the dark nights came round again, we took it easy, and thoroughly enjoyed all the novelty of the scene. Most liberal entertainment was provided free by our owner's agent, and altogether we found Nassau very jolly; so much so that we felt almost sorry when time was called, and we had to prepare for another run; in fact, it was pleasanter in blockade-running to look backwards than forwards, especially if one had been so far in good luck.

"All being ready, we steamed out of Nassau harbor, and were soon again in perilous waters. We had a distant chase now and then—a mere child's play to us after our experience—and on the third evening of our voyage we were pretty well placed for making a run through the blockade squadron as soon as it was dark. As the moon rose at 12 o'clock, it was very important that we should get into port before she threw a light upon the subject.

"Unfortunately, we were obliged to alter our course or stop so often to avoid cruisers that we ran our time too close; for, as we were getting near to the line of blockade, a splendid three-quarter size moon rose, making everything as clear as day Trying to pass through the line of vessels ahead with such a bright light shining would have been madness; in fact, it was dangerous to be moving about at all in such clear weather, so we steamed towards the land on the extreme left of the line of cruisers, and having made it out, went quite close in shore and anchored.

"By lying as close as we dare to the beach, we must have had the appearance of forming part of the low sand hills, which were about the height and color of the vessel, the wood on their tops forming a background which hid the small amount of funnel and mast that showed above the decks. We must have been nearly invisible, for we had scarcely been an hour at anchor when a gunboat came steaming along the shore very near to the beach, and while we were breathlessly watching her, hoping that she would go past, she dropped anchor alongside us, a little outside of where we were lying, so close that we not only heard every order that was given on board,

but could make out the purport of the ordinary conversation of the people on her decks. A pistol shot would have easily reached us. Our position was most unpleasant, to say the least of it. We could not stay where we were, as it only wanted two hours to daybreak. If we had attempted to weigh anchor, we must have been heard doing so. However, we had sufficient steam at command to make a run for it. So, after waiting a little to allow the cruiser's fires to get low, we knocked the pin out of the shackle of the chain on deck, and easing the cable down into the water, went ahead with one engine and astern with the other, to turn our vessel round head to seaward.

"Imagine our consternation, when, as she turned, she struck the shore before coming half round (she had been lying with her head inshore, so now it was pointed along the beach, luckily in the right direction, *i. e.*, lying for the cruiser). There was nothing left to us but to put on full speed, and if possible force her from the obstruction, which, after two or three hard bumps, we succeeded in doing.

"After steaming quite close to the beach for a little way, we stopped to watch the gunboat, which, after resting for an hour or so, weighed anchor and steamed along the beach in the opposite direction to the way we had been steering, and was soon out of sight. So we steamed a short distance inshore and anchored again. It would have been certain capture to have gone out to sea just before daybreak, so we made the little craft as invisible as possible, and remained all the next day, trusting to our luck not to be seen. And our luck favored us, for, although we saw several cruisers at a distance none noticed us, which seems almost miraculous.

"Thus passed Christmas day, 1863, and an anxious day it was to all of us. We might have landed our cargo where we were lying, but it would have been landed in a dismal swamp, and we should have been obliged to go into Wilmington for our cargo of cotton.

"When night closed in we weighed anchor and steamed to the entrance of the river, which, from our position being so well defined, we had no difficulty in making out. We received a broadside from a savage little gun-boat quite close

inshore, her shot passing over us, and that was all. We got comfortably to the entrance about 11:30 o'clock, and so ended our second journey in.

"I determined this time to have a look at Charleston, which was then undergoing a lengthening and destructive siege. So, after giving over my craft into the hands of the owner's representatives, who would unload and put her cargo of cotton on board, I took my place in the train, and, after passing thirty-six of the most miserable hours in my life, traveling the distance of 149 miles, I arrived at Charleston, or rather near to that city—for the train, disgusted, I suppose, with itself, ran quietly off the line about two miles from the station into a meadow.

"The passengers seemed perfectly contented, and shouldering their baggage, walked off into the town. I mechanically followed with my portmanteau, and in due course arrived at the only hotel, where I was informed I might have half a room.

"Acting on a hint I received from a black waiter that food was being devoured in the coffee room, and that if I did not look out for myself I should have to do without that essential article for the rest of the day, I hurried into the 'salle-a-manger,' where two long tables were furnished with all the luxuries then to be obtained in Charleston, which luxuries consisted of lumps of meat supposed to be beef, boiled Indian corn, and I think there were the remains of a feathered biped or two, to partake of which I was evidently too late.

"All these washed down with water, or coffee without sugar, was not very tempting, but human nature must be supported, so to it I set, and having swallowed a sufficent quantity of animal food, I went off to my room to take a pull at a bottle of brandy which I had sagaciously stored in my carpetbag.

"But, alas! for the morals of the beleaguered city. I found on arriving there, a nigger extended at full length in happy oblivion on the floor, with the clothes I had with me forming his pillow, and the brandy bottle rolling alongside of him, empty.

"I first of all hammered his head against the floor, but

the floor had the worst of it; then I kicked his shins (the most vulnerable part of a nigger), but it was no use; so pouring the contents of a water jug over him in the hope that I might thus cause awful dreams to disturb his slumbers, I left him, voting myself a muff for leaving the key in my trunk.

"Having letters of introduction to some of General Beauregard's staff, I made my way to headquarters, where I met with the greatest courtesy and kindness. An orderly was sent with me to show me the top of the tower, a position that commands a famous view of the beseiging army, the blockading squadron, and all the defences of the place. A battery had just been placed by the enemy (consisting of five Parrott guns of heavy calibre) five miles from the town, and that day had opened fire for the first time. At that enormous range the shell occasionally burst over or fell into the city, doing, however, little damage. The elevation of the guns must have been unusually great. I am told that every one of them burst after a week's, or thereabouts, firing.

"Poor Fort Sumter was nearly silenced after many months' hammering, but its brave defenders remained in it to the last, and it was not till a few days before Charleston was abandoned that they gave it up.

"At the time I speak of the whole of the western beach was in the hands of the enemy, Battery Wagner having succumbed after one of the most gallant defences on record. While it remained in the hands of the Southerners it assisted Fort Sumter, inasmuch as, from its position it kept the enemy at a distance, but after its capture, or rather destruction, the latter fort was exposed to a tremendous fire from ships and batteries, and its solid front was terribly crumbled.

"Surrounded, however, with water as it was, it would have been most difficult to take by assault; and from what I could learn, certain destruction would have met any body of men who had attempted it latterly. There it stood, sulkily firing a lot of shell now and then, more out of defiance than anything else. The blockading, or rather bombarding, squadron was lying pretty near to it on the western side of the entrance to the harbor; but on the east side, formidable bat-

teries belonging to the Southerners kept them at a respectable distance.

"Blockade-running into Charleston was quite at an end at the time I am writing about. Not that I think the cruisers could have kept vessels from getting in, but for the reason that the harbor was a perfect net-work of torpedoes and infernal machines (the passage through which was only known to a few persons), placed by the Southerners to prevent the Northern fleet from approaching the city.

"Having had a good look at the attacking and defending parties, I went down from the tower and paid a visit to a battery where two Blakely guns of heavy calibre, which had lately been run through the blockade in the well known *Sumter* (now the *Gibraltar*) were mounted. These guns threw a shot of 720 pounds weight, and were certainly masterpieces of design and execution.

"Unhappily, proper instruction for loading had not accompanied them from England, and on the occasion of the first round being fired from one of them, the gun not being properly loaded, cracked at the breech, and was rendered useless; the other, however, did good service, throwing shot with accuracy at a great distance.

"I saw much that was interesting here, but more able pens than mine have already described fully the details of that long siege, where on one hand all modern appliances of war that ingenuity could conceive or money purchase were put into the hands of brave and determined soldiers; on the other hand were bad arms, bad powder, bad provisions, bad everything; desperate courage and unheard-of self-denial being all the Southerners had to depend upon.

"These poor Southerners never began to open their eyes to their cause till Sherman's almost unopposed march showed the weakness of the whole country. Even strangers like myself were so carried away with the enthusiasm of the moment that we shut our eyes to what should have been clearly manifest to us. We could not believe that men who were fighting and enduring as these men were could ever be beaten. Some of their leaders must have foreseen that the catastrophe was

coming months before it occurred; but, if they did so, they were afraid to make their opinions public."

THE CRUISERS TALLAHASSEE AND CHICKAMAUGA.

It is a well known fact that the Army of Northern Virginia was saved from starvation and surrender by the blockade-runner *Banshee,* which made a special run through the fleet and returned to Wilmington with a cargo of commissary stores sixteen days after the government at Richmond had confidentially disclosed to her commander its dire necessity.

When General Whiting's inadequate force was taxed to the utmost in protecting the blockade-runners upon whose service the fate of the Confederacy largely depended, two of these valuable ships, the *Atalanta* and *Edith,* were armed and commissioned as cruisers by the Confederate States Navy Department under the names *Tallahassee* and *Chickamauga,* and were sent out along the coast to prey upon the enemy's commerce, which the *Alabama, Florida* and *Shenandoah* had already swept from the high seas. These untimely cruisers, erroneously referred to by General Whiting and Governor Vance as privateers, set in motion the entire Federal navy and caused, if possible, a more stringent blockade of the Cape Fear river and probably the final reduction of Fort Fisher.

General Whiting wrote to Secretary Seddon 11 October, 1864, an urgent request that the attention of President Davis, the Secretary of the Navy and General Lee be asked at once to the subject of the expedition of the *Tallahassee* and *Chickamauga,* which would deprive him of their valuable assistance in the defence of the blockade breakers and of the Confederate works, and would inevitably cause the concentration of the enemy's naval force at Cape Fear for the capture of these "privateers" and the destruction of Fort Fisher. He also asked attention to the fact that it was then extremely difficult to obtain supplies through the blockade, and that the expedition of the two cruisers mentioned which made Wilmington the base of their operations, would result in the loss of the Cape Fear inlets upon which the Confederacy depended for the necessities of life. General Whiting's warning was unheeded at Richmond, and subsequent events proved

his superior judgment. Governor Vance wrote President Davis 14 October, 1864: "I beg leave to enter my most respectful and earnest remonstrance against the sailing of the two privateers from the port of Wilmington. Ten or twelve valuable steamers have already been lost in consequence of the cruise of the *Tallahassee,* and among them the noble steamer *Ad-Vance,* which alone, I respectfully submit, has been of far more value to the Confederacy than all of our privateers combined."

General Lee said repeatedly that if Fort Fisher were captured by the enemy and the Cape Fear river closed against blockade-runners, he could no longer sustain his army.

With further reference to the daring operations of the *Tallahassee* and *Chickamauga,* which hastened the final attack upon Fort Fisher, because Wilmington was the base of supplies of the two cruisers mentioned, Colonel Scharf says:

"The *Tallahassee* was a splendid twin screw 14-knot blockade-runner, built on the Thames. After making several trips into and out of Wilmington her name was changed from the *Atalanta* to the *Tallahassee,* and she was commissioned as a Confederate States ship of war under command of Commodore J. T. Wood. The other officers were Lieutenants W. H. Ward, M. M. Benton, J M. Gardner; Acting Master, Alex Curtis. Engineers: Chief, J. W Tyman; Assistants, C. H. Leroy, E. G. Hall, J F. Green, J. J. Lyell, H. H. Roberts, R. M. Ross; Assistant Paymaster, C. L. Jones; Assistant Surgeon, W L. Sheppardson; Boatswain, J Cassidy; Gunner, —. —. Stewart; Master's Mate, C. Russell; Lieutenant of Marines, —. —. Crenshaw, with a crew of about 110 men. The battery consisted of a 32-pounder rifle, a lighter rifle and a brass howitzer. On 6 August, 1864, the *Tallahassee* went to sea from Wilmington under the fire of the blockaders, whom the speedy ship soon left behind. Her cruising ground was the Atlantic coast, and when within eighty miles of Sandy Hook, on 11 August, she took her first prize, the schooner *Sarah A. Boyce,* of Egg Harbor, N J., which she scuttled. In two days in these waters, the pilot boat *James Funk,* brig *Carrie Estelle,* pilot boat *Wm. Bell* and schooner *Atlantic* were captured. The

Funk was converted into a tender under command of Acting Master Davis and captured the barque *Bay State,* brig *A. Richards* and schooner *Carroll.* All but the tender and *Carroll* were burned, and the latter was bonded and sent to New York with the paroled prisoners. Her captain broke his oath by landing on Fire Island and telegraphing information to the authorities that a Confederate cruiser was within sixty miles of New York. Six or seven gun-boats were sent in pursuit, and New York passed through the throes of alarm and excitement. Commodore Wood had formed a project to dash upon the Brooklyn navy yard and escape to sea by way of Hell Gate after doing all the destruction possible; but this scheme was abandoned and the *Tallahassee* ran to the eastward with the tender in tow. Off the eastern end of Long Island, the ship *Adriatic* was taken and burned on 12 August, and the barque *Suliote* was ransomed to land the prisoners. The tender being of no further use, was destroyed, and the *Tallahassee* wound up this eventful day by capturing the schooner *Spokane,* the brig *Billow* and the schooner *Robert E. Packer,* which latter was sent off with prisoners.

Within the next few days the captures were the *Mercy C. Howes, Glenavon, Lamont, Dupont, Howard, Floral Wreath, Restless, Sarah B. Harris, Etta Caroline, P C. Alexander, Leopard, Pearl, Sarah Louise* and *Magnolia.* In taking these prizes Wood had made his way well up along the coast of Maine and played the mischief with the New England fishing trade, and fully a dozen gunboats were added to the fleet already in pursuit of him. Going towards Halifax for coal he captured the *North America, Neva, Josiah Achorne, Ellis* and *Diadem.* All were destroyed except those by which prisoners were sent to the nearest ports. On 18 August, the *Tallahassee* arrived at Halifax and was ordered away, after getting only enough coal to take her back to Wilmington. She left Halifax on the 19th, and between there and the Cape Fear river captured the brig *Rowan* and was fruitlessly chased by Federal cruisers. On the 25th she boldly ran into that river, fighting the blockaders as she pushed through their midst until she dropped anchor under

boldly ran into that river, fighting the blockaders as she pushed through their midst until she dropped anchor under the guns of Fort Fisher. She had burned sixteen vessels, scuttled ten, bonded five, and released two.

Commodore Wood was detached from the ship and was succeeded in command by Lieutenant Ward. Her name was changed to the *Olustee,* and on 29 October, 1864, she ran through the blockading fleet at sea, but not without sustaining some damage from their shells. Off the capes of the Delaware she captured and destroyed the barque *Empress Theresa,* schooner *A. J Bird,* schooner *E. F Lewis* and schooner *Goodspeed.* Near Sandy Hook the ship *Aureole,* brig *T D. Wagner* and schooner *Vapor* were made prizes and destroyed. Coal being nearly exhausted, the *Olustee* went southward again, but halted on 6 November off Cape Charles in the hope of attacking some of the United States transports hove to in the prevailing gale. Here she was detected by the gun-boat *Sassacus,* which chased her until she was lost in the darkness. On the 6th the *Sassacus* again saw her and kept up an unsuccessful pursuit all day. The next day the *Olustee* was sixty miles off Wilmington bar and steam was allowed to go down for repairs to the engines. Three vessels looking like blockade-runners hove in sight. They were the captured blockade-runners *Margaret and Jessie,* the *Lilian* and the *Banshee,* converted into Federal cruisers, and were soon joined by the gun-boat *Montgomery.* Ward first headed the *Olustee* out to sea and then wore short around and steered for Wilmington bar. All the vessels opened fire upon her, but the *Montgomery* was the only one close enough to be feared. She replied with her after gun, distanced her pursuers and got into Wilmington unharmed. Her battery was taken out and she was renamed the *Chameleon.* Under the command of Captain John Wilkinson, C. S. N., she ran the blockade of the Cape Fear river 24 December, while the Federal fleet was bombarding Fort Fisher, and started for Bermuda to procure a cargo of provisions for Lee's army. On her arrival at St. Georges on the 30th, she was seized by the British authorities on the demand of the United States Consul, but she had been so thoroughly whitewashed by an osten-

sible sale at Wilmington, that she was to all intents and purposes a merchant ship.

Laden with provisions, she sailed from St. Georges 19 January, 1865, but on arriving off New Inlet, Wilkinson found it closed by the fall of Fort Fisher and put back to Nassau. On 30 January the *Chameleon* left Nassau for Charleston, but the blockaders were too thick for her off that port, and to Nassau she returned. When he learned of the evacuation of Charleston, Wilkinson resolved to take the ship to England and arrived at Liverpool 9 April. She was seized and sold by the British Government and was about to enter the merchant service under the name of the *Amelia,* when the United States entered suit for possession. The court awarded the vessel to that government, and she was handed over to the consul at Liverpool 26 April, 1866.

"In the Autumn of 1864 the Confederate Navy Department found at Wilmington the small twin-screw blockade-runner *Edith,* which was commissioned as a cruiser under the name of the *Chickamauga,* and with Captain John Wilkinson, C. S. N., in command, was equipped to follow the example of the *Tallahassee* in a raid upon the enemy's commerce along the coast. She carried a light, spar-deck battery of three rifled guns, and started to sea on the night of 29 October. She got out safely, and although pursued by a gunboat the next day, outfooted her without trouble. Twenty-four hours afterwards she opened her record as a commerce destroyer by capturing the barque *Mark L. Potter,* and within two days she made prizes within fifty miles of New York of the barque *Emma L. Hall,* ship *Shooting Star* and barque *A. Lincoln.* All but the Lincoln were burned, and she was bonded to land the paroled prisoners, her captain promising to put into no nearer port than Fortress Monroe, but he steered directly for New York and gave the alarm. The *Chickamauga* ran up to the entrance of Long Island Sound and off Block Island took and scuttled the schooners *Otter Rock* and *Goodspeed.* A gale frustrated Captain Wilkinson's intention of making an incursion upon the ports of the Sound and going out to sea he captured the barque *Speedwell.* He put into St. Georges, Bermuda, and by having the condenser

conveniently disabled, obtained permission from the authorities to remain a week for repairs. Under the neutrality laws then being strictly enforced, he was allowed only enough coal to take the ship to the nearest Confederate port; but by offering the British custom's officer all the alcoholic load that his hold could contain, he was made oblivious to the fact that the *Chickamauga's* bunkers were being pretty well filled up with coal. The supply was still too short to admit of further cruising, and the ship ran the blockade back into Wilmington, thus closing her history as a belligerent upon the high seas. In the defence of Fort Fisher, her officers and crew took a very prominent and distinguished part. After that disaster the *Chickamauga* was taken up the river and burned and sunk."

The following interesting narrative, which is true in all its details, was told the writer some time ago by Mr. George C. McDougal who, by a clever ruse kept out of Fort LaFayette and made some forty voyages as chief engineer in the little steamer *Sirene* before his former shipmates were released.

"The well known blockade running steamer *Margaret and Jessie* left Nassau laden for Wilmington, and made a good run across to the North Carolina coast. About 12:00 meridian she was in latitude of New Inlet, and ran on the western edge of the Gulf Stream until sun down, when she headed for the beach and made land to the northward of the blockading fleet off the Cape Fear. While tracking down the beach one of the cruisers sighted us, and sent up rockets, which made it necessary for us to run the remainder of the distance under fire from the whole line of the blockaders. Just as we got the lights in range at the Inlet and were about to head the ship over the bar, we distinguished a gunboat anchored in the channel under cover of the wrecked steamer *Arabian*. We immediately put the ship about, and, with the whole fleet trailing after us, ran off shore. At daylight none of our followers were in sight, but away off shore to the southward we sighted the armed transport *Fulton* and as we could not cross her bow, Capt. Robert Lockwood, who commanded our ship, hauled to the northward and eastward, unfortunately

driving us across the bows of all the cruisers which had run off shore in chase. We had to run the fire of five of these warships as we crossed their bows and dropped them astern. During all this time, the *Fulton* kept the weather gauge of us, and after a hard day's chase from New Inlet to Hatteras we were at last compelled to surrender late in the afternoon, as the *Fulton* seemed determined to run us down there being hardly a cable's length between us when we hove to and stopped the engines. Before doing this, however, we were careful to throw the mail bags, Government dispatches, and ship's papers into the furnace of the fire room, where they were quickly consumed. While our ship's company was being transferred to the *Fulton*, the U S. steamer *Keystone State* and two other cruisers came up, and sent several boats' crews aboard the *Margaret and Jessie* who looted her of all the silver, cutlery, glassware, cabin furniture, table cloths and napkins, doubtless everything they could carry off in their boats. The *Fulton* having sent a prize crew on board took us in tow for New York, where, immediately on our arrival, we were confined in Ludlow street jail. Two days after, the officers and crew of the blockade runner *Ella and Annie* were brought in, she having been captured off Wilmington after a desperate resistance by her brave commander, Captain Bonneau. During our incarceration we were visited frequently by Deputy United States Marshals, who tried to identify some of us suspected of holding commissions in the Confederate service and of being regularly engaged in blockade running, from those less harmful members of the crew who would be only too glad to abandon further attempts on regaining their liberty. These officers were immediately assailed with questions from all quarters. "What are you going to do with us here?" "Are you going to let us out?" to which they would respond "We cannot tell—the crew lists have been sent to Washington for inspection: you will have to wait until they are returned." We were kept in this state of suspense for about three weeks, when a squad of Deputy Marshals came to the jail and mustered the entire company. We soon ascertained that the crew lists had come from Washington, and that we were to go down to the Marshal's office where the names of those who

were to be released were to be called out, and the unfortunate ones remaining, prepared for a long term of imprisonment at one of the well known prison pens so dreaded by those who afterwards realized all their horrors. We were accordingly marched down to the Marshal's headquarters in Burton's old theatre on Chambers street, opposite the City Hall Park, where we were ordered to select our baggage, and prepare to be searched for contraband articles. The entire office force of clerks had been drawn from their desks by curiosity to the other end of the large room where the inspection was going on, and while my baggage was being examined by an officer I asked him if he knew who was to be released, to which he replied that he did not know, but that the list of those who would be released could be found in a large book on that desk, pointing with his finger to the other end of the room. When his inspection was completed I asked if I might go and read the names, to satisfy my curiosity. He said there could be no harm in doing so and asked if I could read. I said yes that I thought I could make out the names. Whereupon I walked with forced indifference to the desk, and found a big journal laid open upon it, containing the names of the men belonging to the *Ella and Annie's* crew who were to be discharged. This did not interest me, and looking further down I saw also the names of those of my own ship who were to be released, but from the top to the bottom there was no George C. McDougal. You may depend upon it I felt very sad as Fort LaFayette loomed up in all its dreariness. My case was apparently hopeless. Looking furtively over my shoulder, I saw that the desk was so placed that my back shielded me from the eyes of the marshals at the moment, and also that the officers and clerks were very busy seeing what they could confiscate, each man for himself, out of the baggage of the unfortunate prisoners; and feeling that no worse fate could overtake me, I slipped my hand cautiously along the desk, took up a pen, and imitating as closely as possible the character of the writing before me, inscribed my own name at the bottom of the list, and immediately returned to the crowd at the other end of the room, where the Deputy asked me if I saw my name, to which I promptly responded "Yes."

"Then you are all right," said he, "and will be turned out to-night." Shortly afterwards, we were marched off to a neighboring place to get our supper at the expense of Uncle Sam, after which, the Chief Marshal and Judge Bebee appeared and in due form separated those who were to be released from the unfortunate ones remaining. I waited with feelings than can be imagined better than they can be described, as the names were read; and at last my own was called without the detection of my expedient, which was doubtless owing to the fact that the room was badly lighted and darkness had already set in. Promptly responding to my name I at once passed out into the night, leaving my own Commander, Captain Robert Lockwood, the Wilmington pilot Mr. Charles Craig, and Billy Willington, our engineer, and several others of the *Margaret and Jessie* who, together with Capt. Frank Bonneau, his Wilmington pilot, and his Chief Engineer, Alexander Laurence, were sent to Fort LaFayette, where they remained until about the end of the war."

It may be interesting in this connection to recall the incident which led to the capture of the *Ella and Annie,* through the same gun boat being anchored in the channel. Instead of turning back and running out to sea as we did, Captain Bonneau kept on his course, ordering his engineer to throw his throttle wide open and leave the engine room immediately, his intention being to run down the gun boat and take the consequences. The two ships came together with a frightful crash, and as they swung around, side by side, the gun boat got out lashings and her boarders swarmed the *Ella and Annie* and after a sharp resistance, succeeded in taking possession of her. The *Ella and Annie's* crew was sent to New York, and the gun boat *Nyphon,* in a badly damaged condition, was sent to the Norfolk Navy Yard to be docked; as it was difficult to keep her afloat from the effects of the collision. On Col. Lamb being asked subsequently to drive the gun boat out of the channel, he replied that it was impossible to do so, as she came in after dark and anchored under the shelter of the wreck referred to, and he could not get the range until the moon rose when, of course, the gunboat steamed out to sea, the channel being no longer of any use to the blockade runners.

John Niemeyer, an old and trusted locomotive engineer on the Atlantic Coast Line, has been reading my tales of the blockade with much interest, he having served as one of the engineers of that remarkable boat, the *Sirene,* which ran between Wilmington, Charleston and the West Indies continuously for nearly two years during the war, with the regularity of a mail boat in time of peace I have repeatedly asked him for a blockade runner's yarn and he gave me a few days ago the following true story of a very true man, which I shall put as nearly as possible in Mr. Niemeyer's own words.

"I see you have been writing some stories about George C. McDougal, who was chief of the *Sirene;* why he ought to have been captain as well as chief engineer of that boat. He wasn't what you might call a scientific navigator, but he knew more about the ins and outs of blockade running, most likely, than any other man in the fleet. He had served for years before the Wilmington, Columbia & Augusta railroad was built, as chief engineer of the steamboats plying between Wilmington and Charleston, and he knew every land mark ashore and every hump and hollow under the water up and down the coast from Hatteras to St. Augustine. He could tell the position of the ship by the revolutions of the engine nearly as accurately as our navigating officer with his sextant, chronometer and logarithms, and as for the bottom on a deep sea lead he was what you might call a specialist. The little *Sirene* was an enchantress sure enough. She didn't sing any because we had to keep her very quiet. She must have hypnotized the Yankees however, as they were never able to touch her. She was at first commanded by an Englisman who dreaded the coast as the devil does holy water, and when he fetched soundings was always for running off again. On one occasion he made a bad land fall, and fearing he would get aground by following the beach, decided to run out to sea, but the Boss, as we called McDougal, at once protested against such folly, which he said would surely lead to greater danger than if we continued towards Wilmington; besides which the ship was short of coal, and could not possibly keep steam for more than twelve or fifteen hours longer. The Captain, who was a deep water navigator, refused to listen to him, how-

ever, and persisted in changing the course of the ship, whereupon McDougal quietly told him that he felt it his duty under the circumstances to take the ship out of his hands, and that if he persisted in thus wilfully sacrificing the property of the owners and endangering the lives of all on board he must take the consequences, as the *Sirene* was bound to go to Wilmington that night and no where else. The Captain insisted that McDougal's proposal was contrary to all rules of navigation, but finding that his engineer was in earnest, and could easily command all of the men on board, having their full confidence, he at last agreed, and following the engineer's suggestions and having an excellent pilot, succeeded in making the harbor in safety Capt. J Pembroke Jones, who was a passenger aboard at once sent ashore for his brother in command at Fort Caswell, and there was quite a jollification in the cabin that night. Our Captain had a good deal to say about his skill in bringing the ship into port, but he utterly failed to mention the part his plucky engineer had taken, and McDougal was not a man to boast of his own exploits. But I started to tell you another story about the *Sirene* and McDougal. We had successfully run the blockade and arrived at Nassau where we immediately discharged and reloaded. Between one and two o'clock p. m. the *Sirene* got under way and crossed the bar at Nassau and headed up the northeast channel bound for Wilmington. She was commanded on this occasion by Captain R., a remarkably skillful navigator but without any nerve in time of danger. It was his habit whenever he got into a tight place to leave the bridge and shut himself up in his cabin and trust to luck, which meant McDougal, for he generally took charge of the ship at once and with the assistance of a good man who was chief officer, always managed to get the boat out of difficulty, when R. would resume command. On this occasion the weather was fair and the sea as smooth as a pond. While we were tracking along Egg Island reef, which is a long, narrow shoal with shallow water inside, a Federal gun boat shot out from under the eastern end of the reef and headed for us. This was clearly contrary to International Law, being within the limit of British jurisdiction, but it is a well known fact

that the Federal blockading and cruising fleets had positive orders after the second year of the war to seize all suspicious vessels no matter where found, and if a foreign government set up a reasonable claim, to pay it without demur; the United States government having determined that it was better to pay for such vessels than to permit them to reach the Confederacy. We knew as well as they did that we were within the domain of a British province. We also knew that that would not deter the Yankee from picking us up if there was no British man of war in sight, and there was nothing for us to do under the circumstances but 'bout ship and run back for Nassau, which in our position appeared to be an impossibility. The little *Sirene* was handicapped by a heavy cargo and the gun boat gained on us rapidly. As soon as it became evident that we could not fetch Nassau, our pursuer opened fire upon us, under which our discomfited Captain left the bridge and took shelter in the cabin, and the first assistant engineer, Barbot, at once sung out to me, "Niemeyer, where's the Boss?" "In his room asleep," said I. "Rout him out then quickly and tell him the Yankee is after us, is gaining rapidly and has the range of us, and the Captain has left the deck." I immediately ran to the Chief's room and repeated Barbot's order, but before I could finish it the Boss was out on deck in his stocking feet, took a quick look over the stern at the gun boat, another over the port side at the rocky and treacherous bottom which was clearly visible through the transparent water, then with half a dozen jumps he was on the bridge. I followed to see the outcome. He immediately hustled the Bahama pilot onto the paddle box with the order "into the current immediately." The pilot saw the danger of such a movement, which meant that the ship must run inside the reef and take the chances of getting out. He also saw that it was the only opportunity of escape, and he lost no time in following his instructions. The Boss then cried to Mr. Habnicht, our chief officer, who was a splendid seaman: "Jump to the wheel, Mr. Habnicht, this is no child's play; we must make the most of it." I then walked over to McDougal and touched him on the shoulder and pointed to a shell which was just bursting over us. He said "Don't bother about shells,

but look to the water, if we strike one of these rocks it will tear the whole bottom out of the ship." I did look and saw the ugly rocks under the clear blue water over which we were rushing at full speed and thought no more about the shells but of the other dangers surrounding us. When the gunboat saw us go in among the rocks, she fired a parting shot and having put about the ship went back to the channel. I then went below on duty and soon got orders from the bridge "Stand by your engines" then at intervals "Slow down" "Stop." "Two times back." The splash and rattle of chains and then we were at anchor. When I returned to the deck I found that we were lying in the prettiest harbor I ever saw, which probably never embraced a ship of half our size. Our chief officer immediately sent a man aloft with the best glass in the ship with orders not to lose sight of the gunboat, then ordered supper "And be quick about it." McDougal said to his first assistant Barbot "Get your fires in good trim, with plenty of coarse coal on the fire-room plates." "We have got to race for it to-night" said he. Shortly afterwards the mate went aloft to relieve the man in the cross trees and saw that the cruiser was laying off and on at the end of the reef, waiting to pick us up in the morning, well knowing that he had us in a trap. The Boss soon saw that our only chance was in getting out of shoal water before darkness. The sun was in the meantime getting low Orders were given to weigh anchor and the ship proceeded very slowly towards the outlet in order not to excite our pursuer's suspicion, both ships having each other's bearings and watching to see if either moved. As soon as we got outside of the shoal we kept still again until the sun went down. In two hours the moon began to show above the horizon, and to our great joy we had our pursuer closely defined under the moon's rays while we were in comparative darkness. Now orders were given for full speed across the channel for Abaco, and you may be sure that Barbot got all out of the engine that was possible. We had been warned the day before by a passing schooner that two cruisers were waiting near Abaco so that we had one behind us and two before us before we could reach

the Western Ocean. We soon sighted "Hole in the Wall" light and made straight for the deep water. Three hours afterwards we hauled up the ship off Elbow Key and day broke without a sail in sight. We then eased down the engines and dropped into the homeward track for Wilmington. Our Captain in the meantime having resumed charge. For some time before the war ended the Federals had blockaded both ends of the route. The U. S. Corvette *Junietta* anchored off the bar at Nassau and was kept well posted as to the movement of the Confederate steamers in port. The outlying gunboats would run down the channel in the night within a few miles of Nassau and send a boat to the Corvette and get news with instructions for the cutting out of the blockade runners ready to leave, so that it was about as difficult to get in and out of Nassau as it was to pass the coast line blockade. The *Sirene* differed from other blockade runners in this respect, she never waited for more favorable conditions but took them as they came. On one occasion she ran into Charleston at night, and next morning disclosed six blockade runners loaded and anchored in the Ashley river. We dropped to the wharf discharged our inward cargo, loaded the outward cargo of cotton and went straight to Nassau, came back and found the same six ships anchored in the same places. We made a second voyage and on our return found them still lying there; a third voyage and there they remained waiting for an opportunity to go out. On our fourth return voyage three of the long waiting blockade runners had slipped out and on our fifth return voyage, two more had gone out. On our sixth and last voyage, the remaining one called the General Whiting had also gone out. Thus the *Sirene* made six round voyages earning for her owners over $1,000,000 in gold, while the General Whiting lay at anchor during the whole time waiting for a chance to go out. The *Sirene's* cargoes into the Confederacy were of course very valuable and cannot be properly estimated. The outward cargo consisted of 650 to 750 bales of cotton. This cotton cost the equivalent of six cents in coin and sold in Nassau for 45 and 50 cents a pound, making a clean profit of $200.00 a bale. which multiplied by 4,000 bales in six voyages showed a gain

during that time of $800,000 in gold to the owners. Some weeks ago I noticed that you had five large steamers loading at the Champion Compress which took out something over 60,000 bales, within a few days of each other. Imagine a profit of $200.00 a bale on that week's work. You can't imagine it? No I suppose not."

More could be given but it is trusted that the above may prove interesting and give some idea how North Carolina and the Confederacy procured supplies from the outside world through the port of Wilmington "in the days of the Blockade" till the fall of Fisher closed that port.

JAMES SPRUNT.

WILMINGTON, N. C.,
15 January, 1901.

NOTE.—The above valuable article by Mr. James Sprunt, one of the most public spirited citizens of Wilmington, is a great addition to this history, for upon the success of the Blockade-running the North Carolina troops, and those of the Confederacy as well, were dependent for supplies of many kinds without which the unequal contest must have terminated much sooner. Clothing, shoes, ammunition, and even food, were brought in, and mostly through the port of Wilmington. The reader is also indebted to Mr Sprunt for the engravings which accompany this sketch and for some others, for all the engravings in these volumes have been derived from private liberality, none of them having been made at the cost of the State.—ED.

NORTH CAROLINA'S FINANCIAL OPERATIONS IN ENGLAND

By JOHN WHITE, Commissioner.

"An Army," said Napoleon, "goes on its belly," and the following record of how North Carolina was enabled to clothe, equip and to some extent feed her soldiers is as essential a part of the history of her troops as the marches and manœuvers in the field and actual fighting Therefore the report of John White our Special Commissioner to England to Gov. Vance and a letter of instruction from the Governor to Mr. White are here appended.—Editor.

REPORT OF JOHN WHITE, SPECIAL COMMISSIONER, TO GOVERNOR VANCE.

"To His Excellency, Governor Z. B. Vance:

"The subscriber having been appointed, by you a special commissioner for the State of North Carolina, to visit Europe and make sale of cotton, bonds of the State, and the Confederate States of America, and also to purchase clothing and other articles for her troops, respectfully submits the following report:

"On 15 November, 1862, at Charleston, South Carolina, I embarked on the steamer *Leopard* for Nassau, New Providence, and arrived there on the 22d of that month. I left Nassau on 2 December, for Liverpool, in the steamer *Bonita,* and arrived at Liverpool on the 23d of that month. I reached London about 5 January, 1863, and spent nearly all of my time there and at Manchester while in England. In my voyage across the ocean, I was accompanied by Colonel T. M. Crossan, of Warrenton, and Captain T. J Hughes. I met with considerable difficulties in the performance of my duties as Commissioner, and was not able to effect a sale of the cot-

ton bonds until about 1 May, 1863. I deem it proper to state the cause of this delay. It proceeded from a request on the part of the Hon. J M. Mason, the Commissioner for the Confederate States at London, not to put the bonds in market at an earlier period, because, in his opinion, the putting them in market sooner than that time would interfere with the sale of the Confederate cotton bonds then being brought out. I considered it proper in itself, and believed it would be in accordance with your wishes to comply with this request, and I acted acordingly. About 1 May, 1863, I sold at London and Manchester, nine hundred and ninety-nine (999) cotton bonds or warrants, as they are called, at one hundred pounds each, amounting in all to ninety-nine thousand nine hundred pounds (£99,900) Of the fifteen hundred cotton bonds issued by me only those above mentioned have been sold and those sold are numbered from 1 to 999. The bonds numbered from 1000 to 1395, were deposited with Alex'r Collie & Co., in the Manchester & County Bank, Manchester, where they are now. The bond numbered 1396 was returned by me to the State as a sample. The bonds numbered 1397 to 1500 were deposited with Isaacs & Samuel, of London, as a security for a contract entered into between them and myself acting through Alex. Collie & Co. All the bonds issued by me were obligations which after having acknowledged the payment to the State of North Carolina of one hundred pounds, bound her to deliver to the holder thereof twelve bales of cotton weighing 400 pounds each; ginned, packed and in sound merchantable condition at the port of Wilmington, Charleston or Savannah, or if practicable, at any other port in possession of the Confederate States Government, except the ports of Texas, on receiving sixty days notice of the port at which delivery is required, said bonds bear interest at the rate of 7 per cent. per annum, payable half yearly in Manchester and reckoned from the first of July, 1863. Said bonds contain other provisions as to the quality of the cotton, the notice and other particulars, but I do not deem it necessary to enter into any farther explanation concerning them inasmuch as a copy of one of them is in the possession of your Excellency. Before making sale of any of the bonds

I endeavored to secure the services of Messrs. de Erlanger & Co., who were charged with the negotiation of the Confederate cotton loan, but was unable to do so without paying them a higher rate of commission than I deemed advisable. After failing to secure their services, I employed Messrs. Alex. Collie & Co. to negotiate the sale of the bonds for 5 per cent. commissions, with the understanding that I was to pay the solicitor's fees and bank commissions. In making my arrangements as to the sale of the cotton, I obtained the best terms for the State that I was able to do, and resorted to no agency which was not necessary in England to the proper transaction of business of the kind. I made no contract for the sale of cotton except that for which bonds were given. I also carried with me to England five hundred thousand dollars of State bonds, bearing 8 per cent. interest. Of these bonds twenty thousand dollars were deposited with Captain T. J Hughes as collateral security for a loan from him to the State for two thousand and eighty-three pounds, six shillings and eight pence (£2,083.6.8). I have passed to his credit in the Bank of England, money enough to pay him the amount lent and interest. He has not returned the same bonds, but has purchased others on the State for a like amount and delivered them up to the treasurer, which arrangement has been entirely satisfactory to that officer, as will appear from the receipt of Mr. Worth dated 20 April, 1864. The balance of said bonds were deposited with Alex. Collie & Co., and others as trustees for the faithful performance of the contract on the part of the State for the delivery of the cotton hereinbefore mentioned. You also sent me one million of dollars of North Carolina bonds, in accordance with my request made in a letter dated 20 May 1863.

"In order to secure the performance of a cotton contract on the part of the State which I expected would be shortly entered into at the time I wrote. At the date of my letter I expected to negotiate a sale of cotton bonds to the amount of three hundred thousand pounds (£300,000), and to deposit one million five hundred thousand dollars ($1,500,000) at par of the bonds of the State with trustees to secure it, but I was only able to negotiate a sale to the amount of ninety-nine

thousand nine hundred pounds (£99,900), and therefore did not need the one million of bonds above mentioned. And the bonds to that amount are now deposited in the Manchester & County Bank, Manchester, England, for safe keeping in the name of John White, as agent for the State of North Carolina. You will remember that in your letter to me dated 1 April, 1863, you informed me that Messrs. Sterling, Campbell & Albright, of Greensboro, N. C., desired to purchase certain articles for their book publishing house, and had deposited with you two hundred and two (202) bales of cotton, averaging about 470 pounds each, and two thousand five hundred (2,500) barrels of rosin, and you requested me if I had been successful in securing a loan upon our cotton to advance to them through their agent, W Hargrave White, as much money as this amount of cotton and rosin may come to according to the terms at which I might have sold ours. I accordingly advanced to them through Mr. W H. White the sum of two thousand eight hundred pounds (£2,800) for which I took his receipt. The purchasers of the bonds which were sold with my consent paid the money into the Manchester & County Bank, at Manchester. In making payment for articles purchased by me as commissioner for the State, and in paying sums which I was directed by you to pay; the money in the first instance was advanced by Messrs. Alex. Collie & Co., and was by me refunded to them, by my checks on the said bank, with the exception hereinafter mentioned. There is due to them fifty-seven thousand five hundred and thirty-six pounds, twelve shillings and five pence (£57,536.12.5), with legal interest from 1 December, 1863.

"Their statement to me shows a balance due to them of fifty five thousand two hundred and eighty-seven pounds, seven shillings and seven pence (£55,287.7 7), but that statement does not contain an invoice of a shipment made by them to the amount of two thousand three hundred pounds, ten shillings (£2,300.10) made a few days before their statement was rendered. Their statement is also erroneous in this: that it contains an entry to their favor of fifty-one pounds, five shillings and two pence (£51.5.2), it being the sum with interest paid by them to Captain T. J Hughes, and by their

mistake placed in my account. Since their statement was rendered, I have drawn on them for nine hundred and thirty-two pounds, seven shillings (£932.7), and have reason to believe that the greater portion of the above sum has been already paid and that the balance will be paid when the drafts are presented. When these drafts are paid the amount so paid will increase to that extent the sum above mentioned to be due to them with interest on sum paid. It is probable they may have made other payments since I left England, and if so of course the sum so paid should be charged in their account.

"While in England I purchased chiefly through Alex. Collie & Co. for the State and shipped to Bermuda:

150,000 yards Grey Cloth 6-4 wide.
11,023 " Grey Cloth 3-4 wide.
28,582 " Grey Flannel 6-4 wide.
83,173 " Grey Flannel 3-4 wide.
2,978 " Brown Canvass Padding.
25,887 pairs Grey Blankets.
37,092 " Woolen Socks.
26,096 " Army Shoes.
530 " Cavalry Boots.
1,956 Angola Shirts.
7,872 Grey Flannel Shirts.
1,006 Cloth Overcoats.
1,002 Cloth Jackets.
1,010 pairs of Trousers.

"Besides, other articles of clothing for the North Carolina troops, all being of good quality and as I believe, at as cheap prices as they could be purchased for in England. I also purchased and shipped a considerable quantity of leather, sole, upper and harness, and a considerable quantity of cotton and wool cards. I also purchased:

20,000 pairs Army Shoes.
10,000 " Grey Blankets.
160 dozen Flannel Shirts.
5,800 yards 6-4 wide Army Cloth.
10,000 " Finer quality Grey Cloth.
70,000 pairs Cotton and Wool Cards.

5 Card Setting Machines with wire and other furnishings sufficient to keep them running for perhaps twelve months, and probably some other articles of smaller value not now recollected.

The last mentioned articles, or most of them, were expected to be shipped about 1 January, 1864, but as I left England early in December I do not know whether they have been shipped or not. A detailed statement of the cotton bonds in a paper filed with this report, marked with the letter A, a statement of my transactions with Alex. Collie & Co. will appear in papers B and C with the exceptions hereinbefore mentioned. They acted as my agent in the purchase and shipping of goods, as well as in the sale of bonds, and an agency of this kind is necessary to the transaction of such business according to the uniform custom in England, and especially so in reference to officers, agents and citizens of the Confederate States. The articles purchased by me will appear by reference to the paper marked with the letter D. I have also filed an account between the State of North Carolina and myself marked with the letter E, exhibiting a balance due to me from the State on 1 January last of three hundred and forty-eight pounds, three shillings and two pence (£348,3.2), after retaining my compensation according to the written contract between us dated 10 November, 1862. You will remember that according to your directions, I paid the purchase money amounting to thirty-five thousand pounds (£35,000) for the *Ad-Vance*, formerly called *Lord Clyde*, which was purchased by Colonel T. M. Crossan for the State under your authority. My position in England enabled me to appreciate to the full extent the immense advantages which have resulted to the State, and indeed to the Confederacy, from the purchase by the State of the noble steamer, and its use in running the blockade under the excellent management of that superior officer and seaman, Thomas M. Crossan. She has made with entire success and safety many voyages between Bermuda and Wilmington, carrying to Bermuda on each trip between five hundred and seven hundred bales of cotton and bringing

to Wilmington on her return trip large quantities of clothing and other articles.

"The State has also embarked in another enterprise which I think has been a fortunate one upon the whole. I allude to the contract entered into on 27 October, 1863, between Alex. Collie in behalf of himself and his friends, on one part, and myself as Commissioner for the State of North Carolina on the other. I entered into the contract without any directions from you, but it was made with the distinct understanding that it would be void unless it should meet with your approval, and you afterwards did approve it. Under the contract Mr. Collie and his friends were to furnish four steamers of suitable construction and speed for blockade-running as soon as practicable. The State to pay one-fourth of the cost, and the other persons interested the remaining three-fourths and the parties to be interested in the profits and loss and the business commenced shortly after the date of the contract, and is still going on. Two of the steamers, the *Hansa* and the *Don,* cost at Bermuda or Nassau Twenty thousand pounds each. I have not now before me the data to show the cost of the other two steamers, but suppose they will cost £15,000 to £17,000 each. The claim against the State for her interest in the above steamers is payable according to the terms of contract, in cotton warrants of the State at par. The contract and the letter therein mentioned will be filed with this report. I regard the State's investment in the four steamers last mentioned upon the whole, as advantageous, although I regret to learn that one of the steamers, the *Don,* has been recently captured. Cotton is equal to gold in England, and the clothing and other articles of merchandise forwarded from England have been of immense service to our soldiers. The cotton was consigned to Alex. Collie & Co., and about five hundred bales have been sold, but I have not yet received the account of the sales.

I have the honor to be, very respectfully,

"Your obedient servant,

"Jno White."

LETTER OF GOVERNOR VANCE TO JOHN WHITE, COMMISSIONER.

STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA,
EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT,
RALEIGH, N. C., 10 July, 1863.

John White, Esq., Commissioner for North Carolina, Care of Frazier, Trenholm & Co., Liverpool:

DEAR SIR:—Colonel Crossan has arrived safely with steamer and cargo. I am much pleased with the results of your negotiations and approve most cordially of your whole conduct. You will see by the enclosed papers that the Legislature has also done all that was desired.

I have received full authority from the same source to run the vessel when and how I may think best, and I shall therefore keep her going until we get in the balance of the purchases. Since you left this country many important changes have taken place and the war is evidently nearing its close. The resources of our State and the Confederacy have developed in such a degree that we have every assurance of being able to clothe our troops with our own goods, and our vast amount of captures have given us an abundance of arms. On this account I regret Colonel McRae's purchase, and will only continue your purchases of clothing by reason of economy. I therefore send you out the balance of the bonds amounting to one million, but desire you to deposit them only as you need money, and to buy only as I may order as an accident might happen to Crossan at any time. I presume from your letter that you are not bound to take the whole loan at once, but may take it up from time to time, depositing bonds as you go. On the whole I will say that much being left to your discretion, my desire is that you should not keep far ahead of your shipments, either in money or supplies; that you should deal cautiously and wait for advices. I wrote you before this, requesting you to purchase a lot of cotton and wool cards and a machine for making them with a good supply of wire. If you have not already acted upon this, please buy at once fifty thousand pairs each of woolen and cotton cards and a machine and wire, and ship at once to Bermuda. I presume that by buying the teeth set in leather without the wood fur-

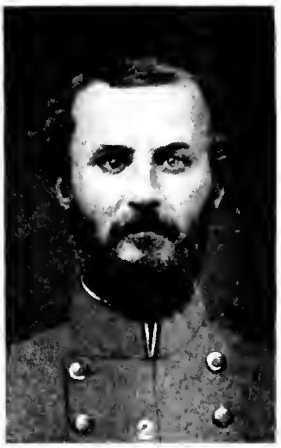
nishing, this number will not be a very large bulk. I hope Colonel McRae will ship his *principal cargo* no further than Bermuda, as it is not needed at present and the risk need not be incurred. Some little bills for State and private account accompany this which I hope you will attend to. As Crossan's cargo was quite a well assorted one, you may duplicate it once more without further orders. I wrote Colonel McRae also, but lest he should not receive it, I beg you to see him and tell him not to sell the turpentine scrip or bonds. It would be bad policy to put ourselves further on the market as borrowers, and his orders are not now needed any how. In fact I did not intend for him to go to Europe to compete with you. My idea was to procure his supplies in Halifax, as people would certainly be struck with the folly of sending two agents to the same market in part for the same object. Your family, I believe, continues well and Mr. Arrington is still at home with them. The fall of Vicksburg, though creating some despondency, has not discouraged us, and General Lee is compensating us by his invasion of northern territory. On the whole our prospects are better than they were this time last year. Our people are adapting themselves to a state of war, and our resources are developing wonderfully. Our army is becoming veteran and invincible, and our crop prospects with the harvest already in, almost exceed belief. You may assure, I think, the generous merchants who befriended a people in their death struggle for liberty and independence, that their investment is a safe one. Neglect no means of communicating with me.

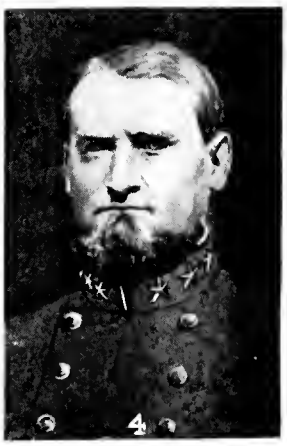
Very truly yours,

Z. B. VANCE.

P S.—I am told on reading over my letter that the proportion of the cotton to the wool cards should be about four of the former to one of the latter. You will know how this should be. Z. B. V

NOTE.—The Report of W. H. Oliver, Esq., of New Bern, showing purchases of the cotton on this side has been printed in this work, Vol. 1, pp. 32, 33.—ED.





SUPPLEMENTARY GROUP.

1. William Johnston, Colonel, Commissary General of North Carolina, 1861.
2. Adam Tredwell, Paymaster, N. C. Navy and C. S. N.
3. Joseph Price, Commander of the "Neuse."
4. D. M. Carter, Colonel, 4th Regt. Wounded at Seven Pines.

NORTH CAROLINA'S RECORD.

1861-'63.

By Z. B. VANCE, Colonel Twenty-Sixth Regiment N. C. T.

I have thought I could not do better than to give such information as I could gather in regard to North Carolina and the great struggle between constitutional principles and a physical Union. If in doing so I shall appear somewhat in the character of a champion of my own State, I yet hope to be pardoned, both because such a position is not unbecoming a true son of the soil, and because it is almost the only theme with which I could deal without the consumption of more time and searching of records than my engagements would possibly permit. I am induced to attempt this theme also because that owing to the reluctance with which North Carolina went into the secession movement, and because there was a considerable Union feeling still left there which made some manifestations of itself during the war, an impression has been sought to be made that she did not do altogether as much for the cause of the Confederacy as she might have done. And those who have assumed to write histories on the conflict so far, have either designedly fed this unjust impression by a studied silence on the subject or else they have been too much trammeled by the necessity of local panegyric to give ample motive to the *whole South*. I desire to remove this impression and to lay open the way for the truth of history. Confessing frankly that the great leaders of the war were furnished by other States, whose glories are the common property of the whole South, I desire to show what is true, that in the number of soldiers furnished, in the discipline, courage and loyalty and difficult service of those soldiers, in amount of material and supplies contributed, in the

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Note.—This is the speech made by Gov. Vance at White Sulphur Springs, W Va., 18 August, 1875. It is reprinted here as a valuable contribution to the history of North Carolina Troops 1861-'65 —Ed.

good faith and moral support of her people at large, and in all the qualities which mark self-sacrifice, patriotism and devotion to duty, North Carolina is entitled to stand where her troops stood in battle, behind no State, but in the front rank of the Confederation, aligned and abreast with the best, the foremost and the bravest. And I regret exceedingly that many of the facts and figures I shall give are reproduced from memory, though I am quite sure they will approximate exactitude. My familiarity with all the affairs of the State during the last three years of the war, was such as to enable me to state facts with reasonable certainty. The principal records of the State covering that period, in the Executive Department were seized and carried to Washington by the Federal authorities in 1865, where they yet remain. And though efforts have been made to that end, the officials would neither return the original nor permit copies to be made for the use of the State. No doubt such a course was designed to serve some great and wise State policy, though exactly what it was beyond the pleasure of irritating and disobliging our people, I have never been able to see. But so it is; we are utterly without official records in North Carolina concerning the most eventful period in our annals of 290 years.*

It may be said that there were only eleven States wholly committed to the late war—Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Texas, Arkansas and Tennessee. Maryland, Kentucky and Missouri were only partially engaged, the great majority of their people remaining with the Union. Of these eleven, North Carolina occupied the following position at the beginning of the war: In extent of territory she was the *seventh;* in total population she was the *fifth;* in white population the *third;* Virginia and Tennessee only exceeding her; in wealth she was the seventh; in the value of all farm products the fourth; in the production of cotton the ninth; in the production of corn the fourth; of wheat, rye and oats, the third, and in the number of horses and cattle the fourth. In manufac-

*Since then, copies of those letter books have been furnished to the State.—ED.

tures of all kinds, she was the third; in the production of iron and material of war, about fourth, and in root crops, fisheries and naval stores, the *first* of the eleven.

Such, in brief, were her capacities and resources for sustaining a war as compared with her associates. Her material condition was in all respects good. Average wealth was considerable, and prosperity and comfort abounded. Her credit was excellent and her State schemes of internal improvement were advancing cautiously and prudently The cultivation of cotton was advancing northward and that of tobacco was coming South; manufactures were growing and industry diversifying—the surest road to wealth—and everything indeed was moving on a solid basis. Politically, whilst our people were loyal to Southern institutions, they were eminently conservative and attached to the Union of the States. In considering what North Carolina did or did not do, in the war, this fact of her Union proclivities should never be forgotten. She was the last to move in the drama of secession, and went out at last more from a sense of duty to her sisters and the sympathies of neighborhood and blood, than from a deliberate conviction that it was good policy to do so. So late as February, 1861, her people solemnly declared, by a majority of many thousands, that they desired no convention to consider the propriety of seceding. But after the fall of Sumter and the proclamation of President Lincoln calling upon her for troops, she hesitated no longer. On 20 May, 1861, eighty-six years after her first Declaration of Independence of Great Britain, she repealed the ordinance by which she became a member of the American Union, and took her stand with the young Confederacy. None stood by that desperate venture with better faith or greater efficiency. It is a proud assertion which I make to-day when I say that, so far as I have been able to learn, North Carolina furnished more soldiers in proportion to white population, and more supplies and material in proportion to her means, for the support of that war, than any State of the Confederacy I beg you to believe that this is not said with any spirit of offence to other Southern States, or of defiance toward the Government of the United States, but simply as a just eulogy upon

the devotion of a people to what they considered a duty, in sustaining a cause, right or wrong, to which their faith was pledged.

The records of the Adjutant-General's office of the State will show that North Carolina sent into the service of the Confederacy as volunteers, men at the outset,	64,636
There were recruited by volunteers from time to time	21,608
And by conscripts.	18,585
Making in all, regular troops from North Carolina in the Confederate service.	104,829
Besides these there were regular troops in the State service	3,203
Militia on home duty	2,962
Junior Reserves	4,217
Senior Reserves	5,686
Troops from North Carolina serving in regiments of other States not borne on our rolls.	3,103
Total of all grades.	121,038

Of this number 107,932 were regular soldiers in the Confederate service, 3,203 were regular troops in the State service, and the remainder what may be termed "Land-wehr," doing garrison duty, guarding prisoners, arresting deserters, etc. These were organized as follows:

Sixty regiments of infantry, 6 regiments of cavalry, 3 regiments of artillery, 2 regiments of reserves—total, 71.

Four battalions of artillery, 4 battalions of cavalry, 3 battalions of infantry, 9 battalions of reserves—total, 20, and 13 unattached companies, and 11 companies borne on our rolls serving in regiments from other States. These figures are official.

NOTE.—Governor Vance's figures are official as far as they go but he omits some data then not known to him. A fuller and more complete statement of the number of regiments and number of troops furnished by this State will be found in the article "Number of Troops Furnished by North Carolina" in Vol. 5 of this work.—ED.

I do not know but what my assertion might be amended so as to claim that this is not relatively, but positively, more troops than any State put into service. At all events, I shall be glad if this brings forth the records of any sister State, and will submit when faily beaten.

According to the report of Adjutant-General Cooper, the whole number of troops in the Confederate service was 600,000, of which North Carolina furnished largely more than one-sixth; *one-tenth* would have been about her share. Her total white population was in 1860, 629,942; of this she sent to the army more than one man to every six souls!* How they demeaned themselves in the field the bloody records of killed and wounded in all the great battles of the war bear melancholy testimony. In many of the severe conflicts on the soil of Virginia—notably in that of Fredericksburg—a large majority of the casualties of the whole army were in the North Carolina troops, as appeared by the reports in the Richmond papers at that time. One regiment, the Twenty-sixth North Carolina, at the battle of Gettysburg, which went in 900 rank and file, came out with but little over 100 men fit for duty. They lost no prisoners. One company, 84 strong, made the unprecedented report that every man and officer in it was hit, and the Orderly Sergeant, who made out the list, did it with a bullet through each leg. The regiment commanded by General George B. Anderson (then Colonel), the Fourth North Carolina, at the battle of Seven Pines, lost 462 men, killed and wounded, out of 520, and 24 out of 27 officers.

Of the four divisions, D. H. Hill's, A. P Hill's, Longstreet's and Jackson's, which assailed and put to rout McClellan's right on the Chickahominy, there were 92 regiments, of which 46 regiments were North Carolinians. This statement I make upon the authority of one of the division commanders.

At the dedication of the Confederate cemetery in Winchester, Virginia, some years ago, I was invited to deliver the oration, and the reason assigned by the committee for soliciting

*In fact more than one in every *five*.—ED.

me for this task was that the North Carolina dead there exceeded the dead of any other State; showing that in all the glorious campaigns of Jackson, Ewell and Early, in that blood-drenched valley, North Carolina soldiers were either very numerous or else had an unusual share of the hard fighting; neither of which facts would be so much as suspected by reading the popular histories of those campaigns. *Dead men do tell tales,* and tales which can not be disputed.

Almost the only commands in Lee's army which were intact and serviceable at Appomattox, were North Carolina brigades, and the statement is made, and so far as I know without contradiction, that she surrendered twice as many muskets as any other State. At Greensboro, too, Hoke's Division, containing three brigades of North Carolina troops, in splendid condition and efficiency, constituted one-third or more of Johnston's entire army *

I mention these facts, not by way of ill-tempered or untasteful boasting, but by way of a proper self-assertion, a quality in which the people of my State are charged, and justly charged, with being deficient; and also because they testify to a state of things, which in the hands of a just and discriminating historian must greatly redound to the credit and honor of North Carolina. For I shall not scruple to make the statement here which I have often made elsewhere, and I make it without the fear of giving offence to brave and great men, that the writers who have hastened to pen biographies of the great and illustrious leaders which Virginia gave to the Confederacy, have been too anxious to eulogize their heroes to give due attention to the forces which wrought their plans into such glorious results—the plain men whose deeds gave their leaders so much renown. The history of the British Kings had been often written, said Macaulay, but no one had ever written the history of the British people, which was the more useful to be learned. So we are having many histories and biographies of the great generals and chieftains of

*In his estimate of the proportion of North Carolinians at the two surrenders, Gov. Vance unintentionally *overstates* the facts in favor of his State, though of course in honest reliance upon the information before him.—ED.

our war, but we have not and are not likely to have soon, any history of the Confederate people—of the thousands upon thousands who rushed forward under the banners of these chieftains; of the numbers who died: of the sufferings they endured, the sacrifices they made, of the labors of all classes performed; of the subsistence and material furnished by those not in the ranks; of their feelings, their hopes, patriotism and their despair. No history can be useful or instructive which gives us no glance into such things as these. The broad, Catholic cosmopolitan history of this most remarkable struggle has yet to be written, wherein the story of the *people* shall be told; wherein, when it is said how that a great general won a victory, it will also be mentioned what troops and where from who fought it for him: how the artisan in the shops, the ploughman in the field, the little girls in the factories, the mothers at the old hand looms, the herdsmen on the mountain's side, the miner in the earth's bowels, the drivers and brakesmen on the railroad engines, how *all these* felt, and strove, and suffered equally with the soldier, and yet without his stimulus of personal glory. Such a history would fill with content the palaces of the rich and the cottages of the poor, would imbue the humble masses with still greater patriotism, and our statesmen with a most useful knowledge; would remove local jealousies, and increase brotherly affection.

Having shown how North Carolina performed her duty to the Confederacy in furnishing soldiers, I desire to call attention heretofore corrected to the part she took in furnishing supplies and material. And here it would greatly interest the political economist were I able to give accurate instead of estimated figures, to consider what resources a people may exhibit under pressure of circumstances. Every industry looking to the support of an army in the field, or the people at home, sprang forward with astonishing activity, especially those wherein we had formerly been dependent on foreign manufacturers. Like most of the Southern people, we were slavish tributaries to Northern and British manufacturers; the simplest article, in common use bore their impress, from a broom or an axe handle to a water bucket. In the manufac-

ture of cotton North Carolina had less than $1,500,000 invested; in wool not over $300,000, perhaps not more in iron, and these latter were but small establishments for local accommodation. There was not a manufactory of arms worth mentioning in the State. Of cotton goods, not half a supply, even of the coarser sorts, were made for our own consumption; of woolen goods, scarcely a tenth; of iron, for ordinary purposes, not a twentieth; of shoes and leather, not a tenth part of home consumption, was supplied. Yet in less than twelve months we were not only filling that demand and furnishing large quantities for the army, but selling heavily to our Southern sisters. When the capacity of the cotton and woolen mills began to be heavily taxed, the old-fashioned wheel, card and hand looms of our grand-mothers bloomed into fashion once more, and under the patriotic zeal of our mothers and daughters the whole land was musical with the song of the spinning and the clack of the shuttle. When their hand cards gave out it was ascertained that there was no machinery in the South to renew the supply. But many thousands of pairs were imported through the blockade, as well as two sets of machinery for their manufacture, and the stock was abundantly renewed. Ere long, also, it was discovered that the card clothing and other destructible parts of the mills were giving out and could not be replaced in the Confederacy. This difficulty was also met by the importation of quantities of card clothing, belting and lubricating oils, which kept all the factories going till the end. An abundant supply of cotton goods, and a full supply for the people, and a partial one for the army, of woolen, being thus provided, the remaining quota of woolen goods and leather findings were sought for abroad. By means of warrants based upon cotton and naval stores, an elegant long-legged steamer was purchased in the Clyde.* She was built for a passenger boat to ply between Glasgow and Dublin, and was

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NOTE.—It is but justice to state here that the idea of obtaining supplies in this way, was suggested to me by Gen. J. G. Martin, then Adjutant General of the State. It was his practical ability which shaped the outline of the scheme, though he had returned to active service in the Confederate army before its fruits were reaped. Z. B. V

remarkably swift. Captain Crossan, who purchased her in connection with my financial agent, Mr. John White, ran her in at Wilmington with a full cargo in 1863, changed her name from Lord Clyde to the *Ad-Vance*. When her elegant saloons and passenger arrangements were cut away, she could carry with ease 800 bales of cotton and a double supply of coal. As cotton was worth in Liverpool then about 50 cents in gold, the facilities for purchasing abroad whatever we desired, is apparent. Before the port of Wilmington fell, this good vessel had successfully and without accident made eleven trips to Nassau, Bermuda and Halifax, through the Federal fleet, often coming through in open day Captain Thomas Crossan, Captain Julius Guthrie, North Carolinians, and Captain Wylie, a Scotchman, were her successive commanders. By reason of the abstraction or destruction of the Adjutant-General's record, as before remarked, I am unable to give an exact manifest of her several inward cargoes, but the following will give an idea of them: Large quantities of machinery supplies, 60,000 pairs of hand cards, 10,000 grain scythes, 200 barrels of blue stone for the wheat growers, leather and shoes for 250,000 pairs, 50,000 blankets, gray woolen cloth for at least 250,000 suits of uniforms, 12,000 overcoats ready made, 2,000 best Enfield rifles, with 100 rounds of fixed ammunition, 100,000 pounds bacon, 500 sacks of coffee for hospital use, $50,000 worth of medicines at gold prices, large quantities of lubricating oils, besides minor supplies of various kinds for the Charitable institutions of the State. Not only was the supply of shoes, blankets and clothing more than sufficient for the supply of North Carolina troops, but large quantities were turned over to the Confederate Government for the troops of other States. In the winter succeeding the battle of Chickamauga, I sent to General Longstreet's Corps, 14,000 suits of clothing complete. At the surrender of General Johnston, the State had on hand, ready made and in cloth, 92,000 suits of uniform, with great store of blankets, leather, etc., the greater part of which was distributed among the soldiers and people. To make good the warrants on which these purchases had been made abroad, the State purchased and had on hand in trust for the holders,

11,000 bales of cotton and 100,000 barrels of rosin. The cotton was partly destroyed before the war closed, the remainder, amounting to several thousand bales, was *captured* after peace was declared, by certain officers of the Federal army The proceeds probably went into the United States Treasury, and probably not. *Quien sabe.*

This good vessel, the *Ad-Vance,* was finally captured on her twelfth trip, going out, by reason of unfit coal. She usually brought in enough Welsh coal, which being anthracite, made no smoke, to run her out again, but on this occasion she was compelled to give her supply to the cruiser *Alabama,* which was then in port, and to run out with North Carolina bituminous coal, which choked her flues, diminished her steam, and left a black column of smoke in her wake, by which she was easily followed and finally overtaken.

In addition to these supplies brought in from abroad, immense quantities of bacon, beef, flour and corn, were furnished from our own fields. I have no possible data for estimating these, but any one who is acquainted with the valley of the Roanoke, and the black, alluvial lowlands of Eastern North Carolina, will recognize what they can do in the production of corn when actively cultivated. And they and all the lands of this State were actively cultivated for the production of food. I was told by General Joseph E. Johnston, that when his army was surrendered at Greensboro, he had in his depots in North Carolina, gathered in the State, five months' supplies for sixty-thousand men; and that for many months previous, General Lee's army had been almost entirely fed from North Carolina.

Public sentiment rigidly forbade the cultivation of any but limited crops of cotton and tobacco, and the distillation of grain was forbidden by law. Though perhaps mere *brutum fulmen,* in view of their constitutionality, these laws were cheerfully sustained by a patriotic public voice and were generally obeyed. The fields everywhere were green and golden with the corn and wheat. Old men and women, in many cases, guided the plough whilst children followed with the hoe in the gaping furrows. The most serious conditions of life are oftentimes fruitful of amusement to those who have

philosophy sufficient to grasp it; and the sufferings of those dark days were frequently illumined by the ludicrous. The prohibition upon distilling was regarded by many as a peculiar hardship. "Old Rye" grew to be worth its weight in silver, and "Mountain Dew" became as the nectar of the gods. Even "New Dip" became precious, and was rolled as a sweet morsel under our rebel tongues. Yet, true to their character of the most law-abiding people on the continent, all respected the act of Assembly. Many thirsting souls, however, fancied that I was invested with that illegal power, the exercise of which lost James II his crown, of dispensing with the laws, and petitioned me accordingly for a dispensation. The excuses given were various. One had much sickness in his family, and would I permit him to make a small "run" for medicine? Another wanted to make just enough "to go in camphor:" and still another gave it as his solemn opinion that it was going to be a terrible bad season for snakes, and they must have a little on hand in case of bites! Finally one man wrote me, with an implied slander on my appetite, shocking to think of even now, that he only wanted to make ten gallons, and if I would give the permission he would send me a quart! I replied in all seriousness that I could not think of violating my official oath for less than a gallon. That broke the trade.

In addition to providing for the soldiers in the field, there was still a more difficult task in providing for the destitute at home, a task which I think the military men did not appreciate properly For the comfort of soldiers traveling to and fro, wayside hospitals or inns were established at Weldon, Goldsboro, Wilmington, Raleigh, Greensboro, Salisbury, Charlotte, and other chief points. Here the sick, the wounded and the furloughed were entertained. But there were thousands of the families of the poor, whose only supporters were in the army, and whom we were in duty bound to care for and keep from suffering. Not only did justice and humanity require this, but good policy as well. When the paper which the husband in the army received became so depreciated that it would buy the wife and children no bread, the strength and confidence of the Confederacy began to weaken at once.

No cause, however just, no enthusiasm, however zealous, could long withstand the cry of wife and children for food. To meet this necessity, granaries were established at several points in the State, and corn distributed in the most needy districts; committees were appointed in each county to look after the needy, and commissioners selected, whose sole duty it was to provide salt. The State became for the time a grand Almoner, and though from the very nature of the task it was impossible to effect the object completely, yet it is my opinion that no part performed in that great struggle was more deserving of praise than that effort which North Carolina made to provide for the poor families of those who were fighting for her independence on distant fields. These efforts went to the very gist of our success. Nor were these confined to the public authorities. Private charities and liberality abounded. Each county has its list of neighborhood heroes, gray-headed, quiet men, whose victories were won over the greedy passions of gain and the temptations of avarice. They are pointed out yet as the men who would sell no corn except to soldiers' wives, widows or mothers; who would sell no leather from their tanyards except to put shoes on their feet, and who did not raise in price or discount their money All honor to such men. And let history make mention of it as a fact, that in thus serving God they were likewise rendering a service to their country quite as great as that of the armed soldiers, and far greater than that of the brawling politicians. Nor did they stop with the giving of their goods. Courage and patriotism usually go hand in hand with kindness of heart. Such an instance comes to my mind now in the person of old Thomas Calton, of Burke county, whose humble name I venture to give as worthy of all honor and remembrance, and as a good sample of the grand but unglorified class of men among us who preserve the savor of good citizenship and ennoble our humanity. He not only gave his goods to sustain women and children, but gave all his sons, five in number, to the cause. One by one they fell until at length a letter arrived, telling that the youngest and the last, the bright-haired, blue-eyed Benjamin of the hearth, had fallen also. Kind friends deputed an old neighbor to take the letter to him, and break

the distressing news as gentle as possible. When made aware of his desolation, he made no complaint, uttered no exclamation of heart-broken despair, but called his son-in-law, a delicate, feeble man, who had been discharged by the army surgeons, and said, whilst his frail body trembled with emotion, and tears rolled down his aged cheeks: "Get your knapsack, William; the ranks must be filled!" Surely it may be said that the pure soul which can thus triumph over nature, like him that ruleth himself is greater than he who taketh a city!

Such were the efforts made in North Carolina, public and private, to avert the calamities of war and to sustain the spirits of the people. I attribute the comparatively great efficiency of the North Carolina troops to these efforts. In my opinion the causes of our ultimate failure begun by neglect of those at home. Our civil administrators lost the cause of the South. Had it been equal in ability and tact to that displayed by our military administration—had the civilian done his part so well as the soldier—very different would have been the result. I do not mean by this to attack Mr. Davis and his ministers. By no means. They doubtless did what men could, situated as they were. I mean that the class of men to whom the management of public sentiment in a democratic government is usually entrusted, failed of their part. The *morale* of our people at the beginning and for two years thereafter was excellent; and if it had been sustained I maintain that we could have won nothwithstanding the fearful disparity of numbers and means. But it was not kept up; and to that defective statesmanship which permitted the popular enthusiasm to die out and even aided to extinguish it, must be attributed our ill success. Few of our political leaders comprehended the situation at all when the troubles began. In the first place the war was resorted to in order to avoid *anticipated,* not *existing,* evils; and the great mass of mankind who do not read Burke and Hallam are only stirred permanently and deeply by present oppressions which they *feel.* Had a tenth of the outrages perpetrated since the war been inflicted upon us, or even attempted, before a blow had been stricken, there would have been no flag-

ging of popular enthusiasm, no desertion, no Appomattox, no military satrapies instead of States under the Constitution. In the second place, the war once begun, our leaders either did not grasp the magnitude of the struggle, or with an unwise want of candor concealed it as much as possible from the popular intelligence, which reacted most injuriously upon the cause. A frank avowal that the war would be long and desperate, and a call for volunteers to serve through its whole duration would have brought out the entire military strength of our people as well as the call for six months. This short-sighted policy had to be repaired by a conscript act, and although it was necessary at the time the blunder of those who created the necessity remains the same. Our people never recovered from the damper inflicted on their enthusiasm by the anomalous spectacle of beholding men hunted down and tied to make them fight for freedom and independence!

Suffering and disappointment began to produce discontent at home. Little was done to allay this feeling. All eyes were turned to the army The majority of our civic talent took service there, where as a general thing exultant politicians were buried without a corresponding resurrection of great generals. The civic talent which remained at home mistook to a wonderful extent, the temper of our people in other respects. The Northern masses were kept up to the war pitch by appeals for the preservation of the Union. It was a stirring war cry; filled with the most sacred associations of our fathers and their great deeds, and attuned to the proudest glories moral, and physical, of the American citizen. We had no slogan half so thrilling. Our denunciation of abolition operated only upon the comparatively few who reflected upon its consequences and foresaw the evils of a violated Constitution. Seven-tenths of our people owned no slaves, and to say the least of it, felt no great and enduring enthusiasm for its preservation, especially when it seemed to them that it was in no danger. Our statesmen were not wise enough to put the issue on any other ground. In brief, it was not so arranged as that the causes of the war took hold upon the popular heart, and the real wonder is, that, sus-

;ained mainly by sectional pride and a manly, war-like spirit, the contest lasted so long as it did.

Again: when our currency depreciated so that it would not pay the government which issued it, a tithe law was enacted, seizing the people's goods by way of taxes whilst their pockets were filled with the government promises to pay. Then there came another law exempting from militia duty those who owned a certain number of slaves; an exceedingly injurious measure for which no possible advantage could atone. These sources of discontent, added to much suffering at home, soon put matters beyond the remedial agency of the wisest statesmanship. Enthusiasm died out; confidence fled. Desertion began, and the deserter's place was filled by more conscripts. The result was that not only were the discontent and suffering increased, but the just ratio between those who labor at home and those who serve in the field and consume, was destroyed; so that the larger the army became the weaker it grew; lacking the healthy strength of well organized communities behind it. Since the formation of States on the basis of civilization, and the barbarian tribes ceased to wage war by *migrating* into the territory of their enemies, there is perhaps no instance of a community stript so bare of its industrial and productive forces as was the South in 1864. Prussia during the seven years war is perhaps an exception to this assertion: I can not remember any other. From many districts—county sub-divisions—in North Carolina, I had, during 1864, petitions signed by women alone, praying that A. B. might not be ordered away, as he was the only able-bodied man in their district, to protect them, grind their grain, etc. But for our slaves society could not then have moved on at all.

I have dwelt thus long on the reasons for my assertion that our cause was lost at home and not in the field, in order to excuse the emphasis which I have given to domestic affairs in North Carolina during this period, and the efforts which we made to remove these springs of discontent. They are not unworthy of your notice, though not so exciting as stories of battles and sieges, because they go to the root of the matter. And although we were not entirely successful in feeding all

the poor and keeping down all discontent, yet much was done, and we had the proud satisfaction of knowing that more soldiers, in better condition, hailing from Old North Carolina were standing by the great Virginia Chieftains, Lee and Johnston, when the bugle sounded the melancholy notes of surrender, than from any other State of the Confederacy.

When it is remembered that North Carolina was devoted to the Union, and rejected secession until the very last, that much has been said about an unruly, disloyal Union element in her midst during the war, and that she has been accused of having an unusual amount of desertions from her ranks, it will be admitted, I trust, that we have a right to be proud that we are thus vindicated by the facts and figures. Surely no portion of the Southern people can show a brighter record, a nobler devotion to good faith and order.

So great was the prevalence of this unjust impression, that North Carolina could be easily detached from her duty to her confederates, that it seems there were some who presumed upon it for important purposes. Soon after the failure of the Fortress Monroe or Hampton Roads conference, I was visited by Governor Graham (whose death we so recently deplore), who was then a Senator of the Confederate States. After giving all the particulars of that conference which had not appeared in the papers, and the prevailing impressions of congressional circles about Richmond, etc., he informed me that a number of leading gentlemen there, despairing of obtaining peace through Mr. Davis, and believing the end inevitable and not distant, had requested him to visit me and urge me as Governor of North Carolina, to take steps for making separate terms with Mr. Lincoln, and thus inaugurate the conclusion. That he had agreed to lay their request before me without promising to add his personal advice thereto. I asked who these gentlemen were, and with some reluctance he gave me their names, chiefly Senators and Representatives in the Confederate Congress. I asked why these gentlemen did not begin negotiations for their own States with the enemy, and if they would come out in the papers with this request to me. He said they *could not* take the initiative, they were so surrounded at home, and so trammelled

by pledges, etc., as to render it impossible! I declined the proposition, of course, and asked him to say to those gentlemen, with my compliments, that in the mountains where I was raised, when a man was whipped he had to do his own hollowing; that the technical word "enough" could not be cried by proxy. This piece of secret history will serve to show that there was a faintness of heart and a smiting together of knees in other parts of the South outside of North Carolina.*

There are among us unnatural sons of the soil, who being enlightened by the knowledge-inspiring sweets of Federal flesh-pots denounce publications vindicating our record during the war as evincing a purpose to keep alive the fires of sectional bitterness, and feed a spirit of ill-faith toward our present duties. Again there are others in our midst, timid souls, abounding in those good intentions which are said to constitute the paving stones of a certain nether locality, who say they *fear* these charges are just, or at least our action looks that way, and had better cease for that reason. I cannot agree with either. I am sure such imputations are libellous. The preservation of the truth—especially the truth of history—challenges the interest of all mankind. To set forth

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*Since the synopsis of this was published, I have received a letter from an esteemed friend in Hillsboro', N. C., who says he had a conversation with Gov. Graham on the same subject, and that his recollection is that the proposition made to me was, that I should take steps to withdraw the North Carolina troops from Gen. Lee's army, which would force him to surrender and thus end the war. It may be that my friend's recollection is correct. I am quite sure, however, that substantially I was requested to take separate and independent action to end the contest, and I do not regard the difference between my friend's statement and my own as very material.

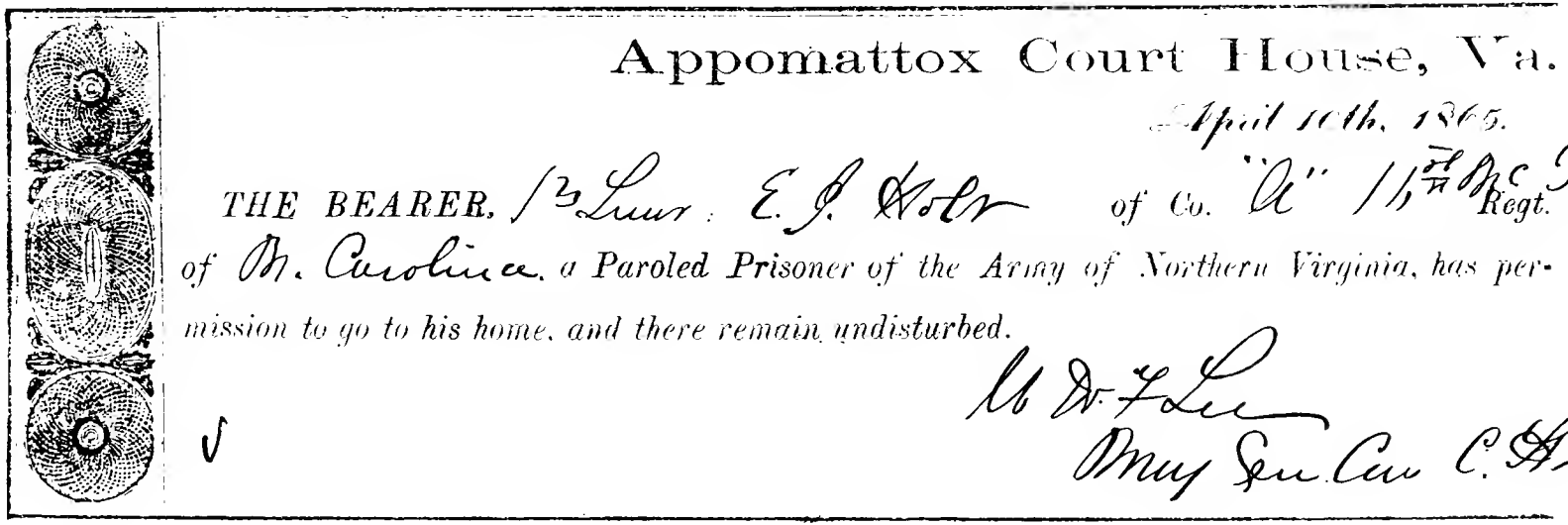
I have also been surprised to learn that this statement was construed by many as a personal reflection, both on Gov. Graham and the gentlemen who entrusted him with the message. Surely nothing could have been further from my intention. It was understood at Richmond, as I learned, that Mr. Davis neither could nor would negotiate any treaty which involved the destruction of his own government, and as Gen. Lee could only hold out a few days or weeks longer, it was deemed important by those gentlemen to undertake action by the States separately I was only indignant that those, who were so lively in the beginning of the fight and reflected so severely on North Carolina for her tardiness, should undertake to make her the scape-goat of defeat. I did not regard it as a treacherous or dishonorable proposition, but as one which would have put our State in a false position, if accepted by me. Z. B. V

the real deeds which we and our associates enacted, and the real issues before us as the only proper motives which incited to their performance, is a solemn duty we owe to ourselves and to posterity. It is especially due to our own posterity—to those who are to succeed us as citizens of the United States under a peculiar and most complicated system of government. The light which our conflict will afford them in grappling with many difficulties of the future, will be as a lamp to their feet, if our story be truly told; but if falsely related, it would prove a delusion and a snare. False history must teach false lessons, and false indeed would have been the verdict of the muse had it been inspired alone by the bitter rantings and partisan war cries of one side; and that side, too, making history, or trying to make history, for the purpose of keeping itself in power. But after a season, bold and representative men begin gradually to creep into the National Legislature and other positions where their voices may be heard. Both sides now make statements; contention arises, and from its fiery heats, so alarming to the timid, comes forth the precious gems of truth, pure and glorified, whose lessons, like the leaves of the tree of life, are for the healing of the nations. Surely, there is in our story food to satisfy the reflective and to fire the hearts of the brave, for many generations; how that written constitutions which men are sworn to support, are yet as feathers in the gale before the fierce passions excited by interest, sectional hatred, and religious bigotry, and that the only hope of freedom is, after all, when her anchors take hold deep down in the hearts of men; how that a simple agricultural people, unused to war, without manufactures, without ships, shut out from the world and supposed to be effeminated and degenerated by African slavery, yet waged a four years contest against four times their numbers, and ten times their means, supplementing all their necessities, and improvising all their material almost out of dreary wastes of chaos; how that their generals wrought out campaigns not discreditable to the genius of Hannibal, Caius Julius, Marlborough and Napoleon; whilst their gently nurtured soldiers fought and marched and endured with the courage of the Grecian phalanx, the steadi-

ness of the Roman Legion, and the endurance of the British Lion—and all because the Southern people had preserved the lofty souls and gallant spirits of *their* ancestry; had treasured up the traditions of chivalry and personal honor which their fathers had bequeathed them as the highest glory of a race, instead of the heaping together of dollars; the great lesson which this age is striving to forget, that States will be as their men are, that men will be as their souls are, ordid or lofty as they are taught. And if there be any man among us, North or South, who feels that the truth of this cruel war should not be known, or that it is dangerous to honor that courage and patriotism which extend to the giving of life in its support, in any cause which a Christian soldier could maintain; or that unfaithfulness to present duty is cured from a reverencing of the memory of those who died to preserve their faith; with such I have no desire to harmonize, the good opinion of all such I can afford to despise. We know that the glorious profession of arms is of the highest importance to a State; and a skill to wield the sword and the manhood to fight battles are cardinal elements of successful civilization. All peace and mental cultivation produce effeminate Greeks of the lower empire. All war and physical development produce the Goth and the Hun. But when the martial and the civil spirit are judiciously combined, the highest types of human progress are brought forth.

ZEBULON B. VANCE.

WHITE SULPHUR SPRINGS, W. VA.,
18 August, 1875.



Appomattox Court House, Va.

April 10th, 1865.

THE BEARER, 1st Lieut. E. J. Holt of Co. "A" 16th N.C. Batt. Regt. of N. Carolina, a Paroled Prisoner of the Army of Northern Virginia, has permission to go to his home, and there remain undisturbed.

U. S. Grant
Maj. Gen. Com. C. S. A.

A PAROLE OF THE ARMY OF NORTHERN VIRGINIA.

Fac-simile of parole of E. J. Holt, 1st Lt., 75th Regt., N. C. T. (16th Battalion).

PAROLE LIST AT APPOMATTOX.

COPIED FROM DUPLICATE ROLL DELIVERED TO GEN. LEE AT THE SURRENDER.

Major-General Bryan Grimes.
John B. Burwell, Capt. and A. Q. M.
W E. Stitt, Capt. Com'd'g Div. S. S
A. S. Reid, Capt. and A. Q. M.
Geo. Lee, Capt and A. C. S.
N. J. Whitlock, Capt. and A. Q. M.
J. B. Lee, Ordnance Sergeant.
James Pollard, Ordnance Sergeant.* Total, 8.

*The names of those only of General Grimes' staff who were from North Carolina are printed above.—ED.

COX'S BRIGADE.

Brigadier-General W R. Cox.
H. M. Miller, Maj. and C. S.
W. T. Faircloth, Capt. and A. Q. M.
S. H. Coleman, 1st Lt. and Ord. Officer.
J. S. Battle, 1st Lt. and A. D. C.
J. Jones, Capt and A. A. G.
Jno. B. Brown, Capt. and A. I. G. Total, 7.

NOTE.—This list has been printed from the duplicate rolls of the paroles of the Army of Northern Virginia, surrendered at Appomattox Court House, Virginia, 9 April, 1865, which were retained by its commander, General Robert Edward Lee, Confederate States Army; the other duplicate being delivered to Lieutenant-General Ulysses S. Grant, commanding the Armies of the United States. The present documents passed from General Lee into the charge of the late Hon Robert Ould, Confederate States Commissioner of Exchange of Prisoners of War, by whom they were deposited in the archives of the Southern Historical Society and were printed by it in its Vol. XV

The orthography of the originals has been carefully followed in printing, except where corrected by comrades, although it is apprehended that there were many clerical misconceptions as to the correct rendering of proper names. Copies of the following lists were sent out by the writer to some member of each regiment to correct errors in the spelling of names due to carelessness in the officials at the surrender, or of the copyists or the printers. Being an official record, there was no authority to change by omitting or adding a single name. Only names of those from North Carolina commands are here given. There were also a few names on the rolls whose regiments are not given and several of these men may have been from this State but there being no means of learning who they were none such are here printed.—ED.

REGIMENTAL AND COMPANY OFFICERS.

L. C. Latham, Major 1st N. C. T.
French Strange, Adj't 1st N. C. T.
Wm. H. Thompson, Capt. Co. C, 1st N. C. T.
A. Mizell, Capt. Co. H, 1st N. C. T.
Fred W. Moore, Capt. Co. E, 1st N. C. T.
Thomas D. Boone, Capt. Co. F, 1st N. C. T.
Thomas N. Bishop, 2d Lt. Co. E, 1st N. C. T.
H. H. Patterson, 2d Lt. Co. I, 1st N. C. T.
Thomas H. W. McIntire, 2d Lt. Co. F, 1st N. C. T.
R. J. Day, 2d Lt. Co. K, 1st N. C. T
G. W. Briggs, 30th N. C., Sen. Surg. Brig.
Lucius C. Coke, Ass't Surg. 1st N. C. T.
J. Turner Scales, Major 2d N. C. T.
Robert H. Jones, 2d Lt. Co. G, 2d N. C. T.
R. D. Hancock, 1st Lt. Co. K, 2d N. C. T.
Garry Fulghum, 1st Lt. Co. B, 2d N. C. T.
Larry B. Boyette, 2d Lt. Co. B, 2d N. C. T.
W. J. Strcct, 2d Lt. Co. K, 2d N. C. T.
Wm. T. Ennett, Maj. 3d N. C. T.
Thomas F. Wood, Ass't Surg. 3d N. C. T.
N A. Graham, Adj't 3d N. C. T.
Jas. I. Metts, Capt. Co. G, 3d N. C. T.
J. F Shaffner, Surgeon 4th N. C. T.
J. M. Hadley, Ass't Surgeon 4th N. C. T.
J. B. Forcum, Capt. Co. H, 4th N C. T.
T G. Lee, Capt. Co. D, 4th N. C. T.
M. L. Bean, 1st Lt. and Act. Adj't 4th N. C. T.
Jno. D. Wells, 2d Lt. Co. F, 4th N C. T
C. A. Guffee, 2d Lt. Co. G, 4th N. C. T
J. C. Turner, 2d Lt. Co. C, 4th N C. T
W A. Johnston, Lt.-Col. 14th N C. T
Wm. C. Powers, Chaplain 14th N C. T
Jno. E. Logan, Ass't Surg. 14th N C. T
W. T. Jenkins, Capt. Co. A, 14th N. C. T
J. M. Hinson, Capt. Co. E, 14th N. C. T
W M. Gudger, 2d Lt. Co. F, 14th N C. T
M. H. Cross, 2d Lt. Co. B, 14th N C. T
D. C. Allen, Capt. Co. C, 30th N. C. T
W E. Ardrey, Capt. Co. K, 30th N. C. T.
J. W. Badgett, Capt. Co. G, 30th N. C. T.
S. R. Moore, Capt. Co. F, 30th N C. T
I. J. Johnson, Lieut. Co. E, 30th N. C. T.
J. T. Fulford, Lieut. Co. G, 30th N C. T
Geo. W. Carrington, Surgeon 2d N. C. T. **Total, 44.**

FIRST NORTH CAROLINA REGIMENT.

NON-COMMISSIONED STAFF.

l. Serg't Alfred W. Wilbor, Q'r-M'r Serg't James D. Boone.

Co. A.

vate J. H. Barill, Private Ashley Swain.

Co. B.

'g't A. J. Ford, Private Benjamin Hines,
P C. Call, E. H. Johnson,
'p'l W. H. Witherspoon, W. R. Johnson,
D. L. Boylan, Jacob Shepherd,
vate S. P. Ayres, R. A. Spainhour,
W. E. Cranor, R. H. Parker,
A. J. Curtis, A. M. Vannoy,
Terrell Gray, J. M. Moore,
J. W Burton, J. W Wagstaff,
J. M. Malpass, H. H. Whittey.

Co. D.

vate W. F. Butler, Private J. W May,
J. A. Boswell, Thomas L. Mann,
A. L. Cannady, J. W Johnson,
R. Crabtree, J. Stamy,

Co. E.

vate W H. Williams, Private H. McCormick.
D. Huffman,

Co. F.

'g't Hugh Quinn, Private J. P. Darden,
vate R. J. Askew, N. Hasty,
W. F. Boone, J. R. Powell.

Co. G.—Private G. W Respass.

Co. H.

'g't H. W. Holliday, Private A. Boone.

Co. I.

'g't W A. Jones, Private J. W Perry,
J. C. Scarborough, Wm. H. Pace,
E. R. Pace, John Mitchell,
ivate G. W Davis, W E. Redford,
W P. King, R. J. Riggins.

Co. K.

'g't R. Carpenter, Private W D. Shaw,
ivate J. Billups, Benj. Short,
W. R. Branch, John Winters.
Thos. Strickland,

Total, **61.**

SECOND NORTH CAROLINA REGIMENT.

NON-COMMISSIONED STAFF.

Serg't-Major Sam'l P. Collier, Com. Serg't William B. Bell.

Co. A.

Serg't John E. Banner, Private James G. Burt.

Co. B.

Serg't Elbert Todd, Private Irvin Boykin,
Corp'l William C. Batts, Bunyon Stott,
Private Thomas Flowers, John G. Wells,
Hodge Bass, Wiley Stott,
Raiford Fulghum, John Renike,
Charles Mabry, Simon Moore.

Co. C.—Private Furney Harold.

Co. D.

Serg't Benj. A. Howard, Private Harris Lamb,
Mus'n James T. Edmundson, L. B. Lamb,
Private John W. Fort, William Mumford,
Franklin Webb, James T. Mitchell.
William J. L. Mears,

Co. E.

Serg't L. R. Colley, Private John Sills,
L. W Hackett, John T. Warren.

Co. F.

Serg't Daniel Lane, Private John A. Poteat,
Mus'n David Johnson, Erasmus F Page,
Private James Brinkley. Robert J. Flake.
Lewis G. Taylor,

Co. G.

Private John L. Saunders, Private H. H. Young.
Stephen H. Alligood,

Co. H.

Private Jacob Williams, Private Warren Corbitt,
Robert Williams, William B. Pike.

Co. I.

Private George W. Fulghum, Private David Powers,
John W Austin, Alexander M. Powell,

Total, 48.

JAMES T. SCALES, Major Com'd'g.

THIRD NORTH CAROLINA REGIMENT.

NON-COMMISSIONED STAFF.

rg't-Major K. R. Taylor.

Co. A.

rp'l R. H. Young,
ıs'n Joseph Turnage,
ıvate J. R. Best,
J. R. Hill,

Private Benj. Jones,
J. P. Hill,
W. M. Randolph,
John Tuton,
Thomas Wooten.

Co. B.

rg't T. G. Jones,
ıs'n J. H. Shaw,
ivate W. F. Cole,
J. W. Kennedy,

Private B. W. Drew,
W Purnell,
D. J. Rogers,
J. S. Strickland.

Co. C.

rg't David Autry,
rp'l W. G. Davis,
ivate D. L. Grimes,

Private W Johnson,
Thos. Springs.

Co. D.

ıvate J. B. Bullock,
James R. Frederick,
A. B. McNeill,
D. G. McNeill,

Private Owen Newsome,
Alfred Newsome,
W E. Teal.

Co. E.

rg't E. H. King,
D. H. Willis,
ivate James Bruce,

Private B. L. Grant,
H. W Nixon,
James T. Edens.

Co. F.

rg't H. Laurens,
ivate Henry H. Bishop,

Private Jas. M. Greene.

Co. G.

rg't L. A. Avery,
ivate J. E. Chesnutt,

Private B. M. Riggs,
Jacob Morton.

Co. H.

ivate Arch. Callum,

Private Zimri Williams.

Co. I.

ırp'l J. Neal,
ivate A. Murray.

Private D. J. Staley.

Co. K.

ırp'l W W. Cowan,
ivate Anthony De Bose,
Thos. J. Lane,

Private Jas. L. Mills,
T. J. Ormsby,
Mus'n P B. Watkins. Total, 54.

FOURTH NORTH CAROLINA REGIMENT.

NON-COMMISSIONED STAFF AND BAND.

Serg't-Major E. Burette Stinson,
A. Ord. Serg't Jno. Graham Young,
Hos. Steward S. M. Guffey.
Mus'n G. B. Austin,
J. Y. Barbour,
Sam. C. Davis,
Jno. T. Goodman,
Charles Heyer,
Mus'n Thos. P. Gillespie,
Jas. C. Steele,
J. Natt Raymer,
Natt J. Weant,
W. R. J. Brawley,
Robt. E. Patterson,
Edw'd B. Neave.

Co. A.

Ord. Serg't Elam F. Morrison,
Corp'l P. A. Shaver.
Private S. Mose Barnes,
Theo. H. Davidson,
Robert S. Lazenby,
Jno. Y. Carvin.
Private J. C. McMaster,
J. B. Stinson, Brigade Courier,
Jno. A. Stikeleather, color bearer,

Co. B.

Private N. V Cowan,
Sam. M. Moore,
Private Jeff. A. Smith.

Co. C.

O. Serg't Robt. O. Linster,
Serg't Abb M. White,
Private M. P. Beard,
R. C. Beard,
J. H. Christie,
R. B. Cook,
John F. Holmes,
J. A. Houp,
W F Hutchins,
S. A. Hoover,
R. J. Holmes,
Private Isaac M. Jones,
H. Lou Lollar,
Dave Murdoch,
Jas. A. Reid,
J. M. Rickert,
Joe. B. Sherrill,
Thos. Summers,
N. C. Summers, Med. Purveyor,
T. B. Swann, Div. Guard.

Co. D.

O. Serg't John Holmes,
Private Jno. Lewis,
Private Joshua Merritt,
Thos. J. Pate,

Co. E.

Serg't C. E. Perry,
Private Isaac S. Swindell,
J. W Silverthorn,
Private J. W Hawkins,
W R. Carpenter.

Co. F.

Serg't D. P Christman,
Jas. Gay,
W. O. Wooten,
Private Jno. B. Woodard,
Ben. H. Lancaster, Corps Guard,

Mus'n A. Watson,
Private Jno. McBride. Com. Serg't Reg't.
Private J. M. Winburne,
S. A. Sasser.

Co. G.

Serg't J. D. Cheek,
Private Wm. Clary
R. M. Cunningham,
Private J. F. Baggerly,
H. A. Wise.

Co. H.

Serg't Isaac H. Thomas,
Corp'l W Pressly Patterson,
Private Freisan Campbell,
S. P Edwards,
T. W. Edwards,
J. Farr,
W G. Gaither,
Private L. Thorpe,
Jno. C. Barnard,
L. Lambert,
T. L. Morgan,
S. McDaniel, Corps teamster.

Co. I.

Corp'l W G. Wright,
Private J. R. Boyd.
Private F B. Guilford, Brig. butcher.

Co. K.

O. Serg't W C. Fraley.
2d Serg't A. C. Carter.
2d Corp'l A. Mowrey.
3d Corp'l A. Freidheim.
Private M. Beaver,
L. Bryant.
G. H. Bassinger,
J. L. Bogle,
Private J. W. Bean,
J. C. McCanless,
W B. McQueen.
A. N. McQueen, teamster.
F M. Mills,
G. A. Misenheimer,
G. D. Snuggs.

Private J. B. Sharpe, Co. A, 1st Cavalry, at request.

Total, 101.

FOURTEENTH NORTH CAROLINA REGIMENT.

NON-COMMISSIONED STAFF.

Serg't-Major Newsom E. Jenkins, Q. M. Serg't Thomas Smith.
Ord. Serg't George T. Stronach,

Co. A.

2d Serg't Richard M. King,
3d Corp'l Joseph R. Hardy.
4th Corp'l George W Rooker,
Private Major D. Harriss,
Daniel T. Hicks,
Private Benjamin G. Ingram,
Francis M. Johnston,
Richard Lynch,
Norman G. Morris,
Wm. E. Webb.

Co. B.

1st Serg't Julius L. Shoup,
Private Clements M. Allred,
Private Charles L. Lines.

Co. C

2d Serg't John W Turner,
3d Serg't James A. Smith,
4th Serg't Peter F. Morton,
1st Corp'l Alexander B. Morton,
2d Corp'l John B. Waddill,
2d Corp'l John C. Dumas,
Private Hiram Baldwin,
James J. Billingsly.
John Bowman,
William H. Brower,
Hezekiah B. Carpenter,
John J. Dunlap,
Hampton B. Hammond,
Neal Lammond,
Private William P. Leak,
Charles M. Liles,
Edward A. McCaskell,
James A. McCaskell,
John J. McLendon,
Benjamin F Medley,
Alexander S. Morrison,
Thomas W Morrison,
George A. Morton,
William H. Saunders,
James L. Smith,
Caswell Stallings,
William H. Watkins,
Seth A. Williams.

Co. D.

2d Serg't Andrew J. Gamble,
4th Serg't William H. Elwood,
Private John F Dixon,
Joseph T. Gaddy,
John J. Harmon,
Private Drewry D. Howell,
John K. Mills,
Francis Moore,
John Webster.

Co. E.

3d Serg't James F Lassiter,
5th Serg't Rufus Smith,
Private John M. Beck,
Wm. A. Sturdivant,
Private William T. Wood,
James J. Lewis.
John A. J. Penny,
Mus'n Albert T. Carter.

Co. F.

3d Serg't John H. Walker,
Private James T. Bird,
Columbus Cooper,
Private Ezekiel Campbell,
Lemuel Jones,
John R. Patillo.

Co. G.

1st Serg't James W Rawley,
1st Corp'l John W. Lee,
2d Corp'l Samuel F Jones,
Private Andrew J. Bragg,
Abraham Crabtree,
Edwin T. Harriss,
Private Joseph R. Harper,
James B. Leftwich,
John R. Lyon,
Alford P Taylor,
William B. Wright.

Co. H.

5th Serg't Bennett Russell,
1st Corp'l Eben Lowder,
Private John Lowery,
William E. Morriss,

Private Hutson T. Biles,
Julius F. Carter,
William Dees,
William S. Hall,
Private Benjamin Mabry.
Eben Mabry,
John Keith.

Co. I.

4th Serg't Preston J. Weaver,
1st Corp'l Calhoun M. Smith,
Private Cornelius Bryan,
Joseph Foushee,
Lewis C. Goss,
Robert Kestler,
Daniel Lechrist,
Private William H. Sullivan,
Henry Shaw.
Burgess S. Strange,
William C. Yountz,
John H. Swing,
Larry Young.

Co. K

Private David W Royster,
William E. Freedle,
James Towles.
Private Samuel C. White,
Simon A. Smith.

Total, 107.

THIRTIETH NORTH CAROLINA TROOPS.

NON-COMMISSIONED STAFF.

Serg't-Major F. M. Fitts,
Q. M. Serg't Theophilus Stallings.

Co. A.

Serg't R. M. Crumpler,
Corp'l A. H. Brewer,
Mus'n J. F. Holland,
Private S. D. King,
S. J. King,
J. M. Parker,
Private Gaston Spell,
J. H. Steele,
Henry Williamson,
J. B. Currie,
W G. Hall.

Co. B.

Serg't Jno. G. Newsom.
Corp'l Thos. W Shearin,
Private E. S. Aycock,
W. E. Brown,
J. N. Harris,
Joshua North,
Private C. D. Riggan,
C. S. Riggan,
J. A. Saintsing,
C. H. Walker,
R. B. Pegram,
D. M. Brown.

Co. C.

Serg't B. L. Butler,
Corp'l A. Robinson,
Private E. Coleman,
A. Danford,
Ithamer Lamb.
Private R. L. Larkins,
David Oakley,
Jonathan Robins,
W. T. Vines.

Co. D.

Mus'n J. L. Joyner,
Private Benj. Adams,
G. Bledsoe,
Z. Dickey
J. J. Goodwin,
T. P Harris,
Henry Harris,
Private G. E. Lloyd,
F. P Mangum,
W Ward,
Allen Wadford,
N. M. Massey,
E. P. Mangum,
S. B. Ferrell.

Co. E.

Serg't J. W Hanshey,
J. K. Jones,
Private B. Bradshaw,
H. Brown,
J. T. Duff,
E. M. Johnson,
Private A. M. Helms,
W W Norris,
D. N. Turner,
Uzzell T. Wood,
M. O. Johnson,
Simpson Davis.

Co. F.

Serg't John Walston,
Arthur Forbes,
T. R. Eagles,
Corp'l R. E. Pittman,
Jas. Ellis,
Mus'n Newell Webb,
Private Benj. Bailey,
Spencer Barnes,
Jas. Braswell,
Hardy Burgess,
J. B. Cobb,
S. E. Crisp,
E. B. Edwards,
Private Eli Felton,
Jas. Forbes,
Walston Harrell,
R. Hathaway
J. D. Lewis,
J. C. Little,
Grey Morgan,
Jas. Norval,
R. Phillips,
E. Stallings,
Rufus Stallings,
Ralph Walston,
John Webb.

Co. G.

Serg't Jos. W Badgett,
A. H. Badgett,
Corp'l R. D. Brooks,
Private J. D. Badgett,
G. P. Barnett,
S. A. Collins,
Private W. F. Crews,
L. H. Frazier,
B. H. Merritt,
W A. Parham,
T. D. Slaughter,
J. R. Staunton.

Co. H.

Serg't G. B. Cole,
A. D. McGill,
A. S. Arrington,
Corp'l J. W Lawrence,
J. A. Underwood,
C. A. Hunter,
Private D. M. McIver,
D. N. McIver,
J. A. McFarland,
A. Mason,
Thos. Starnes,
J. D. Sinclair,

Private G. W Campbell,
R. T. Cole,
E. Goins.
Private W. T. Short,
H. T. Thomas,
C. D. Wicker.

Co. I.

Serg't J. W Crowell,
J. H. Bryant,
Jeff. Cobb,
Corp'l G. W. Gay,
Wm. Evans.
Private W Batts,
J. W. Bone,
J. D. Bunn,
J. H. Bunn,
Private J. Culpepper,
R. P Fox,
M. S. Griffin,
W. B. Joyner,
A. L. Lewis,
J. D. Manning,
J. W. Pitt,
H. O. Strickland.

Co. K.

Serg't W. S. Smith,
E. M. Bales,
B. G. Nichols,
Corp'l W. B. Thomas,
J. C. Saville,
W L. Hood,
Private J. P. Bales,
Private J. C. Burton,
S. L. Dixon,
J. H. Howie,
J. J. Orr,
W. J. Ross.
J. B. Squires,
M. O. Anderson.

Total, 147.

Brigade total, 51 officers, 518 men.

GRIMES' BRIGADE.

D. G. Cowand, Col. Com'd'g Brig.
W L. London, Capt. and A. A. G.
A. W Green, Lt. and A. A. and I. G.
J. L. Frensley, Capt. and Qr. M. Brigade.
P. Reynolds, Capt. and A. Q. M. Total,

REGIMENTAL AND COMPANY OFFICERS.

P. C. Shuford, Capt. Com'd'g 32d N. C. Reg't.
J. B. Strachan, Surgeon 32d N. C. Reg't.
R. H. Parker, Ass't Surgeon 32d N. C.
Rev. John C. Tennent, Chaplain 32d N. C. T.
W T. Brewer, Surg. 43d N. C. Regiment.
T. J. Bostic, 2d Lieut. Com'd'g Co A, 43d N. C.
J. S. Whitaker, 1st Lt. Co. D, 43d N. C.
W. J. Cobb, Capt. Co. E, Com'd'g 43d N. C. Reg't.
Jno. B. Powell, Lt. Co. G, 43d N. C. Reg't.
B. F. Moore, 1st Lt. Co. H, 43d N. C. Reg't.
J. H. Threadgill, Lt. Co. I, 43d N C. Reg't.
Jno. A. Boggan, Lt. Co. K. 43d N. C. T.
Jno. R. Winston, Col. Com'd'g 45th N. C. T.
Sam. F. Adams, Jr., Capt. Co. E, 45th N. C. Inf'y.
J. B. York, 1st. Lt. Co. D, 45th N. C. Reg't.
Sam T. Adams, Jr., Capt. Co. E, 45th N. C. Inf'y
William W. Wharton, Capt. Co. G, 45th N. C. Inf'y.
G. F. Daniel, Lt. Co. H, 45th N. C. Reg't.
J. F. Erwin, Lt. Co. K, 45th N. C. Reg't.
James H. Colton, Chaplain 35d N. C. T.
George T. Leach, 1st Lt. Co. C, 53d N. C.
T. E. Ashcraft, Capt. Co. I, 53d N. C. Reg't, Com'd'g Reg't.
J. D. Cuthbertson, 1st Lt. Co. I, 53d N. C. T.
J. Lee, Lt. Co. I, 53d N. C. Reg't, A. Adj't.
J. F. Eller, Capt. Co. K. 53d N. C. Reg't.
R. V Leach, Surg'n 2d N. C. Battalion.
James B. Tucker, 1st Lt. Co. A. 2d N. C. Battalion.
D. S. Brown, Co. G, 2d N. C. Batt.
E. W. Thompson, Chaplain 43d N. C. T. Total, 1

SECOND NORTH CAROLINA BATTALION.

Co. A.

Private Joel Bundront,
A. C. Grover,
Private W H. Slaughter,
Joshua Smith,

Private Joseph George,
A. R. Jones,
John E. Right, Ambulance Driver,
Private John B. Sulavin,
James Forrest, div. teamster,
Joseph Hudson.

Co. B.

Private Anderson Creed,
John R. Badget,
Reuben Cave,
Raleigh Davis,
John H. Edmonds,
George M. Gervis.
Private William Mitchel,
T. W Norman,
Enoch Ring,
R. T. Sartin,
Henry Smith,

Co. F

Com'sy Serg't Allen Richardson.
Serg't T. H. Dungan,
M. H. Moffitt.
Private George Cagle,
G. W Cox,
Private J. H. Elberson,
L. D. Gordon,
J. M. Kenney,
Gideon Macon,
Daniel Rich.

Co. G.

Serg't Moses Welch,
Private Josiah Cook,
W A. Hayworth,
John W Hodge,
E. T. Hedgecock,
Private John Williams, Ambulance Driver,
Joseph Payne,
A. H. Welch, Ambulance Driver.

Co. H.

Serg't E. A. Russell,
Private Z. T. Cogdill,
L. Happers,
W. H. Happers, div. teamster,
W J. P. Clemmons,
Private Silas J. Plemmons,
Hiram Sexton,
A. P Worley,
B. T. Worley,
W H. Hopkins.

Total, 49.

THIRTY-SECOND NORTH CAROLINA REGIMENT.

NON-COMMMISSIONED STAFF AND BAND.

Serg't-Major W H. Hardison,
Q. M. Serg't William Robertson,
Chief Musician John Jacobs.

Co. A.

Private W L. Biggs,
W E. Alexander,
Private F. Meekins.

Co. B.

Mus'n Chas. Consolva,
Private H. S. Sigman,
H. I. Bolick,
Private H. B. Tramel,
Wm. Sivels.

Co. C.

Serg't C. M. Ottley,
Corp'l J. H. Crew,
T. J L. Harris,
J. M. Harris,
Private J. J. Ottley,
W H. Drewet,
R. J. Edwards,
W. A. Garner,
J. W Garner,
J. H. Garner,
W H. Grizzard,
B. F Harris,
G. C. Hodges,
Private R. H. Morgan,
H. P Morgan,
J. H. Mathews,
J. P. Massie,
G. T. Massie,
J. J. Pritchard,
J. L. Rook,
J. J. Smith,
E. M. Vick,
A. A. Taylor,
J. J. Hart,
J. E. Woodruff,
L. N. Birdsong.

Co. D.

Private Jerry Allen,
J. T. Brittle,
Private Caleb Lassiter,
R. D. Belch.

Co. E.

Serg't T. C. Bostian,
R. D. Abernathy,
Albert Little,
Private Morris Bost,
Henry Coonce,
L. I. Crouse,
G. B. Chanceller,
A. K. Cline,
William Childers,
R. M. Gordon,
Evan Gant,
Private J. P. Hunsucker,
Hosea Jarrette,
John G. Little.
A. Miller,
D. H. Shuford,
J. L. Caldwell,
J. W A. Payne,
T. J. White,
R. M. Wingate,
L. Warlick,
J. E. Sigman.

Co. F.

Serg't M. L. Jones,
Private M. A. Abernathy,
Wm. Aderholt,
Thos. Aderholt,
James Dellinger,
Levi Daganheart,
H. D. Hill,
Private L. A. Jones,
A. C. Jones,
N. Robertson,
G. D. Larkins,
J. C. Conrad,
P C. Nelson,
N. L. Shoemaker.

Co. G.

Serg't John H. Mitchel,
Corp'l L. D. Perry,
A. H. Prichard,
Private W. H. Drew,
W H. Gardner,
Monroe Finger,
J. C. Sigman,
Private Noah Whitaker,
A. M. Payne,
T. J. Downs,
W. I. Redfern,
W. A. Turnington,
Jos. O. Bryan.

Co. H.

Serg't S. T. Cooper,
Corp'l James Barrett,
Private W T. Griffin,
A. O. Braswell.

Co. I.

Corp'l W G. Eubanks,
Private Henry A. London,*
James E. Burke,
A. Eubanks,
Private G. W. Farrell,
J. K. Pool,
D. Campbell.

Co. K.

Serg't J. W Wheeliss,
Corp'l W. H. Newby,
Private John A. Macon,
Thomas Montgomery,
M. M. Featherston,
Private J. E. Warford,
G. W Ramsdale,
W. W Bost,
W M. Bolton,
M. M. Long. Total, 111.

*The gallant courier to General Grimes who carried for Gen. Cox the last order to charge.—ED.

FORTY-THIRD NORTH CAROLINA REGIMENT.

NON-COMMISSIONED STAFF.

William R. Kenan, Serg't-Major and Act'g Adjutant,
Jos. J. Egerton, Ordnance Serg't,
Sam'l R. Johnston, A. Q. M. Serg't.

Co A.

1st Serg't Benjamin F. Hall,
2d Serg't F A. Simmons,
Private Wm. N. Brinson,
William B. Blalock,
Jas. D. Brown,
Alex. Chambers,
Thos. E. Davis,
L. J. Grady,
R. M. Grady,
Private Alex. Gay,
J. G. Halso,
Jesse Horne,
Hargett Kornegay,
Jere. J. Pearsall,
Lewis J. Rich,
Calvin J. Rogers,
Jno. E. Smith,
Jere. Strickland,

Co. B.

Serg't Jno. M. Alexander,
S. W. Hunter,
R. C. McGinnis,
Private S. Broom,
H. A. Broom,
W. R. Burwell,
Burton Deaton,
Private W M. Helms,
J. H. Griffith,
J. T. Hall,
H. Secrest,
I. Pool,
T. W. Saddler,
D. M. Blackwelder.

Co. C.

Serg't Moses D. Dew,
W L. Dew,
Private J. B. Ferrell,
Elisha Holland,
D. W Gardner,
Private W. B. Joyner,
William Pittman,
Noah Wheeler,
John Q. Williams.

Co. D.

Serg't Wm. T. Gray,
John Beavans,
Augustus A. White,
Corp'l Wm. T. Vaughan,
Private John Ayers,
Sherwood Badger (courier)
Lem'l Bradley,
Bolin Branch,
Geo. N. Branch,
Thos. P. Devereux (courier),
J. D. Etheridge,
Colin Gray
Private H. Hopkins,
G. R. Gammons,
H. B. Holmes,
W D. Lewis,
G. W. Odom,
Major Richards,
Jas. Strickland,
S. H. Strickland,
W. A. Thomasson,
B. Whitehead,
Jas. Whitmore,
J. R. Whitaker,
W H. Whitaker.

Co. E.

Serg't O. A. Atkinson,
C. R. Johnson,
Corp'l T. W Owens,
Private Wm. Bunting,
Wiley Burress,
Jesse Brown,
D. C. Carr,
Jonas W Edwards,
S. W Edwards,
J. F Edwards,
J. D. Everett,
Private Lawrence Gay,
Wiley Harrell,
Marcus Hill,
R. F. Johnson,
Reddin Meares,
P C. Taylor,
T. F. Talbert,
Jno. Whitley.
Rich'd Watkins,
Wm. Walston.

Co. F.

Private B. B. Bobbitt,
Benj. F Cullum,
Solomon Drew,
John Hawkins,
Private M. J. Madden,
Sam'l Moore,
James M. Pierce,
W R. Walston.

Co. G.

Serg't John H. White,
Private H. Daniel,
J. Duke,
Jno. Faulkner,
T. A. Hundley,
T. J. James,
J. Lambeth,
S. E. Perkinson,
Private J. Stallings,
J. W. Stewart,
D. Thompson,
A G. Twisdale,
J. C. Weldon,
T. B. Watson,
W D. Jones,
T. A. Wainwright.

Co. H.

Corp'l J. D. Bullard,
J. H. Thomas,
Private John Boggan,
W. G. Douglass,
J. C. Edwards,
David Huff,
A. J. Howell,
Private J. T. Lockhart,
Thomas Leigh,
G. F. Ponds,
A. B. S. Rascoe,
John W Thomas,
J. L. Beverly,
Henry J. Willoughby.

Co I.

Serg't John J. Dobbs,
Benj. F Gulledge,
Private John Ballard,
Elias Barnes,
Alex'r Boswell,
John Chewning,
John Dees,
Moore Dean,
J. R. Dunn,
D. J. Green,
Elijah Gulledge,
E. F Henry,
J. M. Henry,
Private M. L. Harkey,
N. G. Jones,
John Jones,
Jo. Moore,
S. A. Short,
W H. Robards,
James Waddell,
Jno. T. Waddell,
Eli Watson,
A. B. Wheeless,
Leven Wootten,
J. C. Ballard.

Co. K.

1st Serg't S. M. Lilly,
Corp'l J. A. Phifer,
Private W. Atkinson,
L. M. Clenny,
J. H. Davis,
F. E. Flake,
Private E. W Jerman,
Henry Moore,
J. B. Tarlton,
J. Tice,
C. E. Tucker,
T. A. White. Total, 164.

FORTY-FIFTH NORTH CAROLINA REGIMENT.

NON-COMMISSIONED STAFF.

Serg't-Major Jno. A. Branner,
Ord. Serg't Jas. M. Long,
Q. M. Serg't W S. Martin.

Co. A.

Serg't T. P Patterson,
Corp'l J. L. Coleman,
Private D. J. Patterson,
Geo. Chapman,
J. H. Holland,
Private Robert Lewis,
R. Payne,
G. W Shropshire,
Wm. Shropshire.

Co. B.

Private Andrew Deaton,
Neal Harris,
J. M. Lamb,

Private John Riley,
W. H. Harrell,
J. D. Ward.

Co. C.

Private John Motley,
James Long,
R. M. Hanner,
F. Shoffner,
J. L. Scott,

Private J. R. Wright,
P A. Wren,
R. Hamin,
James Malcolm,
James Long.

Co. D.

Private John Crews,
J. K. P. Joyce,
W. S. Lindsay,

Private J. W. McMichael,
W. P Reynolds,
Thos. H. Robertson.

Co E.

Corp'l A. J. Johnson,
Private J. A. Bateman,
F Malcolm,
J. A. Coleman,
J. Jackson,
Martin Hopkins,

Private B. M. Lewis,
Hugh Moore,
J. Pender,
F. L. R. Shelton,
Alfred Stewart,
J. P Smithers.

Co. F.

Serg't J. H. Lane,
Private G. W. Booker,
J. Cox,
B. F. Hodges,

Private Isaac Holt,
Thomas Lewellen,
Sam'l McDaniel,
C. W Meaks.

Co. G.

Private A. Barham,
T. C. Peay.
A. M. Pegram,
L. Thomas,

Private J. H. Edwards,
B. J. Walker,
A. Martin,
J. B. Wheeler.

Co. H.

Private N. T. Atkins,
J. A. Jones,
W D. Jarratt,
S. Mansfield,
Jas. Mansfield.
Wm. Hobbs,

Private A. G. Rice,
Wm. Sadler,
R. M. Small,
R. Southard,
Isaac Thacker.

Co. I.

Private Andrew Dunnavant,
W. J. Evans,
John Hicks,

Private J. P Hayden,
John Moore,
John L. Taylor.

Co. K.

Serg't Sam'l Kanoy.
Private S. S. Hayworth,
H. F. Sullivan,
A. W. Stewart,
J. W Ricks,
Private W D. Wilborn,
A. Echenwalder,
A. D. Wall,
Thos. D. Carroll.

Total, 88.

FIFTY-THIRD NORTH CAROLINA REGIMENT.

BAND.

Musician T. L. Cuthbertson,
J. L. Frasier,
J. C. R. Frasier,
Nicholas Freeman,
B. M. Martin,
H. P Meigs,
Musician H. H. Miller,
H. R. Reid,
J. A. Vannoy,
J. T. Wooten,
C. H. Wolf.

Co. A.

Serg't H. C. Wooten,
Albert, Ingle,
Corp'l M. S. Whittington,
Private J. B. Forbis,
A. Ingle,
Sam'l Huffhines.
Wm. Greeson,
Private J. W. Montgomery,
John Lewey,
J. C. McLean,
H. H. May,
J. A. Neese,
Robert Wilson.

Co. B.

Private E. S. Barnett,
W. R. Cochran,
A. B. Crawley,
J. E. Eagle,
J. P Robertson,
J. G. Marks.
Private A. A. Springs,
W S. Stewart,
S. W Wilson,
H. Thomas,
A. G. Trotter.

Co. C.

Serg't A. Horn,
Corp'l D. Stephenson,
Private Rufus Austin,
A. P Barber,
H. A. Barber,
Wesley Batten,
J. P. Leach,
Private Rufus Pollard,
B. D. Parish,
John Stephenson,
J. A. Smith,
W. J. Smith,
R. S. Thorp.

Co. D.

Private H. F Brendle,
S. H. Cain,
Private Wm. Slate,
Riley Eaton.

Co. E.

Mus'n J. P. Mills.

Private David Mays.

Co. F.

Private H. C. Fogleman.
E. M. Fogleman,
H. M. Cobb.

Private E. Isley,
S. M. Isley.

Co. G.

Private Riley Bennett,
B. H. Bullen,

Private A. Pruitt.

Co. H.

Serg't W. S. Wilson,
Private J. P Glidewell,

Private Thos. Joyce.

Co. I.

Corp'l H. G. Green,
Jno. S. Griffin,
Private J. W. Bivens,
D. D. Baker,
R. A. Gaddey,
M. Helms,
S. H. Hasty,

Private A. Henson,
H. C. Moore,
J. A. Richardson,
T. H. Teal,
F S. Lengle,
W. W Duncan.

Co. K.

Private L. M. Walters,
J. P. Walker,

Private W R. Walker.

Total, 81

Brigade total, 34 officers, 493 men.

R. D. JOHNSTON'S BRIGADE.

John W Lea, Col. 5th N. C. Reg't, Com'd'g Brig.
G. B. Bullock, Capt. Co. I. 23d N. C. Reg't, A. A. A. G.
B. M. Collins, 1st Lt. Co. C 12th N. C. and A. A. D. C.
Robert J. Hicks, Sen. Surgeon Brigade.
Rich'd Harris, Capt. and A. Q. M.
J. S. Northington, Capt. and A. Q. M.
Walter Holladay, 1st Lt., Ordnance Off. Total, 7.

REGIMENTAL AND COMPANY OFFICERS.

R. W Woodruff, 1st Lt. Co. A, 1st N. C. Batt., Com'd'g.
D. D. Osborn, 2d Lt. Co. A, 1st N. C. Batt.
N. W. Sapps, 2d Lt. Co. B, 1st N C. Batt.
J. M. Taylor, Capt, Co. G, 5th N. C. Reg't.
Geo. T. Parker, Capt. Co. H, 5th N. C. Reg't.
M. F. Hunt, 1st Lt. Co. E, 5th N C. Reg't.
Jas. W. Lea, 2d Lt. Co. I, 5th N C. Reg't.
J. F Pearson, Surgeon 5th N C Reg't.
H. W. Williams, Ass't Surgeon 5th N C. Reg't.
Plato Durham, Capt. Co. E, 12th N. C. Reg't.
J. C. Harper, 1st Lt. Co. H, 12th N. C. Reg't.
B. F Logan, 1st Lt. Co. E, 12th N. C. Reg't.
W. B. Fleming, 2d Lt. Co. C, 12th N. C. Reg't.
W A. Montgomery, 2d Lt. Co. F, 12th N. C. Reg't.
Jno. W Lawson, Surgeon 12th N C. Reg't.
Geo. A. Penney, Ass't Surgeon 12th N. C. Reg't.
Duncan J. Devane, Major 20th N C. Reg't.
A. F Lawhorn, 1st Lt. Co. F 20th N C. Reg't.
Henry Coleman, 1st Lt. Co. C, 20th N C. Reg't.
A. D. Peace, Capt. Co. E, 23d N. C. Reg't, Com'd'g.
W C. Wall, Capt. Co. F, 23d N. C. Reg't.
J. B. F. Riddle, 1st Lt. Co. H, 23d N C. Reg't.
L. A. Bikle, Chaplain 20th N C Reg't.
Vines E. Turner, Capt., A. Q. M. 23d N. C. Reg't, (acting Q. M., Early's Division). Total 24.

FIRST NORTH CAROLINA BATTALION.

Co. A.

1st Serg't J. G. Reavis,
Corp'l M. C. Sheek,
Private A. A. Anderson,
Private J. F. Hambrick,
J. B. Jones,
O. C. Jones,

Private John Brooks,
S. J. Brooks,
J. H. Brown,
E. W. Crews,
Hiram Childress,
Isam Cook,
Wilson Carter,
Martin Davis,
Arch. Farris,
J. W Hobson,
T. C. Hobson,
Private Lee Lawrence,
N. G. Montgomery,
Giles Reavis,
W. D. Reece,
J. A. Shugart,
Perry Shermar,
Thomas Tanner,
M. S. Woodhouse,
Wm. Whitehead,
Benjamin Williamson.

Co. B.

1st Serg't J. J. Welch,
4th Serg't J. N. Idol,
1st Corp'l J. H. Wilson,
2d Corp'l G. E. Nissen,
Private A. B. Butner,
J. R. Barneycastle,
H. L. Barneycastle,
W. J. Cooper,
Y. D. Close,
N. Crowder,
C. N. Ball,
T. B. Douthit,
Wash. Denney,
Theof. Essic,
W L. Fuller,
Elwood Fisher,
W. T. Henshaw,
C. E. Houser,
Lee Hendrix,
Private Amos Hege,
A. M. Idol,
J. A. Kiger,
S. G. Keesler,
J. T. Lewis,
Wm. Loman,
C. S. Mock,
Robt. Murphy,
John Newsom,
C. T. Phillips,
Thos. Ring,
E. A. Shouse,
J. A. Williamson,
S. A. Waugh,
Wm. Houser,
Fred. Standerford,
A. L. Welch,
J. H. Lewis.

Total, 65.

I certify, on honor, that of the number of men on these rolls only forty-six (46) were armed on the morning of the 9th inst.

R. W. WOODRUFF,
1st Lt. Com'd'g First N. C. Batt.

FIFTH NORTH CAROLINA REGIMENT.

NON-COMMISSIONED STAFF.

Sergeant-Major C. M. Busbee.

Co. A.

Mus'n J. J. Johnston,
Private Daniel Albertini,
David Ayres,
Abram Holder,
Private Jesse Johnston,
Rufus Jones,
William Sanders,
Andrew Watson.

Co. B.

Serg't Henry Clay Williams,
Private William Smith.

Co. C.

Serg't Jesse K. Whitley,
Corp'l K. J. Ballard,
Private J. W. Barber,
Augustus Corbit,
Nasrow Creech,
Josiah Dean,
Jones Faulk,
J. B. Honeycutt,
Isaac W. Hines,
Private J. A. Lee,
Monroe Lee,
Whitley Messer,
Abram O'Neal,
Ransom Penny,
Thos. H. Sasser,
W. H. Smith,
W. R. Strickland,
Samuel Strickland.

Co. D.

1st Serg't R. L. Willis,
Corp'l James R. Benson,
Robt. Johnson,
Private James H. Douglas,
Private Wm. Young,
M. A. Kirmick,
J. W Guilford.

Co. E.

Serg't W J. Bond,
Corp'l G. W Long,
John Scott,
Private John Basinger,
E. D. Council,
Stephen Davis,
Jacob Hartman,
Private Benj. Herndon,
D. A. Holt,
J. W McCinney,
W L. Parker,
Frank Parnell,
Jacob Pense,
Wm. Williams.

Co. F.

Private W. H. Eudy,
Preston Lane,
Private Thos. Perry.
J. C. Truce.

Co. G.

Private W J. Barringer,
A. T. Davis,
J. T. Lamb,
Luther Lentz,
Private J. T. Manning,
P J. Pless,
W. A. Williams.

Co. H.

Private John D. Brice,
Elbert Cross,
Jas. D. Johnson,
Tobias Lentz,
Private Nathan Morgan,
S. R. Starnes,
Isaac Williams,

Co. I.

Serg't H. C. Hubbard,
Private I. G. Fouts,
Private Jacob Ritchie.

Co. K.

Private Joseph Beaver, Private D. W. Leach,
A. G. Cash, Frank Julian.
Absalom Cress,

Total, 76

I certify, upon honor, that of the number of men on this roll of forty-eight (48) were armed on the morning of the 9th instant.

J. M. TAYLOR, Capt. Com'd'g Reg't

TWELFTH NORTH CAROLINA REGIMENT.

NON-COMMISSIONED STAFF.

Q. M. Serg't S. P. Arrington, Com. Serg't R. A. Bullock,
Ord. Serg't J. A. Deal,

Co. A.

Serg't L. R. Whitener, Private C. S. Sigmon,
E. G. Bost, M. L. Sigmon,
Corp'l N. E. Propst, W R. Sigmon,
B. A. Lowrance, N. Setzer,
Private P C. Bowman, M. Setzer,
J. L. Herman, J. A. L. Sherrill,
E. L. Hawn, D. N. Settlemire,
P. C. Hoke, W White,
J. B. Hoke, J. F. Wilkinson,
Y. T. Leffon, G. M. Wilfong,
T. Leffon, P McCall,
N. Leffon, W F. Hedrick,
G. W Moose, J. A. Eppes.

Co. B.

Serg't R. H. M. Paschall, Private C. Yancy,
J. E. Bennett, J. E. R. Yancy.
Corp'l J. L. Phipps, J. N. Harris,
W. L. Wier, W. H. Brown,
Private T. Andrews, L. W. Overby,
J. H. Cook, F. P. Gordon,
J. S. Eakes, J. H. Gordon,
J. Knott, J. W. Hunt.
A. A. Watkins,

Co. C.

Serg't J. C. Drake, Private R. H. H. Paschall,
J. Hilliard, L. D. Rose,
R. P. Vanlandingham, J. H. Scoggin,

Private W. E. Davis,
T. Harris,
L. Little,
J. E. Moss,
Ira J. Moss,
H. R. Moss,
J. G. Sigmon,
G. C. Clark,
S. G. Duke,
W. H. Palmer,
J. T. Walker,
W. H. Bowden.

Co. D.

Serg't C. H. Williams,
Private D. D. Barker,
A. Camp,
W. C. Mallory,
S. C. Mallory,
Private J. R. Mallory,
W J. Murray,
T. D. Royster,
J. C. Terry,
J. W Robards.

Co. E.

Serg't R. G. Brown,
Corp'l D. D. Whisnant,
Private W. H. Bostic,
L. W. Cline,
C. Durham,
J. E. Davis,
G. M. Eskridge,
T. A. Friddle,
E. Hambrick,
J. M. Hambrick,
P B. Harmon,
A. F. Huffman,
W R. Hill,
W. W Horne,
E. A. Jones,
Private C. D. Jolly,
A. P. Miller,
G. P. Miller,
W. A. Martin,
W R. Oates,
A. T. Oates,
S. Poston,
J. H. Towey,
T. J. Washburne,
J. K. Wells,
P. B. Webb,
A. B. Wright,
D. P Yount,
J. H. Neal.

Co. F.

Serg't P. A. Bobbitt,
Corp'l G. M. Duke,
Private A. Allen,
J. M. Bobbitt,
W H. Bobbitt,
W. R. Cheek,
A. Dorsey,
Private J. Duke,
J. R. Gilliland,
C. R. Mabry,
J. Mabry,
R. C. Montgomery,
E. A. Parish,
R. H. Wiggins.

Co. G.

Serg't G. W. Northington,
Private N. Anderton,
Private G. L. Barnes,

Co. H.

Private R. Barnes,
G. W. Cyrus,
W F Drake,
B. Joyner,
H. G. Griffin,
Private J. A. Pitman,
N. Pitman,
N. D. Tisdale,
J. H. Tucker,
B. Barnes.

Co. I.

Private L. A. Glassgow, Private C. Fletcher.

Co. K.

Serg't J. D. Alston, Private J. B. Campbell,
C. Camp, T. Radford,
Corp'l E. S. Neale, B. Alston.
Private M. Jones, Total, 1

I certify, on honor, that of the number of men on this roll o seventy-six (76) were armed on the morning of the 9th inst.

P. DURHAM, Capt. Com'd'g Regimen

April 10th, 1865.

TWENTIETH NORTH CAROLINA REGIMENT.

NON-COMMISSIONED STAFF AND BAND.

Q. M. Serg't Gus. Smith, Musician N. B. Correll,
Ord. Serg't J. L. Phifer, R. H. Galloway,
Chief Musician D. R. Coleman, H. B. Giddens,
Musician Jas. C. Benson, T. M. Stevenson.

Co. A.

Serg't J. M. Misenhimer, Private G. C. Goodman,
Corp'l C. W Youst, J. C. Gibson,
S. A. Weddington, J. L. Groner,
Private G. H. Deal, J. V. Pethel,
C. A. Erwin, J. B. Patterson,
P C. Earnheart, M. O. Spears,
H. H. Fink, T. S. Shines.
J. M. Goodman,

Co. B.

Private W H. H. Baugle, Private D. S. Morgan,
J. M. Bost, A. W Neal,
Isaac Freeze, H. S. Peatree,
J. F Kirksey, Tim Reid,
D. Johnston, S. K. W Snell.

Co. C.—Private J. W. Bullard.

Co. D.

Private I. Womble, Private J. Long,
L. Todd, N. Lovett,
B. M. Harrellson, G. C. Powell,
W. L. Hardey, K. Wright.

Co. E.

Private T. M. Faison,
W H. Huggins,
J. D. Ireland,
J. H. Moseley.
Private A. Outlaw,
D. Price,
J. F. Watkins.

Co. F.

Mus'n J. L. Benton,
Private W Faircloth,
Private J. E. King,
J. A. McAlpin.

Co. G.

Private W C. Clemmons,
C. Little,
S. Reynolds,
E. Haws,
Private J. P Rhodes,
A. Simmons,
W Whitehead.

Co. H.—Private W H. Benton.

Co. I.

Private W L. Johnson,
R. A. Parker,
Private W Pollock,
G. Williams.

Co. K.

Private W G. Sellers,
B. M. Duncan,
J. A. Bachelor,
Private Cephas Fisher,
J. E. Morris,
J. J. Ward. Total, 71.

I certify on honor that of the number of men on this roll, only nine (9) were armed on the morning of the 9th inst.

A. F. LAWHORN, 1st Lieut. Com'd'g Reg't.

TWENTY-THIRD NORTH CAROLINA REGIMENT.

NON-COMMISSIONED STAFF.

Hosp'l Steward T. H. May.

Co. A.

Private Hosea Barger,
Joel Eades,
H. W King,
Private J. W King,
Thomas Womble,
Jacob Mull.

Co. B.

Serg't William L. Finger,
Private David F. Rhodes,
Andrew Smith,
Pinkney Black,
Private Abram Harill
Wm. R. Whitworth,
James C. Hobbs.

Co. C.—Private Thomas Cordle.

Serg't D. G. Crews,
E. L. Fleming,
Private J. F. Birtchet,
P. Boling,
N. C. Cash,
H. Duke,

Serg't C. C. Sigman,
Private S. O. Abernethy,
J. F. Dellinger,
J. H. Fisher,
R. H. Fisher,
W H. Hudson,

Serg't E. A. Fuller,
Private A. E. Fuller,
W Dement,

Private J. H. Brison,
J. S. R. Dameron,
J. Eller,
R. S. Johnson,
L. A. McAllister,

1st Serg't S. L. Puryear,
Serg't R. J. Stone,
A. Hobgood,
J. W Hart,
Corp'l W. W. Hart,
Private S. H. Beasley,
J. L. Clark,
James Clark,
A. S. Clark,
David Duncan,

Serg't W. L. Lockman,
Private C. N. Blythe,
R. B. Little,
L. A. Lockman,

Co. E.
Private J. W Fleming,
Z. E. Lyon,
D. Vaughan,
W J. Sherron,
E. Veazey.

Co. F.
Private W A. Huffman,
Gilbert Holler,
J. E. Holler,
W F Killian,
Solomon Shufford,
Wm. Whisenhunt.

Co. G.
Private James Egerton,
John A. Burrows,
W. H. Hinton.

Co. H.
Private W R. Milling,
H. R. Seamon,
W R. Smith,
L. S. Vandyke,
J. S. Wallace.

Co. I.
Private William Faucett,
E. R. Frazier,
Robert Hester,
John F Hart,
Geo. W Newton,
Sam'l R. Parham,
W R. Tillotson,
Josph L. Tyack,
Fleming West,
Hardaman West.

Co. K.
Private Jonas Reep,
P N. Rendleman,
Samuel Robinson,
Elisha Womack.

Total, 82

I certify, on honor, that of the number of men on this roll, or thirty-five (35) were armed on the morning of the 9th instant.

A. D. PEACE, Capt. Com'd'g Reg't.

Brigade total, 31 officers, 433 men.

LEWIS' BRIGADE.

John Beard, Capt. Co. C, 57th N. C. Reg't, Com'd'g Brig.
Drury Lacy, Jr., 1st Lt. and A. A. A. Gen.
Dossey Battle, 1st Lt. and A. D. C.
J. M. Williams, 1st Lt. Co. C, 54th N. C., and A. A. and I. Gen.
D. R. Murchison, Capt. and Q'r-Master, Lewis' Brig.
L. E. Powers, Lt. Co. A, 21st N. C., and Act'g Ord. Officer Total, 6.

REGIMENTAL AND COMPANY OFFICERS

John H. Miller, Capt. Co. A, 21st N C. Reg't, Com'd'g Reg't.
D. C. Gunter, 2d Lt. Co. A, 6th N C. Reg't.
W A. Mebane, 2d Lt. Co. F, 6th N. C. Reg't.
W W. Fleming, 2d Lt. Co. D, 6th N. C. Reg't.
M. L. Snipes, 2d Lt. Co. D, 6th N C. Reg't.
W T. Covington, 2d Lt. Co. H, 6th N. C. Reg't.
Wm. A. Bickers, Ass't Surgeon 6th N. C. Reg't.
S. D. Newsom, 2d Lt. Co. K, 21st N. C. Reg't.
S. E. Miller, 2d Lt. Co. D, 21st N C. Reg't.
A. M. Johnson, 2d Lt. Co. H, 21st N C. Reg't.
W T. Sutton, Surgeon 21st N. C. Reg't.
Edward Smith, 2d Lt. Co. C, 54th N. C. Reg't.
O. M. Cornwell, 2d Lt. Co. I, 54th N C. Reg't.
Hugh W Tate, Ass't Surgeon 54th N C. Reg't.
John Paris, Chaplain 54th N. C. Reg't.
J. H. Dickey, Capt. Co. I, 57th N. C. Reg't, Com'd'g 6th N. C. Reg't.
W J. Edmondson, 2d Lt. Co. H, 57th N. C. Reg't.
S. H. Gilbert, 2d Lt. Co. E, 57th N C. Reg't.
A. H. Binion, Ass't Surgeon 57th N. C. Reg't. Total, 19.

SIXTH NORTH CAROLINA REGIMENT.

NON-COMMISSIONED STAFF.

ospital Steward D. M. Currie, Musician Kinet Holloway,
usician J. H. Cosart, S. E. Horn,
S. A. Albright, L. M. King,
W R. Cooper, N. L. Lunsford,
E. H. Cosart, J. G. Piper,
F. H. Dawson, D. A. Sloop,
T. H. Fowler, S. N. Leathers.

Co. A.

Private Julius S. Brown,
Henry Holland,

Private Peter Baply.

Co. B.

Serg't J. G. Lunsford,
Wiley Meadows,
Corp'l Munroe Vaughn,
Private Wm. J. Allen,
E. M. Dickey,
J. W Lyon,
Rufus Mangum,

Private D. C. Mangum,
W B. Moss,
E. H. Tilley,
S. W Turrentine,
W C. Veazey,
W F. Williams.

Co. C.

Serg't Hiram Vickers,
Corp'l W. D. Hicks,
Private W H. Adams,
W. D. Blalock,
W Browning,
S. Hutchings,

Private M. C. Herndon,
J. W Leigh,
E. W Morris,
J. W. Roe,
W. Warren.

Co. D.

Serg't A. W. Houk,
Thomas Powell,
Jas. D. Berry,
Corp'l D. A. Hildebrand,
T. E. Seabolt,
Private Jasper Baker,
Henry Brown,
B. T. Bolick,
Wm. Berry,
Sidney Chester,
Wm. Houk,

Private Cyrus Huffman,
Thomas McNeely,
Jones McGalliard,
Solomon Nash,
Ed. Powell,
Wm. Poteet,
Wm. Twiggs,
M. Sigman,
Jas. Winkler,
Leander Wilson.

Co. E.

Serg't J. A. McGee,
Private Jesse Blair,
John Houston,
A. McGee,
W McGee,
R. Pitman,

Private E. Stone,
N. M. Robertson,
J. M. Moody,
W Watts.
J. N. Wise,
A. Yount.

Co. F.

Serg't W J. Kerr,
Robert J. Albert,
Corp'l G. P Crutchfield,
John Faust,

Private James Dixon,
Henry Herring,
A. Jones,
T. Y. Mebane,

Private Albert Willson,
James Crutchfield,
E. F. Crutchfield,
C. N. Credle,
Alfred Coble,
Nathan Carter,
Private G. A. Mebane,
Rufus Robertson,
W N. Shaw,
A. A. Thompson,
George A. Thompson,
A. Vass.

Co. G.

Corp'l Daniel Hudson,
Private P. A. Carlile,
J. C. Merrick,
J. L. Pool,
Private N. L. Beckham,
John York,
A. S. Gibbons,
J. L. Simpson.

Co. H.

Serg't J. H. Johnston,
G. S. Fitch,
Corp'l W. C. Haralson,
J. C. Pinick,
E. W. Rudd,
Private W J. Aldridge,
J. W Massey,
Buren Nance,
G. A. Sawyers,
Private W W. Dunevant,
J. H. Dunevant,
J. L. Davis,
John Fowler,
John Fitch,
A. Hensley.
R. Y. Vaughn,
J. R. Williams,
J. M. Walker.

Co. I.

Serg't C. L. Williams,
J. L. Andrews,
R. G. Stallings,
Corp'l D. C. Barbee,
B. Andrews,
G. W Davidson,
Private W Bostick,
A. Carlton,
L. D. H. Ford,
E. W Howard,
E. Herndon,
J. Hudson,
C. Jenkins,
Private W. A. Jenkins,
Carley Jenkins,
A. F Morris,
L. Pickard,
W. S. Parker,
E. Sikes,
John Ship,
R. D. Stone,
J. H. Stone,
J. F. Williams,
J. H. Williams,
S. Williams,
G. S. Williams.

Co. K.

Serg't R. L. Walker,
M. A. Hesse,
H. C. King,
Private H. Allen,
Wm. Barnett,
G. W. Cheek,
A. C. Dalby,
Private Francis Hughes,
Rufus McCulloch,
Thos. Lynch,
E. Malone,
B. Meadows,
N. P. Deshong,
James Norwood,

Private A. C. Dailey.
G. G. Dailey.
G. Fulbright,
A. Graham,
J. C. Hazell,
W H. Hazell,
Thos. Horner,
Thos. Hughes,
Private Thos. L. Ray,
J. M. Shaw,
James Squires,
James Thomas,
Henry Walker,
Wm. Walker,
G. W Pittard.

Total, 175.

I certify, upon honor, that of the number of men on this roll, only seventy-two (72) were armed on the morning of the 9th inst.

J. H. DICKEY Capt. Com'd'g Reg't.

W W FLEMMING, Lt., Act. Adj't.

TWENTY-FIRST NORTH CAROLINA REGIMENT.

Co. A.

1st Serg't F. M. Eccles,
Corp'l Henry Brinkley,
Mus'n David Dock,
Bugler Edward Lineback,
Private G. W. Scott.
J. A. Oaks,
John A. Frank,
Private Burgess Leonard,
R. D. Gentle,
Wiley Harris,
Wesley A. Phillips,
C. H. Jackson,
John James,
Alex. Martin.

Co. C.

Private W C. Bonner,
J. W Creed,
J. D. Creed,
W R. Francis,
Uriah Francis,
M. Francis,
E. R. Hull,
Preston Norman,
Private B. Norman,
B. F. Pitts.
W O. Reid,
J. M. Overby,
J. W Cummings,
A. L. Snow,
J. W Swift,
McC. Johnson.

Co. D.

Serg't Charles Barrow,
C. M. Lasley,
Corp'l M. C. Clayton,
Private P. L. Billeter,
J. W Binkley,
Wm. Herrold,
Private J. R. Jones,
P. J. Lawder,
W R. Parson,
E. J. Wright,
Wm. Smith,
C. Strupe.

Co. F.

Private E. J. Helsabeck,
H. C. Gibson,
Private Lewis Miller.

Co. G.

Serg't Fewell Fulton,
Corp'l J. A. Crumpler,
Calvin Carroll,
Private J. C. Baker,
Alex. Baker,
F. J. Baker,
S. M. Davis,
H. P Fulton,
J. H. Gibson,
Private Alex. Hampton,
Sidney Smith,
Lovelace Smith,
A. Samuel,
T. J. Taylor,
Thos. Tillison,
John Tuttle,
W H. Keyser.

Co. H.

Serg't W A. Jenkins,
Private A. H. Johnson,
Thos. Loggins,
Jackson Burchett,
Private A. W Minish,
J. H. Ward,
Ben. J. Baker,
C. M. Marshall.

Co. I.

Serg't Wm. Mickey.
Private H. M. Scott,
Jas. K. Moser,
Private Alfred Sapp,
Geta Boles,
Joseph Bowman.

Co. K.

Ord. Serg't Y. B. Castle,
Serg't Peter Marshall,
W H. Hester,
Corp'l H. H. Croner,
Wm. Lancaster,
Mus'n J. H. Coley,
Private J. J. Alberty,
Amos Billeter,
Private E. Fulp,
Wm. Haley,
Thos. Ingram,
Lewis Livingood,
Isaac Lewis,
W. J. Rominger,
Alverious Willard,
T. H. Spaugh.

Co. L.

Serg't B. A. Mitchel,
J. M. Lockey.
Private Joseph Farris,
A. M. Mitchel,
Geo. W Miller,
Private J. A. Price.
J. B. Webster,
Wm. B. Belton,
E. A. Pfohl,
W. T. Pfohl.

Co. M.

Serg't C. H. Mooters,
Corp'l E. R. Wiley,
W A. Elliott,
Private J. D. Boon,
H. Z. Boon,
D. H. Boon,
J. M. Gant,
J. S. Gerringer,
Private Frank Hicks,
Price Harvey,
J. A. Hubbard,
R. W Ingle,
J. M. Nelson,
W. E. Parks,
W R. Tickle.

Total, 117.

I certify, upon honor, that of the number of men appearing on these rolls, only forty were bearing arms on the morning of the 9th of April, 1865.

J. H. MILLER, Capt. Com'd'g Reg't.

FIFTY-FOURTH NORTH CAROLINA REGIMENT.

NON-COMMISSIONED STAFF.

Hosp'l Steward Alonzo Vaughan,

Co. A.

Private H. L. Barnes,
T. C. McBride,
H. Gobble,
W A. Koontz,

Private J. E. Kepley,
J. A. Ward,
H. J. Wofford,
J. E. Wofford.

Co. B.

Serg't D. H. Lafevers,
Corp'l Wm. England,

Private J. H. Henline,
S. Rudisil.

Co. C.

Serg't J. Shepard,

Private S. Stanley.

Co. D.

Private J. T. Bradley,
Wm. Lowrance,
T. J. Montague,

Private T. N. Sykes,
C. C. Woody,
W. A. Wade.

Co. E.

Private W. H. Ferrell,
Wm. Skinner,

Private W W. Redman, Sr.,
J. W Wood.

Co. F.

Private Peter Apple,
Pinkney Apple,
E. W. Brown.

Private S. Flack,
J. Y. Skeens.

Co. G.

Serg't J. F Mastin,
Private C. A. Cooper,
Jno. Glass,

Private M. C. Johnson,
R. Ray.

Co. H.

Serg't J. Rigsby,
Private H. Money.
A. Morrison,
W. Norman,

Private R. C. Pool,
J. Smith,
M. Swaim,
H. T. Vestal.

Co. I.—Serg't W. H. McFarland.

Co. K.

Serg't J. E. Dunn,
E. G. Brodie,
Private W Ball,
T. Ball,
G. Bowman,

Private J. Holt,
J. Hood,
G. McSwain,
T. B. Parham.

Total, 53.

I certify, upon honor, that of the number of men appearing on these rolls, only twenty-three were bearing arms on the morning of the 9th April, 1865. J. H. MILLER, Capt. Com'd'g Reg't.

FIFTY-SEVENTH NORTH CAROLINA REGIMENT.

Co. A.

Serg't Jos. A. Boger,
Corp'l H. G. Cranford,
Private W E. Deal,

Private L. A. Furches,
A. L. Klutts,
J. W Thompson.

Co. B.

Serg't David Warlick.
Private J. A. Burkhead,
Newton Craven,

Private Jacob Cauble,
Amos Smith,
Andy Reinhardt.

Co. C.

Corp'l J. A. Peeler.
Private J. L. Barringer,
John Beard, Jr.,
John Blackwell,
H. F Baker,
M. A. Holshouser,
F. E. Mennis.

Private J. S. Lowrance,
Geo. Niblock,
J. M. Peeler,
J. A. Penny,
J. F. Pace,
C. J. Wagoner.

Co. D.

Serg't S. A. Ogburn,
Corp'l W. D. Brown,
Jos. Cruse.
Private J. F Grubbs,
T. J. Ketner,

Private H. W Livingood,
Geo. W Morgan,
A. J. Speace,
A. P Young.

Co. E.

Private E. Hallman.
D. Leatherman,

Private L. Robinson.

Co. F.

Serg't F. Alexander,
Private H. W. Cress,
John Gant,

Private J. F. Goodman,
Henry Bingham,
Moses Messemer.

Co. G.

Serg't J. P. Carpenter,
M. Adderholt,
Corp'l D. L. Stewart,
Private A. Armstrong,
C. Henkle,

Private L. Hallman,
Robt. Hallman,
A. House,
Geo. W Hevener,
A. W Mansfield,

Co. H.

Serg't D. M. Barrier,
W. M. Eudy,
Private C. Raborn,

Private W. A. McKorkle,
R. T. VanEaton,
I. W. Williams.

Co. I.

Private Thos. Cook,
Lem. Johnson,
Dan. Moser,
C. G. Maynard,
Private W. B. Nutt,
B. Patten,
J. F. Turner,
Y. B. Warren.

Co. K.

Private W. C. Ennis,
B. W. Howard,
A. J. Mowry,
Jacob Klutts,
Private Jeff. Nichols,
John Sides,
J. A. Newell.

Total, 74.

I certify, upon honor, that of the number of men appearing on thes rolls, only thirty-one were bearing arms on the morning of the 9tl April, 1865. J. H. MILLER, Capt. Com'd'g Reg't.

Brigade total, 25 officers, 419 men.

COOKE'S BRIGADE.

Jno. R. Cooke, Brig.-Gen'l.
H. A. Butler, A. A. Gen.
E. M. Braxton, Q. M.
Hugh F. Patton, 1st Lt. and A. D. C.
W. N. Mebane, 2d Lt. Art'y and Brig. Ord. Off. Total, 5.

REGIMENTAL AND COMPANY OFFICERS.

Wm. H. Yarborough, Col. 15th N. C. T.
G. W. Hammond, Lt.-Col. 15th N. C. T.
A. W. Houston, Adj't 15th Reg't N. C. T
E. D. Foxhall, Capt. Co. I, 15th N C. T.
E. S. Euliss, Capt. Co. H, 15th N. C. T.
Y. A. Oldham, Capt. Co. D, 15th N. C. T
G. B. Murphy, 1st Lt. Co. G, 15th N. C. T.
D. S. Thompson, 1st Lt. Co. H, 15th N C. T
J. M. McLarty, 1st Lt. Co. B, 15th N. C. T.
S. M. Pender, 2d Lt. Co. I, 15th N C. T
Henry C. Kearney, 1st Lt. Co. E, 15th N. C. T
J. A. Morris, Sen. 2d Lt. Co. E, 15th N C. T
Henry H. Sherrod, Jr., 2d Lt. Co. E, 15th N. C. T.
E. W McBrayer, 2d Lt. Co. C, 15th N. C. T.
J. W. Horton, 2d Lt. Co. D, 15th N. C. T.
Jos. C. Webb, Lt.-Col. 27th N. C. T.
Calvin C. Herring, Maj. 27th N. C. T.
J. A. Sloan, Capt. Co. B, 27th N. C. T
H. F. Price, Capt. Co. H, 27th N C. T.
Berry Parks, Capt. Co. K, 27th N. C. T
Jas. A. Graham, Capt. Co. G, 27th N. C. T.
T. E. Pittman, Adj't 27th N C. T.
McG. Ernul, 1st Lt. Co. E, 27th N. C. T.
G. W Jones, 1st Lt. Co. D, 27th N. C. T
John G. Parker, 1st Lt. Co. A, 27th N. C. T
Cornelius Harper, 2d Lt. Co. D, 27th N. C. T.
N. L. Whitley, 2d Lt. Co. A, 27th N. C. T.
W. L. Saunders, Col. 46th N. C. T.
N. McK. McNeill, Maj. 46th N. C. T.
O. Holmes, Capt. Co. I, 46th N. C. T.
J. R. Heflin, Capt. Co. E, 46th N. C. T.
H. R. McKinney, Capt. Co. A, 46th N. C. T.
R. P. Troy, Capt. Co. G, 46th N. C. T
Geo. Wilcox, Capt. Co. H, 46th N. C. T.
R. A. Bost, Capt. Co. K, 46th N. C. T

J. H. Freeman, 2d Lt. Co. A, 46th N. C. T.
R. D. McCotter, 2d Lt. Co. F. 46th N. C. T.
O. P. White, 1st Lt. Co. I, 46th N. C. T
N. A. McNeill, 2d. Lt. Co. H, 46th N C. T
Thomas Owen, 2d Lt. Co. I, 46th N. C. T.
Thos. G. Jenkins, 2d Lt. Co. C, 46th N. C. T.
S. H. Walkup, Col. 48th N. C. T.
A. A. Hill, Lt.-Col 48th N. C. T.
J. R. Winchester, Adj't 48th N C. T.
B. F Richardson, Capt. Co. F, 48th N. C. T
W H. H. Lawhon, Capt. Co. D, 48th N. C. T.
J. M. Stitt, 1st Lt. Co. A, 48th N C. T
M. H. Fulp, 2d Lt. Co. K, 48th N C.
W. A. Austin, 1st Lt. Co. I, 48th N. C. T.
J. T. Hart, 3d Lt. Co. I, 48th N. C. T.
C. B. Clegg, 2d Lt. Co. G, 48th N. C. T.
D. C. Perrel, 2d Lt. Co. H, 48th N. C. T.
S. J. Davis, 3d Lt. Co. H, 48th N C T
W. A. Whitted, Capt. Com'd'g 55th N. C. T
John T. Peden, Capt. Co. B, 55th N. C. T.
G. E. Taft, 2d Lt. Co. E, 55th N. C. T.
P M. Briggs, 2d Lt. Co. A, 55th N. C. T.
Chas H. Thomas, Capt. and A. Q M. 15th N. C. T.
J. W White, Capt. and A. Q. M. 27th N. C. T.
S. W Langdon, Surgeon 15th N. C. T
E. Lloyd Howard, Surgeon 27th N C. T
V O. Thompson, Ass't Surgeon 46th N. C. T.
Wm. T. Montgomery, Surgeon 48th N. C T
B. T. Green, Surgeon 55th N. C. T.
Isaac G. Cannady, Ass't Surgeon 55th N. C. T. Total, **65.**

FIFTEENTH NORTH CAROLINA REGIMENT.

NON-COMMISSIONED STAFF.

Q. M. Serg't Thos. A. Britt, Hosp'l Steward Josiah T. Sugg.
Ord. Serg't Peter M. Moss,

Co. A.

Serg't James W Gay, Private Solomon Powell,
Private Henry T. Britton, Joseph N. Peldon,
Harrison R. Daughtry, Amos Stephenson,
Wm. J. Johnson, Robt. T. Stephenson.

Co. B.

Serg't Wm. C. Wolf,
Corp'l Wm. J. Long.
Private Wilson W Alexander,
Jas. S. Bicket, (courier to Gen'l Cooke) 1 horse bridle and saddle,
Jas. A. Craig,
Jno. T. Craig,
Rich'd C. Forbis.
Private Calvin Helms,
Harrison B. Knotts,
Jas. M. Pistole,
Jacob C. Sikes,
Joseph Steele,
David D. Stinson,
Geo. M. Stinson,
Wm. T. Wolf.

Co. C.

Serg't Sam'l H. Ripley,
Mus'n Chesley McCraw.
Private Harvey W Bickerstaff,
E. J. Blanton,
Perry G. Humphries,
Jno. Humphries,
Lawson Humphries,
Private Sumner Humphries,
Jno. B. Lowe,
Jno. C. McCraw,
Jas. R. Perkinson,
Joseph D. Robinson,
Wm. G. Wiley,
Jno. C. Champion.

Co. D.

Serg't Wiley L. Kirby,
Sam'l W Brewer,
Corp'l Thos. S. Oldham,
Thos. C. Council,
C. D. Williamson,
Geo. O. Cole,
W B. Cole,
Isaiah S. Cole,
Elijah Cole,
Private A. Calicut,
Daniel C. Dellinger,
Joseph M. Goodwin,
Jesse E. Hackney,
C. C. Mann,
Chas. S. Mitchell,
Revel Riggsbee,
Jno. S. Robinson,
Hiram Williamson.

Co. E.

Serg't Wm. A. Blackley.
Simon H. Moore.
Wm. C. Hart,
Demarcus S. Allen,
Corp'l Alex. S. Moore,
Rich'd Holden,
Norfleet Winston,
Private Wm. Holsomback,
Anthony May,
Private R. S. Mitchener.
Robt. G. Moore,
Jno. C. Simms,
Geo. S. Strickland,
Nicholas Strickland,
Wm. S. Strickland,
Willis Tharington,
Jas. J. Wilder.

Co. F

Serg't Jas. H. Johnson,
Mus'n W H. Wade,
Private Jas. W Atkins, (representative of W Gill), one mule, bridle and saddle.
Private Thos. H. Arnold,
Solomon Arnold,
Thos. G. Ellis,
Jno. C. McRary.

Co. G.

Serg't W. H. Leonard,
Private Jas. M. Leonard,
Robt. R. Leonard,
Jas. H. Burnett,
Private Burrill King,
Henry King,
Darby Jacobs.

Co. H.

Serg't Martin V Isley,
Jasper N. Wood, (representative of Jno. Wood), one mule.
Corp'l Chas. C. Cheek,
Private A. T. Bryan,
Wm. H. Euliss,
Geo. W Tesh.

Co. I.

Serg't Jas. M. Johnson,
Simon B. Staton,
Corp'l Wm. A. Lipscombe,
Robt. F. Ricks,
Lawrence Billups,
Corp'l Marcellus L. Hussey,
Private David J. Grantham,
David Peacock,
Henry Pate,
Geo. H. Staton.

Co. K.

Serg't Jas. H. Dillard,
Willis C. Fisher,
H. L. Spicer,
Corp'l Richard D. Long,
J. R. Steward,
Jas. B. Mears,
Private B. C. Armstrong,
R. H. Braswell, (courier to Gen'l J. R. Cooke,) one horse, bridle and saddle.
Private J. D. Boseman,
Levi Dillard,
Ed. Dillard,
Wm. Daws,
S. O. Daws,
Benj. W. Griffin,
J. S. Moore,
G. W Thomas,
C. T. Moseley

Total, 122.

TWENTY-SEVENTH NORTH CAROLINA REGIMENT.

NON-COMMISSIONED STAFF.

Jos. I. Burgess, sutler, one horse and clothing,
Wm. E. Ward, Serg't-Major,
A. D. Lindsay, Ord. Serg't,
Chas. M. Parks, Hosp'l Steward.

Co. A.

Serg't R. B. Parker,
Corp'l S. B. Kilpatrick,
Private L. Aycock,
Jos. Peacock,
Private Geo. W Stegall,
Rich'd Ward,
Courier John T. Roberts, one private horse and clothing.

Co. B.

1st Serg't Thos. J. Rhodes,
Serg't Joel J. Thom,
Mus'n S. M. Lipscomb,
Private Peter M. Brown,
Lewis Isley,
J. H. Hardin,
Private E. T. Sharp,
W. A. McBride,
George Lemons,
Silas C. Dodson.
Courier Walker Green, one private horse and clothing.

Co. C.

Mus'n J. H. Suggs,
Private L. H. Fields,
Jesse Grant,
Private Henry Grant,
Thomas Perdue,
R. Sutton.

Co. D.

1st Serg't H. S. Nunn,
Serg't J. R. Howard,
Corp'l J. R. Gray,
S. H. Kornegay,
Private A. B. Blizzard,
James Davis,
Private Jesse Hardy,
James Quinn,
Sam'l Strowd
James H. Thomas,
Curtis Worley.

Co. E.

1st Serg't John R. Dickson,
Serg't John E. Tyler,
A. S. Carr,
Corp'l Robt. J. Lang,
F. M. Kilpatrick,
Jno. D. Walston,
Private Wm. Corbett,
Sam'l R. Cason,
Private W B. Edwards,
R. R. Grimmer,
Wm. Garner,
Rich'd Harris,
E. Isley,
Mathew Jones,
James Jones,
Peter H. Somers.

Co. F.—Private Robert Lanning.

Co. G.

Serg't Roscoe Richards,
Corp'l Meredith Adams,
Mus'n Wm. A. Hays,
S. A. Dickson
Wm. H. H. Burroughs,
Private Jehu Boggs,
Wilson Brown,
Jas. N. Faucett,
Wm. A. Faucett,
A. Hedgepeth,
Sam'l L. Nelson,
Private Wm. H. Nunn,
David C. Parks,
Eli Sharp,
Joseph A. Smith,
Sid. G. Strayhorn,
Jno. F. Thompson,
William Thompson,
G. W. Waddell,
Thomas F. Ward,
S. K. Woods,
W D. Woods.

Co. H.

1st Serg't John R. Rollins,
Serg't J. H. Little,
Private Mathew James,
R. James,

Corp'l W C. Burney
Robt. Fleming,
Courier G. H. Evans, one private horse and clothing.
Private A. Forbes,
W H. Humber,

Private J. R. Miller,
Geo. Robinson,
Wm. Lovitt,

Corp'l B. S. Best,
Private Wm. Bardin,
E. M. Sauls,
Private Peter Lawrence,
T. E. Randolph,
Erastus Rountree,
A. Bevill,
W H. Stancil.

Co. I.

Private John Dees,
Julius Mills,
V. Civils.

Co. K.

Private S. W. Pate.
Willie Thompson.

Total, 1(

FORTY-SIXTH NORTH CAROLINA REGIMENT.

NON COMMISSIONED STAFF AND BAND.

Serg't-Major Thomas H. Wright,
Q. M. Serg't J. L. Carroll,
Hosp'l Steward T. C. Hussey,
Mus'n H. H. Heflin,
W J. Smith,
A. A. Teague,
Mus'n C. W. Rogers,
John Miller,
J. A. McBryde,
W C. Jackson,
M. I. McPhaul,
G. W. Riddle.

Co. A.

1st Serg't D. A. Meares,
1st Corp'l J. J. Howell,
Private James Holeman,
Private T. P. Joyce,
L. C. Phillips,
B. Messinger.

Co. B.

Private Joseph Basinger,
T. L. Terry,
Private L. Lane,
Fred Waller.

Co. C.—Private M. Vanlandigham.

Co. E.

5th Serg't John Mitchell,
1st Corp'l F Harris,
Private John Forsythe,
Paul Gooch,
Private C. E. Jeffries,
L. Meadows,
R. H. Oakley
C. R. Thomasson.

Co. F.

1st Serg't Isaac N. Branson
2d Serg't F Craven,
1st Corp'l E. Tucker,
Private R. T. Bean,
Private J. W. Hancock,
Noah Owens,
Henry Tucker,
Joseph F Dunn.

1st Serg't J. C. Davis,
2d Serg't T. A. Futrell,
1st Corp'l J. F. Cavaniss,
Private W L. Brower,
L. Furgerson,
Sion Hill,
John Hicks,

Co. G.

Private A. M. Ingold,
J. A. Leach,
E. Thompson,
J. G. Varner,
W M. Williams,
W. J. Cavaniss.

2d Serg't Neill T. Arnold,
5th Serg't Jas. A. Oates,
Private C. Bedsole,
H. Brewer,
J. C. Causey,
F Ferguson,
E. Johnson,
J. J. Moody,
T. W Morriss,
D. D. Morriss,

Co. H.

Private W Bedsole,
H. H. Riddle,
H. M. Stout,
A. McDugald,
Dugald Johnson,
N. Thompson,
W C. Thaggard,
John A. Wicker,
K. Wicker.

1st Serg't L. J. Hall,
4th Serg't L. W Highsmith,
1st Corp'l Allen Barden,
4th Corp'l Burrill Warren,
Private Phillip Autrey,

Co. I.

Private A. Hudson,
S. Hudson,
A. Royal,
W. Spell,
Thos. Turner.

1st Serg't J. D. Rowe,
2d Serg't Simon Eckard,
1st Corp'l R. W. Norwood,
2d Corp'l R. A. Smyer,
3d Corp'l Noah Hufman,
Private P. E. Arney,
J. E. Arney,
W. R. Burch,
S. B. Booney,
P. V. Gilbert,
J. M. Hass,

Co. K.

Private W. H. Mooser,
O. M. Jarratt,
J. Q. Seitz,
T. P. Tucker,
J. L. Wilson,
A. H. Rowe,
W. Setzer,
L. Sigman,
S. E. Killian,
R. H. Sherrill.

Total, 102.

FORTY-EIGHTH NORTH CAROLINA REGIMENT.

NON-COMMISSIONED STAFF.

Q. M. Serg't Stanhope Thomas.

Co. A.

Private W G. Winchester,
Salathiel Helms,
Wm. Therrill,
Private Hugh Starnes,
Joseph Williams.

Co. B.

Private A. W Darr,
J. Hendrick,
Private Henry Rowe,
H. R. Richard.

Co. C.

1st Serg't Robt. R. Leonard,
Corp'l J. F. Webster,
Private Wm. P. Hanes,
W W. Hoover,
Private C. Kestler,
W P. Rogers,
G. W Adams.

Co. D.—Private A. Campbell.

Co. E.

1st Serg't Zachariah Yarborough,
2d Serg't T. C. Eubanks,
3d Serg't G. W Short,
Corp'l Wm. Elliott,
Private W G. Elliott,
S. S. Funderburk,
Jno. J. Griffin,
Sam Holden,
J. R. Latham,
Private B. E. Mangum,
W M. Osborn,
Thomas Parker,
Samuel Rape,
J. W Short,
J. E. Short.
W. P. Smith,
C. R. Smith,
J. A. Griffin.

Co. F.

Private Wm. De Laney.
James C. Harget,
George A. Givens,
Hogan Irby,
Private A. H. Richardson,
Jno. Richardson,
Wm. Vickery.
E. W Watson.

Co. G.

2d Serg't H. C. Clegg.
Corp'l A. Gilmore,
Private W. Beal,
Jas. Foushee,
B. F. Heddin,
Private John Hart,
Jourdan Johnson,
Jesse Johnson,
E. Pipkin.

Co. H.

3d Serg't A. W. Clodfelter,
Corp'l D. Embler,
H. Easter,
Private W L. Grimes,
Noah Horn,
Wm. Hill,

Private A. S. Bryan,
J. R. Ellis,
Levi Floyd,
Reuben Grimes,
Private A. Leonard,
B. F. Lambeth,
J. W Low,
Franklin Ball,

Co. I.

4th Serg't W. L. Fisher,
5th Serg't W. E. Penyan,
Corp'l Jacob P. Green,
Private John C. Austin.
Thomas A. Austin,
W F. Crump.
Jno. F Black,
W J. Cook.
Private W. F Cuthbertson,
Reuben Dennis,
Paul Hagler,
Willis Medlin,
Samuel Proctor,
W P Williams,
Henry P Harget,
James H. Sosamon.

Co. K.

Private L. D. Lambeth,
Samuel Jackson,
Private Benjamin Sapp,
Ephraim Stroop.

Total, 87.

FIFTY-FIFTH NORTH CAROLINA REGIMENT.

NON-COMMISSIONED STAFF AND BAND.

Serg't-Major Jesse A. Adams,
Ord. Serg't J. W C. Young,
Hosp'l Stew'd Peterson Thorpe,
Com'sy Serg't Wm. B. Reyall,
Mus'n W. H. Rowland.
W. H. Horn.
Mus'n Henry C. Turnage,
Henry C. Adcock,
Burt. T. Summerel,
George L. Falls,
M. R. Beam,
Jacob C. Pearson.

Co. A.

2d Serg't Lewellyn Jones,
Private Bryant Bass,
Edwin Eastman,
Wilie Mercer,
Private Edwin Lamb,
Edwin Etheridge,
Braswell Renfroe.

Co. B.

Private Dan'l Billings,
John Gregory,
Private John S. Brown.

Co. C.

2d Serg't W. L. Brown,
4th Serg't A. G. Gantt,
2d Corp'l Lewis McDonald,
Private J. Whisnant,
S. A. Bryant,
A. Mooney.

1st Serg't B. H. Bridges,
5th Serg't Mark L. Carroll,
Private G. W Bowen,
David Hamrick,
Thos. Hamrick,
R. E. Harrell,

3d Corp'l Elihu Briley,
Private Jesse Adams,
J. S. W. Brown,
Lemuel Tyson,
R. W. Smith,

1st Serg't Jas. R. Willis,
5th Serg't A. P Ivester,
3d Corp'l S. J. White,
4th Corp'l P. R. White,
Private John S. Crow,

1st Corp'l Pinkney Rich,
Private David J. Thompson,

2d Serg't Wm. Mullis,
Private John Mullis,

1st Serg't Thos. H. Speed,
Private Nathan May.

2d Serg't John P. Cannady.
Private Hawkins Jones,
D. M. Patterson,
Wm. M. Blackwell,

Co. D.

Private Wm. M. Harrell,
D. D. Neal,
A. Poston,
W S. Pryor,
Wm. S. Pruett,
Jacob Runyon.

Co. E.

Private J. E. Bullock,
W H. Gurganus,
J. L. Tucker,
C. R. White.

Co. F.

Private P. M. Shuford,
R. J. Hicks,
John A. Canipe,
Aaron Cook,
A. Self.

Co. G.

Private John T. Garris.

Co. H.

Private John D. McCurry,
Jesse J. Stearnes.

Co. I.

Private Richard Levister,
Wm. Dulin.

Co. K.

Private Robert Sandford,
Jos. Howard,
John Dunn.

Total, 77.

Brigade total, 70 officers, 491 men.

MacRAE'S BRIGADE.

Wm. MacRae, Brig.-Gen'l.
Jno. H. Robinson, 1st Lt. and A. A. A. G.
Jos. E. Porter, 1st Lt. and A. D. C.
B. W Justice, Capt and A. C. S.
Jno. Gatlin, Capt. and A. Q. M. **Total, 5.**

REGIMENTAL AND COMPANY OFFICERS.

W J. Martin, Col. 11th N. C.
J P.. McCombs, Ass't Surg. 11th N. C.
W B. Taylor, Lieut. Co. A, 11th N. C.
Thomas Parks, Capt. Co. B, 11th N. C.
E. R. Outlaw, Capt. Co. C, 11th N. C.
J. F Freeland, Capt. Co. G, 11th N. C.
R. B. Lowrie, Lieut. Co. H, 11th N C.
J. M. Young, Capt. Co. K, 11th N. C.
Jas. T. Adams, Lt.-Col. 26th N. C.
L. P Warren, Surg. 26th N. C.
J. Berry, Ass't Surg 26th N. C.
John A. Polk, 1st Lt. and Adj't 26th N. C.
Thos. J. Cureton, Capt. Co. B, 26th N. C.
William N. Snelling, 2d Lt. Co. D, 26th N. C.
Edwin H. McManus, 2d Lt. Co. E, 26th N C.
A. R. Johnson, Capt. Co. G, 26th N C.
M. B. Blair, 1st Lt. Co. I, 26th N. C.
J. A. Bush, 2d Lt. Co. I, 26th N. C.
Chas. M. Stedman, Major 44th N. C.
A. J. Ellis, 2d Lt. Co. A, 44th N. C.
M. G. Cherry, Capt. Co. C, 44th N. C.
Jas. T. Williams, Capt. 44th N. C.
J. J. Crump, Capt. Co. E. 44th N. C
Ro. Bingham, Capt. Co. G, 44th N. C.
Thomas H. Norwood, Capt. Co. H, 44th N. C.
J. H. Johnston, 1st Lt. Co. K, 44th N. C.
John H. Thorp, Capt. Co. A, 47th N. C.
Thomas Westray, Lieut. Co. A, 47th N. C.
Thos. L. Lassiter, 1st Lt. Co. H, 47th N. C.
J. W. Jones, 1st Lt. Co. I, 47th N. C.
R. H. Faucett, Capt. Co. K, 47th N. C.
E. Erson, Lt.-Col. 52d N. C. T.
W. H. Lilly, Surg. 52d N. C. T.
J. Marion Alexander, Capt. Co. A, 52d N. C. T.
A. F. Hurley, 1st Lt. Co. A, 52d N. C. T.
W. E. Kyle, 1st Lt. Co. B, 52d N. C. T.
S. S. Lilly, Capt. Co. I, 52d N. C. T. Total, 37.

ELEVENTH NORTH CAROLINA REGIMENT

NON-COMMISSIONED STAFF.

Hos. Stew'd William M. Willson, Ord. Serg't William Madre.

Co. A.

1st Serg't Thos. W Neely,
1st Corp'l J. M. Alexander,
2d Corp'l J. W Bingham.
Private G. T. Herron,
M. Harris,
Private M. B. Hunter,
Wm. M. Kennedy,
R. J. Monteith,
J. E. Orman,
H. M. Pettus.

Co. B.

2d Serg't W. W McGimpsy,
3d Serg't R. J. Hennesy,
Private H. E. Elliott,
J. B. Singleton,
Private Robt. Kincaid,
C. Phillips,
L. Livingston.

Co. C.

Private A. Davis,
R. Blackstone,
Private Jas. B. Parker.

Co. D.

1st Serg't W T. Womack,
4th Serg't W. H. Butler,
Private S. Britton,
W N. Causbey,
M. Clark,
Private J. H. Clay,
C. Butler,
J. M. Butler,
J. B. Watkins.

Co. E.

1st Serg't J. H. McDonald,
5th Serg't W. W Hargrove,
Private D. Hartline,
A. Hartline,
H. Holton,
Private W S. McClelland,
Wm. C. Pucket,
J. N. Pinnix,
J. Sprinkle.

Co. F.—Private J. Bogue.

Co. G.

2d Serg't W J. Howard,
Private J. T. Davis,
W Fowler,
Private W C. Mangum,
H. T. McDade.

Co. H.

2d Serg't J. F. Smith,
Private E. M. Andrews,
S. W. Blair,
R. Holland,
Private J. L. Humfreys,
Peter Keener,
J. Saunders,
W H. Wilkerson,

Co. I.

4th Corp'l J. F. Aderholt,
Private A. Coon,
W H. Cline,
Jas. Cody,
Jno. Cody,
H. V Cox,
Jno. Evans,
Private A. Gualt,
Jno. T. Hudspeth,
D. A. Haynes,
A. Mullin,
Wm. H. McCoy,
J. M. Leonhart,
Z. Wise.

Co. K.

1st Serg't J. S. Bartlett,
Private A. Creasman,
J. R. Dickerson,
Private J. P. Hall,
W. N. Luther,
M. A. Young. Total, 74.

TWENTY-SIXTH NORTH CAROLINA REGIMENT.

NON-COMMISSIONED STAFF.

Ord. Serg't E. M. Hornaday, Hos. Steward Benj. Hines.

Co. A.

2d Serg't Jas. P Ashley
5th Serg't J. H. Osborn,
Private W Blevins,
R. Bare,
M. Duvall,
Private Thos. Grimsley,
Zach. Ausburn,
C. H. Reedy,
W. B. Reedy.

Co. B.

Serg't E. B. Chancey,
J. H. Lee,
Corp'l A. Eason,
Private G. D. Austin,
H. D. Fesperman,
W E. Norwood,
Private W E. Robertson,
J. R. Simpson,
Wm. Starnes,
Jno. Welsh,
W. T. Baker,
J. C. Mickle.

Co. C.

Serg't J. T. Ferguson,
Wm. Curtis,
Private Thos. Watts.

Co. D.

1st Serg't W P. Burt,
Serg't J. A. Chesson,
Private H. L. Johnson,
J. Gilmore,
J. Baker,
A. Baker,
Geo. Brooks,
Private D. C. Adams,
J. Lankston,
Geo. Kelly,
E. Raglan,
G. Booker,
W. E. Booker,
Q. Edwards.

Serg't G. H. Fitts,
Private E. Brewer,
Jno. Brewer,
Jno. W Dowd,
L. Ellis,
J. C. Blalock,
G. Ellington,
Jas. Johnson,

Serg't J. T. C. Hood,
Private J. Branch,
C. M. Tuttle,

Serg't T. D. Record,
Corp'l H. W. Siler,
W. P. Johnson,
Private W B. Allred,
J. W. Bowden,
E. Buckaner,
A. M. Fox,
Jno. Hix,
Alex. Lineberry,

1st Serg't J. D. Gilliam,
Corp'l D. McDonald,
D. McLeod,
Private J. A. Jackson,
C. E. Jones,

Serg't Jas. Barnes,
Private H. Holder,
J. C. Hart,
S. Keller,
P. W. Summerow,

1st Serg't W D. Webb,
Sergt H. C. Dumas,
J. T. Gaddy,
J. D. Woodburn,
Corp'l G. W. Allen,
J. R. Jarman,
J. B. Short,

Co. E.

Private J. J. Jones,
F J. Scott,
N. Thomas,
S. Thomas,
A. W Webster,
D. F. Wilkey,
W Phillips,
L. B. Smith.

Co. F.

Private G. H. Harston,
C. F Sudderth,

Co. G.

Private H. C. Johnson,
E. Marshall,
D. C. McPherson,
L. Moon,
H. Overman,
W. H. Patterson,
A. R. Siler,
M. E. Vestal,
James Jones.

Co. H.

Private N. McDonald,
Jno. Parrish,
H. C. Tyson,
N. A. Ray.

Co. I.

Private B. W. Manley,
J. I. Bradshaw,
H. W Smith,
J. A. Teague,
W. H. McPherson,

Co. K.

Private F. M. Edwards,
E. W Flake,
H. M. Gulledge,
J. T. Henley,
Frank Lee,
Thos. May,
H. D. Pinkston,

Private R. B. Allen,
S. Barber,
H. T. Covington,
J. R. Eddings,
Private John Poplin,
W P Short,
Calvin Thomas,
Wilson Thomas.

Total, 120.

FORTY-FOURTH NORTH CAROLINA REGIMENT.

NON-COMMISSIONED STAFF.

Serg't-Major E. D. Covington,
Ord. Serg't R. J. Powell.

Co. A.

2d Serg't L. D. Davis,
3d Serg't Moses Garner,
4th Serg't W H. Ellis,
Private W. M. Estes,
Private Aaron Emory,
A. B. Montague,
W L. Royster.

Co. B.

1st Serg't A. Rawls,
3d Serg't M. H. Mitchell,
1st Corp'l E. P Flemming,
Private Jos. Downing,
G. T. Daniel,
D. Brown,
Private Jno. Harris,
Gary Bunting,
A. Moore,
J. Savage,
H. Walker.

Co. C.

1st Serg't J. N. Johnson,
4th Serg't Jas. Harding,
Serg't D. F. Whichard,
Private B. T. Baker,
Private Jno. S. Harris,
R. Harris,
Jas. Hathaway,
T. R. Pollard.

Co. D.

1st Serg't W A. Hyman,
2d Serg't W A. Williams,
3d Serg't W. H. Williams,
4th Serg't J. G. Shepherd,
1st Corp'l H. Taylor,
Private B. F Crawford,
Jno. Evans,
Jno. Hathaway,
J. F. Moore,
J. R. Joiner.

Co. E.

3d Serg't E. T. Foushee,
2d Corp'l A. Hilliard,
Private J. Clark,
J. B. Clark,
H. Crutchfield,
F Crutchfield,
W Crutchfield,
Private S. S. Cain,
A. B. Leonard,
E. Phillips,
B. B. Phillips,
Jno. Robertson,
W. W. Dismukes,
W M. Tally.

Co. F.

5th Serg't E. L. Russell,
Private Jno. T. Moore,
Jno. M. Moore,
W. Kerner,

Private J. C. Thompson,
Frank Tolbert,
H. Shankle.

Co. G.

2d Serg't W J. Morrow,
Corp'l G. M. Foust,
W P Thompson,
Private S. P Cobb,

Private David Coble,
R. G. Howard,
H. O. Daniel,
S. P Cates.

Co. H.

Private Mitchell Dunn.

Private R. James Powell.

Co. I.—Private J. B. Kennedy

Co. K.

2d Serg't T. B. Jones,
Corp'l B. F. Freeman,

Private A. Gordon,
P. Murphy.

Total, 74.

FORTY-SEVENTH NORTH CAROLINA REGIMENT.

NON COMMISSIONED STAFF

Serg't-Major P A. Page,
Ord. Serg't Geo. S. Hines,

Com'y Serg't R. F. Temple.

Co. A.

2d Serg't W E. Stott,
3d Serg't W M. Warren,
Corp'l W. H. Perry,
Private Wm. Baines,
G. Lewis,
Jno. Morgan,
Jas. Morgan,

Private Wm. G. Murray,
E. W Patterson,
J. L. Strickland,
S. Jones,
Jno. Stott,
Benj. Whitley,
Wright Batcheler.

Co. B.

Serg't Jno. H. Cheevis,
Private Calvin Pippin,
G. Phillips,
Josiah Green,

Private H. Etheredge,
L. H. Joyner,
R. Rogers,
J. J. Bissett.

Co. C.

Serg't A. Hinton,
Private W P Bragg,
J. J. Bunch,

Private W. R. Fowler,
W L. Davis,
Jno. Sugg.

Co. D.

Private H. High,
John Wells,

Private J. Langley.

Co. E.

Serg't R. L. Thompson,
W. H. Hill,
Corp'l R. D. Honeycutt,
Private K. A. Bridges,
W. Cross,

Private J. Cross,
Jas. Dew,
B. Jones,
E. M. Ray,
J. C. Maynard.

Co. F.

Private T. N. Haswell,
Jno. Carter,

Private W. Dickerson,
W. D. Hill.

Co. G.

Private C. A. Reid,
Frank Askew,

Private Sydney Joiner.

Co. H.

Serg't W. C. Stronach,
Corp'l Chas. Debnam,
J. H. Booth,
H. Jinks,
H. T. Rollins,
John J. Moring,

Private S. Williams,
George Lynn,
Gaston Ford,
C. F Debnam,
P. Sears,
Sam'l T. Elliott.

Co. I.—Private W. R. King.

Co. K.

Serg't J. H. Ross,
Jacob Wagoner,
J. H. Tarply.
Private Patterson Boon,

Private E. R. Gillespie,
C. Isley,
Wm. Linens,
J. C. Matthews. Total, 72.

FIFTY-SECOND NORTH CAROLINA REGIMENT.

NON-COMMISSIONED STAFF

Hos. Stew'd E. J. De Berry.

Co. A.

1st Serg't Jno. W Fetzer,
1st Corp'l R. F. Cook,
Private W A. Demarcus,
J. H. Keizer,
Martin Starnes,
J. W. Poteat,

Private R. M. Luther,
Darling Tucker,
Chas. Vanpelt,
William Vanpelt,
Jno. W Yates.

Co. B.

Corp'l A. J. Goins,
Private R. Aldred,

Private A. Hancock,
W. H. H. Lamb.

Co. C.—Private Simon Riddick.

Co. D.

Corp'l Chas. M. Williams,
Private P. Hopkins.

Co. E.

Serg't W C. Webb,
Private Benj. McLendon,
J. A. McNair,
Private Enos Smith,
Stephen Thompson,
H. Webb.

Co. F.

Serg't J. H. Warren,
Private M. C. Chappell,
J. M. Foster,
Private J. R. Gilreath,
H. Smithey.
John Watts.

Co. G.

Serg't J. F. Caldwell,
Corp'l J. T. Norwood,
Private H. Roberson,
Jas. D. Munday,
Private Jackson Smith,
John Pendergrass,
James Brotherton.

Co. H.

Corp'l H. M. Summerow,
Private David T. Anderson,
W. J. Friday,
J. C. Friday,
A. Hedgpeth,
C. Patterson,
Private James Queen,
J. F. Perkins,
Hiram Brotherton,
James Bynum,
H. P. Parker,

Co. I.

1st Serg't J. T. Haskell,
2d Serg't J. D. Forrest,
3d Serg't E. S. Swearengain,
Private Green Henley.
J. A. Poplin,
Jacob Shankle.

Co. K.

Serg't F. M. Hardgrove,
Private Chas. N. Coley,
J. W Starbuck,
Private ——— McGee,
Thomas Pratt.

Total, 60.

Brigade total, 42 officers, 400 men.

ON STAFF OF MAJOR-GENERAL WILCOX.

Jos. A. Engelhard, Maj. and A. A. G.
N. E. Scales, Maj. and Q. M.
D. T. Carraway, Maj. and C. S.
R. M. Oates, Capt. and A. Q. M.
J. M. Tate, Capt. and A. Q. M.
J. G. Edwards, Capt. and A. C. S. Total, 6.

(The above are only the North Carolinians on the Division Staff.—ED.)

LANE'S BRIGADE.

Jas. H. Lane, Brig.-Gen.
E. J. Hale, Jr., Capt. and A. A. G.
E. B. Meade, 1st Lt. and A. D. C.
E. N. Herndon, Maj. and Q. M.
Thos. H. McKoy, Maj. and C. S. Total, 5.

REGIMENTAL AND COMPANY OFFICERS.

Alfred Saunders, 2d Lt. Co. I, 7th N. C. T.
Thos. J. Wooten, Major 18th N. C. T
W. H. McLaurin, 1st Lt. and Adj't 18th N. C. T.
Thos. B. Lane, Surgeon 18th N. C. T
Simpson Russ, Ass't Surgeon 18th N. C. T.
John J. Poisson, Capt. Co. G, 18th N C T
B. F. Rinaldi, Capt. Co. A, 18th N C. T
E. N. Robeson, 1st Lt. Co. K, 18th N. C. T.
Owen Smith, 1st Lt. Co. C, 18th N C. T
R. M. Lesesne, 2d Lt. Co. B, 18th N. C. T.
John M. Whitted, 2d Lt. Co. G, 18th N. C. T
Alexander Lewis, 2d Lt. Co. H, 18th N C. T
Wm. M. Fetter, 2d Lt. Co. E, 18th N. C. T.
R. S. Folger, 1st Lt. and Adj't 28th N C. T
W. W Gaither, Surgeon 28th N. C. T.
D. S. Henkel, Chaplain 28th N. C. T.
E. F Lovill, Capt. Co. A, 28th N. C. T
T. J. Linebarger, Capt. Co. C, 28th N. C. T.

G. G. Holland, Capt. Co. H, 28th N. C. T
A. W Stone, Capt. Co. K, 28th N C. T
Robt. A. White, 1st Lt. Co. B, 28th N C. T
D. F Morrow, 1st Lt. Co. G, 28th N C. T
M. M. Throneburg, 2d Lt. Co. C, 28th N. C. T.
R. D. Ormand, 2d Lt. Co. B, 28th N. C. T
H. C. Turner, 2d Lt. Co. K, 28th N C. T
J. W Williams, 2d Lt. Co. C, 28th N C. T
L. A. Todd, 2d Lt. Co. F, 28th N C. T
S. T. Thompson, 2d Lt. Co. I, 28th N. C. T
W H. Angerman, 2d Lt. Co. D, 28th N C. T
T. F Green, 2d Lt. Co. H, 28th N C. T
R. V Cowan, Col. 33d N. C. T
Jas. A. Weston, Maj. 33d N C. T
S. Whitaker, Jr., 1st Lt. and Adj't 33d N C. T
John A. Vigal, Ass't Surgeon 33d N C. T
Riddick Gatling, Capt. Co. H, 33d N C. T
W J. Callais, Capt. Co. G, 33d N C. T
Geo. W Sanderlin, Capt. Co. E, 33d N C. T
J. C. Mills, 1st Lt. Co. G, 33d N. C. T.
W. T. McEntire, 1st Lt. Co. D, 33d N. C. T.
J. W. Wooten, 2d Lt. Co. G, 33d N C. T
T. J. Eatmond, Chaplain 33d N. C.
J. L. Bost,, Maj. 37th N. C. T.
Geo. E. Trescot, Surgeon 37th N. C. T.
D. L. M. Graham, Ass't Surgeon 37th N C. T
T. J. Armstrong, Capt. Co. K, 37th N C. T
John M. Cochrane, Capt. Co. D, 37th N C. T
Thos. L. Norwood, 1st Lt. Co. A, 37th N C. T
A. F Yandle, 2d Lt. Co. I, 37th N C. T
J. E. Griffin, 2d Lt. Co. D, 37th N C. T
Thomas M. Wiggins, 2d Lt. Co. K, 37th N. C. T
A. L. Marsh, 2d Lt. Co. D, 37th N. C. T. **Total, 51.**

SEVENTH NORTH CAROLINA REGIMENT.

Co. D—Private Lewis Cable.

Co. E.

Private E. A. Nance, Private John W Murray.
W B. D. Morris.

Co. F.—John Johnson.

Co. G.

Private G. W. Marshall, Private Richard Womble,

Co. H.

Private W W. Stinson, Private B. F. Poteat.

Co. I.

Serg't W. B. Smith, Private G. W. Morrow,
G. L. Kistler, James L. Wilson.

Co. K.—Private Terrill Burgess. Total, 14.

(This regiment was at the time on detached service in North Carolina and surrendered later with Johnston's army. Only the few members remaining on detailed duty with the brigade are on above list.—ED.)

EIGHTEENTH NORTH CAROLINA REGIMENT.

NON-COMMISSIONED STAFF.

Ord. Serg't Charles Flanner, Chief Mus'n Henry M. Woodcock.
Hosp'l Stew'd Wilie A. Cornish,

Co. A.

Serg't M. M. Tatum, Private John Johnson,
W. Howard, B. D. Lindsey,
Private Henry Howard, G. W McDonald.
F. Howard,

Co. B.

Corp'l S. Singletary, Private E. Austin,
Private W C. Bragg, J. Meares.

Co. C.

Mus'n George W Sherrill, Private D. Klutts.
Private D. Green,

Co. D.

Serg't A. E. Floyd, Private K. Lovet,
Corp'l J. P Innman, A. J. Thompson,
Private A. A. Profit, Z. Clewis.

Co. E.

Mus'n Thos. R. Calvin, Private C. Barnhill,
Private S. B. Costin, J. B. Wall,
G. E. Keith, L. B. Wall.
Henry Moore,

Co. F.

Serg't A. E. Smith, Private A. A. Huckabee,
Corp'l John A. Patterson, J. Nolan,
Private W. W Ballard, M. G. McKoy,
J. A. Calder, N. McN. Patterson,
W C. Daves, A. D. Webb.

Co. G.

Serg't James R. Dancey,
Corp'l J. W. Gordon,
Mus'n J. J. Leslie,
Private J. F. Adams,
Private P. Dickson,
R. H. Hall,
C. J. Sasser,
P. T. Smith.

Co. H.

Serg't Charles M. Baldwin,
Corp'l H. C. Long,
Private J. R. Baldwin,
J. J. Chancey,
J. Creech.
Private A. Minton,
W Nance,
J. Safrit,
J. M. Yelton.

Co. I.

Serg't S. W. Wells,
J. H. Brown,
Corp'l J. J. F. Heath,
Private Shade Bell,
John Case,
D. Brindle,
Private D. Y. Russell,
L. H. Horn,
H. Hayne,
David S. Latta,
H. A. Hall,
R. B. Banks.

Co. K.

Com. Serg't S. N. Richardson,
Serg't W H. King,
A. McNeill,
Corp'l Jas. A. Cromartie,
Dan'l M. Sutton,
Private J. F. Bloodworth,
Private S. T. Buie,
D. Murphy,
J. C. Kinlaw,
Wm. Melvin,
Jonathan Dunham,
W. N. Anderson.

Total, 81.

TWENTY-EIGHTH NORTH CAROLINA REGIMENT.

NON-COMMISSIONED STAFF.

Serg't-Major W. R. Rankin,
Q. M. Serg't T. C. Lowe,
Hosp. Steward L. J. Barker.

Co. A.

Serg't H. G. Anthony,
J. A. Holder,
Private Isaac Draughn,
J. Brown,
J. Brannock,
H. W. Collins,
A. Coe,
M. H. Freeman,
A. J. Key,
Private Wm. Marsh,
G. Isaacs,
J. L. McGhee,
E. Moore,
W P Nixon,
W White,
A. L. Gates,
L. C. York.

Co. B.

Serg't T. M. Foster,
Corp'l F W Leper,
A. M. Rhyne,
R. W. Carson,
George Hines,
Private W. T. Allison,
J. A. Jenkins,
E. M. Huffstetler,
J. F Beatty.
J. C. Bell,
A. J. Baldwin,
L. R. Clemer,
C. Carpenter.
D. M. Sifford,
M. Carpenter,
W A. Clark,
L. H. Ford,
R. W. Gaston,
C. S. D. Shields,
Private J. P. Harriss,
J. B. Hines,
M. Keiser,
J. J. Lewis,
S. H. McCarver,
A. Rhyne,
W. W Rankin,
W A. Smith,
J. Shreem,
T. L. Saunders,
R. B. Stowe,
J. W Shields,
W B. Thomas,
J. F Thomas,
J. L. Thornburg,
W E. Whiteside,
M. V Willis,
L. L. Wilson.

Co. C.

Serg't P. J. Hermon,
Corp'l J. F Houston,
A. Balch,
D. M. Hermon,
Mus'n J. L. Turbyfield,
Private J. Balch,
F. H. Balch,
M. Balch,
A. Bumgarner,
J. C. Carter,
L. Cook,
W. H. H. Poovey,
F Yount,
S. Comal,
A. J. Frada,
D. Heffner,
G. Heffner,
S. Heffner,
A. D. Hollar,
Private F. W Howard,
S. Honeycutt,
J. M. Houston,
J. S. Hermon,
C. E. Killian,
A. Lail,
N. M. Linebarger,
W A. Martin,
H. H. Poovey,
J. A. Poovey, Sr.,
J. A. Poovey, Jr.,
T. Poovey,
L. Poovey.
W P Raider,
P J. Spencer,
S. Spencer,
A. Starr,
A. E. Townsend,
A. E. Yount.

Co. D.

Serg't M. Richie,
F. W Talley.
Corp'l W Crayton,
D. W Plyler,
J. H. Lyerly,
Private A. Carpenter,
H. D. Plyler,
E. A. Plyler,
J. A. Pruitt,
W. C. James,

Private H. Barbee,
A. Barbee,
A. Burleyson.

Private John Rudisil,
W H. Sikes,
John Underwood.

Co. E.

Serg't J. A. Crawford,
W M. Ballard,
Mus'n W T. Lisk,
Private J. Ussery.
M. Chisholm,
R. J. Halton,
W B. Smith,
J. L. Hill,
J. A. Ledbetter,
M. Lemmons,

Private W. B. Ingram,
A. Lemmons,
J. T. Lisk,
J. McKenzie,
J. T. McCauley,
C. Macon,
T. C. Robinson,
T. A. Parsons,
R. S. Williams,
M. H. Leitts.

Co. F.

Private L. E. Grabb,
W. H. Dickson,

Private R. H. Hutchins,
John Hicks.

Co. G.

Serg't J. S. Durham,
H. A. Edwards,
J. L. Lloyd,
Corp'l F. R. Durham,
Private M. Atwater,
J. Kennedy,
J. W. Cheek,
S. N. Crawford,
W. P. Durham,
G. W. Howard,
W. P. Jean,
J. P. Johnston,

Private J. Phillips,
S. A. Poe.
R. P Poe.
R. H. Poindexter,
H. H. Robertson,
J. J. Sykes.
T. H. Thompson,
O. B. Tinnen,
J. R. Ward,
G. N. Wait,
G. B. Workman.

Co. H.

Serg't T. J. Holland,
J. M. Green,
M. M. Jolly,
Private J. L. Green,
J. A. Hopper,
Corp'l P. G. Gold,
Private S. G. H. Bridgers,
T. S. Bridges,
C. M. Barnett,
F Bolch,
D. O. P. Champion,
J. M. S. Green,

Private J. M. J. Green
D. O. Green,
R. H. Green,
J. Hambrick,
J. R. Hawkins,
J. L. Lovelace,
P H. Lail,
D. O. H. P. Moore,
G. M. Moore, Sr.,
J. M. Miller,
J. C. Pruit,
John Pruit.

Co. I.

Private T. G. Scott,
G. H. Reece,
A. R. Joyce,
Private J. W. Wagoner,
J. Hutchins,
T. F Haynes.

Co. K.

Serg't D. M. Ross,
M. J. Ross,
Corp'l Uriah F. Hathcock,
Private D. Almond,
D. P Austin,
B. F. Bell,
W Caskiel,
G. W Davis,
J. Eudy,
D. A. Fry
A. Furr,
W. A. Kirk,
B. A. Holt,
Private G. Milton,
T. Motley,
A. C. Marbry,
D. Poplin,
G. P. Ross,
W F Swearinger,
R. Shoe,
G. C. Smith,
Thos. W Whitey,
A. Vanhoy,
M. Whitley
Mus'n J. Morton.

Total, 213.

THIRTY-THIRD NORTH CAROLINA REGIMENT.

NON-COMMISSIONED STAFF AND BAND.

Hos. Steward S. D. Davis,
Q.-M. Serg't F. M. Butner,
Com's'y Serg't J. P Nicholson,
Orderly Serg't J. S. Midgett,
Mus'n E. C. Dull,
W. N. Butner,
R. J. Crater,
G. L. Miller,
L. A. Hartman,
O. J. Lehman,
W C. Parker.

Co. A.

Serg't Isaiah J. York,
Corp'l J. F. Millsaps,
Private J. W Barrett,
S. Barnes,
J. Cardon,
W A. Deatheridge,
H. C. Freeman,
J. H. Graves,
E. J. Jenkins,
Private J. M. Lazenby,
R. L. Martin,
J. T. Millsaps,
H. Peeples,
Tobias Propst,
G. W Readling,
A. L. Stewart,
H. W. Tomlin.

Co. B.

Serg't J. R. Davenport,
W. J. Calhoun,
J. R. Purvis,
Private W. Harrell,
Warren Harrell,
J. H. Jenkins,

Corp'l T. L. Brown,
A. M. Grimes,
Private W. Briley,
D. Boyd,
J. E. Clark,
T. T. Council,
J. M. Graham,
Private J. O Nelson,
E. O'Brien,
J. T. Raiford,
J. R. Ruffin,
Geo. L. Roebuck,
B. H. Taylor,
J. R. Williams.

Co. C.

Serg't J. File,
Private J. Fink,
J. Propst,
W. Barnhart,
J. W. Rogers,
C. Tucker,
G. W. Suther,
Private W E. Barnhart,
R. W. Barnhart,
J. C. Corzine,
W. H. Clark,
D. M. Murph,
H. A Rummage,
E. Teague.

Co. D.

Serg't D. Stewart,
L. R. Jennings,
Corp'l F. Peele,
Private J. Burchett,
H. Brown,
Private J. Childers,
R. Durham,
J. D. Perdue,
S. G. Wright.

Co. E.

Private J. W. Savage,
F. H. Wright,
Private D. D. Wright,
J. E. Eure.

Co. F.

Serg't W T. Farrow,
C. Daniels,
J. Dailey,
Corp'l S. D. Blackwood,
Private J. M. Blackwood,
S. Cutrell,
R. C. Gibbs,
Private R. H. Harriss,
W N. Riley,
R. Rose,
J. Thompson,
J. A. Thompson,
B. M. Terry.

Co. G.

Corp'l J. W. Atkinson (color bearer),
Private J. R. Carter,
Jas. P. Baines,
A. M. Hair,
J. E. Reynolds,
Private J. R. Powers,
W. D. Randleman,
J. Cruse,
M. Melcher,
J. P Bomer.

Co. H.

Private M. Boswell,
Private J. W. Shoaf.

Co. I.

Private R. B. Flynt,
F. Ketner,

Private L. Stone.

Co. K.

Private J. J. Burch,
J. C. Nicholson,
J. Emery,

Private A. Taylor,
J. W. Gray,

Total, 108.

THIRTY-SEVENTH NORTH CAROLINA REGIMENT.

NON-COMMISSIONED STAFF.

Serg't-Major J. H. Austin,
Q. M. Serg't J. O. Alexander,

Ord. Serg't J. W C. Abernathy,
Com's'y Serg't C. T. Stowe.

Co. A.

Serg't J. M. Black,
Private J. Childers,
L. W Miller,
R. Miller,

Private E. Osborne,
M. M. Light,
E. Severt.

Co. B.

Private J. H. Jones,
John Stafford,

Private N. M. Thayer,
L. H. Triplet.

Co. C.

Serg't W H. Harrison,
R. R. Lentz,
Corp'l J. F M. Beard,
Private J. B. Deaton,
T. L. Alexander,

Private S. W Knox,
A. A. Kelley,
E. A. Sample,
J. H. White.

Co. D.

Serg't G. W Baucom,
Private R. M. Bivins,
J. T. Lowery.
A. B. Caudle,
H. H. Fincher,
T. L. Eason,
J. N. Gaddy,

Private E. G. Graddy,
W T. Griffin,
P C. Griffin,
A. C. Helms,
C. L. Helms,
A. Stegall,
P Little.

Co. E.

Serg't W Adams,
H. Slade,
Corp'l J. Howington,
Private J. Coffee,
N. R. Croom,

Private F. L. Foster,
C. D. Harman,
A. A. Morrison,
W. F. Monday.

Co. F

Corp'l W J. Mastin.
Private S. B. Crews.
J. T. Edwards,
S. S. Furgeson,
W R. Hefner,

Co. G.

Serg't James W Chapman,
Private J. J. Bently,
S. Justice,

Co. H.

Private P. Byrd
T. Black,
M. Black,
F. L. Hefner,
J. L. Linebarger,
J. F. Hendricks,
E. Paysour,

Co. I.

Serg't D. C. Robinson,
J. C. Flow,
Private J. W Barnhill,
M. T. Hill,
J. F. Clark,
J. W Kissop,
G. H. Kistler,

Co. K

Private A. C. Blevens,
H. Jenkins,
J. J. Owens,
J. A. Parker,

Private J. C. Kiser.
J. C. Willis,
W Parks,
G. W Rex.
W F. Parks,

Private W Fox,
R. D. McKee,
R. B. Smith.

Private J. Selvy,
L. Morrison,
E. Hallet,
B. Thomason,
J. P. Dye,
J. S. Craig,
L. L. McGhee.

Private J. Lawing,
J. A. Alexander,
J. C. McCall,
J. H. Patterson,
A. J. Spears,
F Smith,
R. J. Todd.

Private H. W Webb,
W. M. Saunders,
W Saunders.

Total, 98.

Brigade total, 56 officers, 514 men.

SCALES' BRIGADE.

Jos. H. Hyman, Col. 13th N. C. T. Com'd'g Brig.
H. L. Biscoe, Major and Com. Sub.
A. H. Gallaway, Maj. and Qr. Mr.
A. D. Montgomery, 1st Lt. and A. D. C. Total, 4.

REGIMENTAL AND COMPANY OFFICERS.

E. B. Withers, Lt.-Col. 13th N C. T
T. A. Martin, Maj. 13th N. C. T
C. E. Grier, Adj't 13th N. C. Troops.
Jno. H. McAden, Surgeon 13th N. C. T
J. N. Williamson, 1st Lt. Co. A, 13th N. C. T
D. S. Lockett, 2d Lt. Co. A, 13th N C. T
J. D. McLean, 1st Lt. Co. B, 13th N. C. T
T. C. Evans, Capt. Co. C, 13th N. C. T.
J. P. Rainey, 1st Lt. Co. C, 13th N C. T
Robt. A. Williams, 1st Lt. Co. D, 13th N C. T
John W Allen, 2d Lt. Co. D, 13th N. C. T.
J. D. Bason, Capt. Co. E, 13th N. C. T
W. M. Andrews, 2d Lt. Co. E, 13th N. C. T
J. Roessler, Capt. Co. F, 13th N C. T
Wm. G. Thompson, 2d Lt. Co. F, 13th N. C. T
G. L. Brown, Capt. Co. G, 13th N C. T
G. W Stancill, 1st Lt. Co. G, 13th N C. T
R. L. Moir, Capt. Co. H, 13th N C. T
R. S. Williams, 1st Lt. Co. I, 13th N C. T
H. L. Guerrant, Capt. Co. K, 13th N. C. T.
T. L. Rawley, 1st Lt. Co. K, 13th N. C. T
W. A. Stowe, Col. 16th N. C. T.
A. S. Cloud, Lt.-Col. 16th N. C. T
S. R. Hensley, Adj't 16th N C. T
W. W. Keith, Surg. 16th N C. T
B. B. Murphy, Ass't Surg. 16th N. C. T
J. F. Watson, Chaplain 16th N. C. T
M. L. Wells, 1st Lt. Co. D, 16th N C. T.
A. L. Kayler, Capt Co. E, 16th N. C T
J. M. Sides, 1st. Lt. Co. E, 16th N C. T
G. H. Mills, 2d Lt. Co. G, 16th N. C. T
C. M. McLeod, Capt. Co. H, 16th N C. T
H. F White, 2d Lt. Co. M, 16th N C. T
T. S. Galloway, Jr., Col. 22d N. C. Reg't.
W. L. Mitchell, Lt.-Col. 22d N. C. Reg't.
W. A. Tuttle, 2d Lt. Co. A, 22d N C. Reg't.

G. H. Gardin, Capt. Co. B, 22d N C. Reg't.
Samuel P. Tate, 1st Lt. Co. B, 22d N. C. Reg't.
R. W. Cole, Capt. Co. E, 22d N C. Reg't.
A. J. Busick, 1st Lt. Co. E, 22d N. C. Reg't.
W C. Orrell, 2d Lt. Co. E, 22d N. C. Reg't
G. V Lamb, Capt. Co. I, 22d N. C. Reg't.
E. J. Dobson, Capt. Co. K, 22d N C. T.
Y. M. C. Johnson, Capt. Co. L, 22d N. C. T
C. H. Welborn, 1st Lt. Co. L, 22d N C. Reg't.
C. F. Siler, Capt. Co. M, 22d N C. T
G. M. Norment, Lt.-Col. 34th N. C. T.
B. B. Williams, Ass't Surg. 34th N. C. T
A. C. Hartzog, 1st Lt. and Ensign 34th N C. T
R. M. S. Hopper, 2d Lt. Co. A, 34th N. C. T
W P. Beam, Capt. Co. B, 34th N C. T
D. B. Harrill, 1st Lt. Co. B, 34th N C. T
John D. Young, Capt. Co. C, 34th N. C. T
Wm. T. Wilkins, 2d Lt. Co. C, 34th N C. T
M. M. Gillon, 1st Lt. Co. D, 34th N C. T
T. H. Davis, 2d Lt. Co. D, 34th N C. T
S. B. Bradley, 1st Lt. Co. E, 34th N C. T
Nathan McGinnis, Capt. Co. F, 34th N C. T
T. D. Lattimore, 2d Lt. Co. F, 34th N. C. T
J. C. Todd, Capt. Co. G, 34th N. C. T
John A. Roberts, Capt. Co. H, 34th N. C. T
W. McK. Mittag, 2d Lt. Co. H, 34th N C. T
James Wood, Capt. Co. I, 34th N C. T
Henry Jenkins, 1st Lt. Co. I, 34th N C. T
Thos. P Phillips, 2d Lt. Co. I, 34th N. C. T
W B. Lowrance, Capt. Co. K, 34th N. C. T.
G. C. Miller, 1st Lt. Co. K, 34th N C. T
John Ashford, Col. 38th N. C. T
G. W Flowers, Lt.-Col. 38th N C. T
J. T. Wilson, Major 38th N. C. T
D. M. McIntire, 1st Lt. and Adj't 38th N C. T
P W. Young, Surgeon 38th N C. T
J. H. Darden, Ass't Surgeon 38th N. C. T
A. J. McIntire, Ensign 38th N. C. T
N. E. Armstrong, Capt. Co. A, 38th N. C. T
R. M. Middleton, 1st Lt. Co. A, 38th N. C. T
John M. Robinson, Capt. Co. B, 38th N. C. T
O. L. Chesnutt, Capt. Co. C, 38th N. C. T
E. M. Cooke, 2d Lt. Co. C, 38th N. C. T
Wm. E. Faison, 1st Lt. Co. D, 38th N C. T
J. W Darden, 2d Lt. Co. D, 38th N. C. T.
A. J. Brown, Capt. Co. E, 38th Reg't N C. T

J. A. Yount, 1st Lt. Co. F, 38th N C. T
R. M. Sharpe, Capt. Co. G, 38th N C. T.
A. A. Hines, 1st Lt. Co. G, 38th N C. T
T. F. Murdaugh, 2d Lt. Co. G, 38th N. C. T
Wm. H. Blanton, 2d Lt. Co. I, 38th N C. T
John F. McArthur, 2d Lt. Co. K, 38th N. C. T. Total, 88.

THIRTEENTH NORTH CAROLINA REGIMENT.

NON-COMMISSIONED STAFF AND BAND.

Serg't-Major G. F. Hyman,
Ord. Serg't A. H. Patterson,
Q. M. Serg't T. C. Hill,
Chief Mus'n G. H. Warner,
Mus'n O. Alexander,
W. W Alexander,
Jasper Alexander,
J. W. Brown,
I. T. Frazer,
W. F Frazer,
Mus'n R. J. Frazer,
Js. N. Frazer,
J. P Hawkins,
J. F. Hawkins,
J. T. Kerr,
J. W Reid,
J. W Sterling,
A. A. Taylor,
W J. Thompson.

Co. A.

1st Serg't J. M. Jones.
3d Serg't W H. Roberts,
1st Corp'l R. T. Fitzgerald,
Private R. F Clark.
W L. Cook,
J. N. Gillespie,
H. T. Hensley,
A. J. Hooper,
J. T. Ferguson,
Lea Jeffreys,
Private J. G. Jeffreys,
H. M. Jones,
R. C. Massie,
S. A. Moore,
F. M. Neal,
J. C. Pettigrew,
M. Robertson,
J. L. Roberts,
H. L. Roberts,
D. G. Womack.

Co. B.

3d Serg't W A. Freeman,
4th Serg't J. A. Gallant.
Mus'n Isaac A. Frazier,
Private S. W Crowell.
H. Cathey
A. R. Erwin,
W. L. Gallant,
J. Logan McLean,
Private S. H. Marks,
W. A. McGinn,
N. C. McGinn,
W. J. Poag,
G. W. Sloan,
W. T. Watt,
J. C. Wiley.

Co. C.

2d Serg't W. T. Farley,
3d Serg't J. W McCain,
4th Serg't J. A. Burton,
1st Corp'l A. J. Burch,
4th Corp'l W. J. Brandon,
Private S. T. Covington,
S. B. Davis,
W. H. Gordon,
J. F. Hamlett,
Private W A. McCain,
J. Mitchell,
A. Pierce,
J. N. Rainey,
F. Redman,
J. J. Saunders,
F. R. Stegall,
W. E. Stone,
N. C. Strickland.

Co. D.

2d Serg't J. H. Burton,
3d Serg't E. M. O'Brien,
4th Serg't T. W. Featherstone,
1st Corp'l V. B. Craft,
Private L. L. Grinstead,
J. D. Glenn,
L. Hudgin,
Private R. J. Jones,
James Nelson,
J. R. O'Brien,
S. C. Rice,
W Stephens,
Thos. Stephens.

Co. E.

1st Serg't R. G. Faucette,
1st Corp'l H. M. Rich,
Private W. H. Bason,
A. M. Coble,
D. O. Coble,
H. Holt,
H. S. Holt,
Abel Horn,
Private G. W Holt,
J. S. Huffman,
C. A. May,
Emanuel Ryke,
R. P. Sharpe,
M. Sheppard,
W H. May,
W Williams.

Co. F.

1st Serg't A. N. Hendren,
2d Serg't H. C. Foster,
4th Serg't J. D. Ijames,
5th Serg't Jno. A. Nail,
4th Corp'l Daniel Dwire,
Private D. P. Burton,
N. E. Burton,
A. Dayvault, Jr.,
H. Foster,
H. Galton,
Private G. F Graves,
W G. Jones,
S. G. Jones,
Z. C. Kurfees.
A. Sain,
J. H. Stonestreet,
A. C. Shives,
G. W Tutterrow,
D. V Vinagum.

Co. G.

3d Serg't J. H. Kiel,
4th Serg't Ed. Andrews,
1st Corp'l W E. Garrett,
4th Corp'l S. H. Gay,
Private G. W Brown,
W F Denton,
A. Garrett,
H. D. Lilly,

Private W. H. Adkins,
Jas. Adkins,
L. Adkins,
Jno. Anderson,
C. S. Brasswell,
Private E. Morriss,
R. Mehagen,
H. Parker,
J. T. Rogers,
J. R. Williams.

Co. H.

1st Serg't J. M. Martin,
2d Serg't J. C. Ratliffe,
1st Corp'l S. W. Carter,
2d Corp'l A. Heggie,
3d Corp'l O. Joyce,
4th Corp'l S. Heggie,
Private W. J. Heggie,
R. K. Baughn,
J. H. Belton,
Jno. Basler,
R. Covington,
W. B. Carter,
Private W. T. Denson,
Thos. Delancey,
S. F. Morphis,
G. B. Morphis,
M. T. Sparks,
W. H. Stephens,
J. R. Stephens,
J. D. Terry,
W. Y. Thomas,
J. F. Thomas,
T. F Winston.

Co. I.

1st Serg't T. Winchester,
1st Corp'l Ingram Rodes,
3d Corp'l E. R. Apple,
Private H. Cox,
H. B. Carter,
J. M. Haynes,
P J. Hopkins,
J. M. Henderson,
D. Jones,
Private P. J. Leak,
J. Y McCollum,
J. Rogers,
G. W. Suits,
P D. Simpson,
A. G. Stanly,
B. Wall,
E. R. Watlington.

Co. K.

1st Serg't J. A. Jones,
2d Serg't J. W Justice,
4th Serg't J. W. S. Guerrant,
2d Corp'l T. C. Harville,
4th Corp'l H. M. Harrison,
Private J. Billings,
G. H. Brincefield,
D. C. Jones,
Private Jno. Knott,
F H. Pritchett,
T. J. E. Sartain,
P. Summers,
W G. Tate,
W. M. Walker,
James Warren,
John Wrenn. Total, 194.

SIXTEENTH NORTH CAROLINA REGIMENT.

NON-COMMISSIONED STAFF AND BAND.

Q. M. Serg't Acains Francis,
Ord. Serg't Jesse S. Moore,
Hos. Stew'd Alfred F Hambright,
Mus'n Franklin C. Ferguson,
John E. Howard,
Joseph P. Johnson,

Com's'y Serg't A. Sidney White,
Color Serg't Emanuel Rudisill,
Mus'n Harrison Benson,
George W Barnett,
James G. Cochran,

1st Serg't Zachariah Peek,
Private Samuel J. Milliken,

Private James Allen,

1st Sergt W Thomas Goode,
3d Serg't James P Burgess,
4th Serg't Loraine W Griffin,
Private Amos Bailey,
Thomas Jenkins,
Pinkney Martin,

Private Thomas Causley,
William Causley,
John W Duckworth,
John B. Giles,

Private Moses M. Blackwell,
John Auldred,
Daniel W Green,

Corp'l Andrew S. Smith,
Private Robert S. Callahan,
John C. Camp,
Elisha Cole,
Daniel B. Dallas,
John P Eaves,
Charles C. Hawkins,

2d Serg't James P Patton,
Private Isaac T. Bradley,
Philip A. Roberts,
Henry Saunders,

1st Serg't H. King Rucker,
Private Love Jones,

2d Serg't John Ellison,
Private John P. Corn,

Mus'n John B. Miller,
David L. Miller,
William B. Plemmons,
William P. Reece.

Co. B.
Private Dickerson Whitmel.

Co. C.
Private Charles W. Rector.

Co. D.
Private S. Owens Raymond,
Samuel Harrell,
James T. Splann,
John Sutton,
Aaron N. Wall.

Co. E.
Private William Huffman,
Robert P. Pearson,
Henry Goens.

Co. F
Private James E. Sluder,
Ozias S. Wilson.

Co. G.
Private Jos. McD. Jay,
William H. M. Jay,
John E. Justice,
Joseph Steadman,
Joshua Steadman,
Francis D. Wood.

Co. H.
Private Thomas S. Saunders,
Moses Smith,
Lewis Sorrell.

Co. I.
Private Leander F. Taylor.

Co. K.
Private Griffin Johnson,
Mathew W Corn.

Co. M.

4th Serg't Leonidas S. White.
Private Peter Eaker,
Michael Havner,
Philip Havner,
James P. Hooper,
Adolphus Harris,
Noah Kiser,
Private Samuel Mauney,
Isaac W. Robinson,
Wiley M. Rudisill,
James L. Stowe,
Abram Stowe,
Marcus S. Withers.
Total, 83.

TWENTY-SECOND NORTH CAROLINA REGIMENT.

NON-COMMISSIONED STAFF.

Q. M. Serg't A. B. Gallaway,
Hos. Steward J. T. Read,
Ord. Serg't G. L. Russell.

Co. A.

1st Serg't M. M. Deal,
2d Serg't P. Barlow,
3d Serg't P G. McCreary,
4th Serg't J. N. Stallings,
5th Serg't J. G. Sherrill,
Corp'l A. J. Deal,
Private R. B. Clark.
W F. Fowler,
W. O. Helan,
F. S. Harper,
Private L. Holder,
P. J. Keller,
S. J. Knight,
John Munday,
John Payne,
E. L. Moon,
H. Sherrill,
J. L. Sherrill,
H. H. Stallings,
Harper Knight.

Co. B.

1st Serg't A. L. Finley,
3d Serg't W. M. James,
Bugler R. J. James,
Private W D. Bracket,
Private G. P Finley,
G. C. Finley.
George Nash,
W S. Weston.

Co. E.

1st Serg't M. W Wyrick,
2d Serg't A. A. Gordon,
Private J. W Andrew,
Geo. W Buchanan,
J. C. Clark,
B. Cobb,
J. H. Copeland,
Private J. Donald,
W. M. Grissom,
G. W Holt,
J. R. Jackson,
J. W Jackson,
A. R. Jackson,
W. C. May.

Co. F.

Private C. Wiley,
W. Austin,
John Fender,
George West,
Private J. Marius,
A. Wolf,
R. Osborne,
Geo. W Richardson.

1st Serg't M. R. Sartin,
2d Serg't W. D. Page,
3d Serg't R. S. Rogers,
4th Serg't W L. Page,
Private J. B. Burton,

Private R. G. Martin,
J. M. Joyce,
W. J. Wilkins,

1st Serg't T. J. Wood,
2d Serg't W R. Alred,
1st Corp'l N. E. Lamb,
Private John Heileg,
A. L. McLaurin,

3d Serg't W. Blackburn,
Private J. H. Justice,
W. G. Bailey,
R. T. Vaughan,

1st Serg't C. M. Vestal,
1st Corp'l Allen Scott,
Private J. Creasman,

Private L. D. Sloat,
A. J. Parker,
David Wright,
J. Foust,

Co. G.
Private L. Lane,
A. J. Roades,
J. M. Silvey,
S. Sartin,

Co. H.
Private J. H. Sisk,
F Sisk.

Co. I.
Private J. W. Heath,
R. R. Thompson,
A. J. Winningham,
M. Burns.

Co. K.
Private R. Warren,
H. Joyce,
C. D. Rhoderick,
W G. Bailey.

Co. L.
Private W M. Pike,
J. M. Thomas,
C. C. Jones.

Co. M.
Private Joseph York,
J. L. York,
W Allridge.

Total, 9[illegible]

THIRTY-FOURTH NORTH CAROLINA REGIMENT.

NON-COMMISSIONED STAFF AND BAND.

Serg't-Maj. Charles B. Todd,
Q. M. Serg't Willis W Hargrove,
Ord. Serg't Harrison H. Rickerts,
Hosp'l Stew'd Birchet T. Twitty,
Musician Champion Allen.

Co. A.
Serg't James C. Miller,
Corp'l Solomon Pless,
Private John Rupe,
John Koone,
Private Joseph Humby,
George W Dean,
Jacob Bare,
Elbert J. Wiles,

Co. B.

1st Serg't Doctor N. Hamrick,
2d Serg't Washington W. Bridges,
Private Samuel T. Allen,
William Brooks,
Samuel Bridges,
Elijah Blanton,
James Blanton,
John Beam,
Daniel A. Bowen,
David Crater,
Joel J. Daily,
Private Robert A. Durham,
Anselm N. Duycus,
Joseph C. Gettys,
Nathan S. Harrill,
John H. Harrill,
James A. Harrill,
Amos Hamrick,
David Hoge,
William A. Jones,
Joseph J. McDaniel,
William A. Sparks.

Co. C.

Serg't Joseph W. Wilson,
Noah H. P Whitesides,
Corp'l Humphrey P. Lynch,
Private William Anderson,
Stanhope H. Bagwell,
Private William H. Elliott,
Martin C. Forrester,
Cebern S. Lynch,
Henry London.

Co. D.

Serg't Phillip A. Sloop,
Private Joseph A. Douglass,
John C. Woodside,
John H. McLaughlin,
David Z. Gray,
James K. Gay,
Private Miles S. Jamison,
Ezekial W McCall,
George Thompson,
George W. Peacock,
James C. Lowrance.

Co. E.

Serg't Marcus A. Holly,
Ben. F. Carpenter,
Corp'l Devany Putnam,
George Fulbright,
Private Pinkney J. Huss,
John Kizer,
Peter Kearner,
Private Zimri Kizer,
Henry H. Long,
Jesse Russ,
David Reid,
Jacob Dellinger,
George J. Conner.

Co. F.

1st Serg't William F. White,
Corp'l Albert J. Borders,
Drury D. Price,
Private David H. Beam,
Henry J. Borders,
William Crotts,
James M. Davis,
Jacob T. Earls,
Robert A. Fortenburg,
John C. Gantt,
John C. Haynes,
James H. Lattimore,
Private Jesse R. Lattimore,
Andrew J. London,
Isaac Mooney,
Andrew Peeler,
Doctor D. Peeler,
Samuel L. Putnam,
Miles A. Stroup,
Joshua Vandike,
Adam Whisnant,
Newton Wright,
John C. Canipe,
Noah Wright.

Co. G.

Serg't Thomas A. Johnson,
Private Scott B. Hutchison,
Columbus Abernathy,
William Brotherton,
Alexander S. Beaty,
Alfred Cathey
Franklin C. Downs,
Andrew M. Fox,
John M. Hipp,
Moses S. Hovis,
John T. Johnson,
Private Isaac M. Johnson,
Ezekiel King,
John S. Lawing,
Thadeus C. McGathy,
Thomas T. McGhee,
George W Rosick,
William F Smith,
John W Todd,
David S. Todd,
Lawson N. Todd,
David L. Todd.

Co. H.

1st Serg't James D. Wesson,
2d Serg't John T. Howell,
Corp'l Richard T. Morris,
Private David Allen,
William Cosand,
David R. Houffstichler,
John H. Hendricks,
Private William Howell,
Robert Smith,
James F. Scism,
John T. Williams,
Robert H. Wear,
William Wear,
James P. Francis.

Co. I.

Serg't John L. McDowell,
Thomas L. Carson,
Private William Blanton,
Robert Crisp,
Miles W Flinn,
Joseph C. Hinson,
Private James B. Hawkins,
Lewis Humphries,
Burell B. Harris,
John Hutson,
Decatur S. Smith.

Co. K.

Private Eli Crawford,
Dewitt C. Hall,
Peter P Milsaps,
Private George W Reid,
John W. Walker,
Leonard Crawford.

Total, 14

THIRTY-EIGHTH NORTH CAROLINA REGIMENT.

NON-COMMISSIONED STAFF.

Serg't-Major John R. Wallace, Hos. Steward David Y. Cooper.

Co. A.

1st Serg't Wm. F. Pearsall,
2d Serg't Merrill W. Brown,
3d Serg't John W. Pearsall,
4th Serg't Thomas Phillips,
5th Serg't Willis T. Gresham,
Private John Hall,
Hamilton Helnistitle,
Martial B. Jones,
Alexander D. McGowen,
Geo. W Middleton,

1st Corp'l Wm. M. Hurst,
3d Corp'l John Q. McGowen,
4th Corp'l C. C. Frederick,
Private Christopher C. Boney,
Wm. H. Boon,
John W Gresham,

Corp'l Jas. L. Veach,
Private Hardy R. Bizzell,
David D. Collins,
M. C. M. Martin,

Private Hayward Butler,
William Glissen,
Murdock D. Murchison,
Jos. A. Pope,

2d Serg't Nathan J. King,
5th Serg't Francis A. Clifton,
Private James King,
Wm. McCullen,
Bermudas McSwain,

Private Jas. F. Gay,
Henry C. Hinton,

3d Serg't Alfred M. Hedrick,
4th Corp'l Daniel Shook,
Private Jas. A. Faucett,
David Hoffman,
Burrell Hoffman,
Marcus Hunsucker,

1st Serg't Leander R. Conally,
2d Serg't Calvin J. Deal,
3d Corp'l Samuel J. Ellis,
Mus'n Robt. C. Lacky,
Private John S. Bradshaw,
David H. Brantly,
John W. Boyd,
Eli Brown,
Miles M. Clay,
Cyrus Drum,
Wm. H. Evans,
Jas. W Evans,
Ingram A. Gill,
Private David M. Pearsall,
Jesse Sanderlin,
John R. Southerland,
Henry Sullivan,
Bryan Thomas,
William Thomas.

Co. B.
Private Daniel W Millican,
Henry B. Pool,
Geo. C. Poplin,
Wm. R. Sprinkle.

Co. C.
Private Wm. H. H. Pope,
Robt. M. Ratchford,
Benjamin Sutton,
Lewis Sutton.

Co. D.
Private Lewis McClenny,
Edward G. Ramsour,
Wm. D. Stephens,
Ephraim Shipp,
John A. Weeks.

Co. E.
Private Alexander McIntire.

Co. F.
Private John C. Hedrick,
David Hollar,
Lawson Lazel,
Franklin Shook.
Devault Sigman,
Alfred Setzer.

Co. G.
Private Thos. C. Flowers,
Sam'l W Hines,
Jas. W. Lacky,
John W Lacky,
Thos. H. Lacky,
Moses T. Lacky,
Chealey E. Ledbetter,
Robt. K. Murdaugh,
Isaac R. Perry,
Jas. D. Patterson,
Henry M. Poplin,
Richard Robbins.

Co. H.

1st Serg't Wm. W Andrews,
Private John C. Campbell,
Wm. A. Ingram,
Private Alsim J. Kearns
Jesse M. Provo.

Co. I.

2d Serg't Francis M. Bridges,
Corp'l Jas. S. Elliott,
Private Wm. P. Crowder,
Thomas Costner,
Private Elkanah Davis,
William Langsing,
Hardin E. Tucker.

Co. K.

1st Corp'l Alexander C. Graham,
2d Corp'l Alexander Arnett,
Private Geo. H. Askew,
Wiley H. Brantly.
Private Neil Graham,
David T. Grady,
Dan'l J. McLaurin,
Duncan McRae.

Total, 110

Brigade total, 92 officers, 629 men.

RANSOM'S BRIGADE.

M. W Ransom, Brig.-Gen'l.
R. B. Peebles, Capt. and A. A. G.
John Farrell, Capt. and A. Q. M.
Geo. B. Barnes, Capt. and A. Q. M.
J. H. Blakemore, Lt. and Ord. Officer. Total; 5.

REGIMENTAL AND COMPANY OFFICERS.

Clarence A. Fripp, Ass't Surg. 24th N C. T
H. M. Rutledge, Col. 25th N. C. T.
M. N. Love, Lt.-Col. 25th N. C. T
Jos. R. Byers, 1st Lt. Co. H. 25th N. C. T.
Thos. J. Young, Capt. Co. H, 25th N. C. T.
P. K. Mull, 2d Lt. Co. E, 25th Reg't. N C. T
John B. Edney, 2d Lt. Co. A, 25th N. C. T.
F. N. Luckey, Surg. 25th N. C. T.
B. S. Watkins, Ass't Surg. 25th N C. T
R. E. Petty, Maj. 35th N. C. T
Chas. Jas. O'Hagan, Surg. 35th N. C T
H. W Harris, Capt. Co. E, 35th N. C. T.
T. S. Marks, Lt. Co. D, 35th N C. T
Philip J. Johnson, Capt. Co. K, 35th N. C. T.
C. R. Petty, Maj. 49th N. C. T.
J. N. Torrence, Capt. Co. H, 49th N. C. T.
J. J. Maginnis, Capt. Co. B, 49th N. C. T.
C. Duffy. Jr., Surg. 49th N. C. T
H. A. Chambers, Capt. Co. C, 49th N C. T
James H. Sherrill, Capt. Co. I, 49th N. C. T.
S. H. Elliott, 1st Lt. Co. F, 49th N. C. T.
S. R. Neall, 2d Lt. Co. F, 49th N. C. T.
W. A. Barrett, 2d Lt. Co. D, 49th N C. T
Eli Whisnant, 2d Lt. Co. A, 49th N C. T
R. H. Goode, Ass't Surg. 49th N C. T
P. F. Faison, Col. 56th N C. T
M. J. DeRosset, Surg. 56th N. C. T.
C. G. Cox, Ass't Surg. 56th N. C. T.
Thos. P Savilles, Capt. Co. A, 56th N. C. T
Jno. F. McNeely, Capt. Co. K, 56th N. C. T
B. D. Lane, 1st Lt. Co. G, 56th N. C. T
W. P. Bray, 2d Lt. Co. C, 56th N C. T
P H. Gross, 2d Lt. Co. I, 56th N. C. T
Robt. D. Graham, Capt. Co. D, 56th N. C. T.
J. W. Johnson, 1st Lt. and Drill Master. Total, 35.

TWENTY-FOURTH NORTH CAROLINA REGIMENT.

NON-COMMISSIONED STAFF.

Q. M. Serg't Chas. G. Kane, Co. F. Hosp. Steward Wm. Bell, Co. C. Serg't. Alex. Drayford, Co. B.

Co. A.

Private Henry Crabtree,
Wm. Rhen,
Private John Wilkerson,
Johnson Davis.

Co. C.

Private Jacob Gully,
Private John Barnes.

Co. D.

Private Robt. Allen,
Private W J. Teal.

Co. E.

Private Sam'l Brady,
Private Calvin R. Toler.

Co. F.

Private Arthur Core,
Edward Currie,
Private R. Salmon,
Jethro Robinson.

Co. G.

Private Wm. T. Davis,
J. B. McCallum,
M. M. McCormick,
M. M. McIver,
Robt. G. McNair,
Private Robt. A. McLean,
Neill McRae,
Wm. A. Smith,
Jos. Reagan,
Robt. Hurst.

Co. H.

Private J. W Ellison,
Wm. B. Jones,
Chas. T. Weede,
S. M. Oakley,
John F. Morris,
John L. Allen,
Private Wm. Cheek,
Wm. R. Stuart,
John C. Neill,
Wm. H. Snipes,
Durell Clarke.

Co. I.

Private Jackson Barber,
Kimmon Barber,
W. A. Bell,
Private John Jones,
Wm. H. Lassiter,
A. D. Heritage.

Co. K.

Serg't A. J. Stallings,
Lion Horne,
Private W. S. Cottrill,
G. W Harris,
G. H. Dodd,
Private W L. Williams,
Jas. D. Woody.
Jas. A. Privett,
Laban T. Denton,
Ed. C. Denton. Total, 54

TWENTY-FIFTH NORTH CAROLINA REGIMENT.

NON-COMMISSIONED STAFF.

C. S. Serg't Robt. Smiley, Co. A, Hosp. Steward Julius M. Young, Co. D.
Q. M. Serg't C. A. Jones, Co. G,

Co. A.

Private Jas. P Sawyer,
John H. Byers,
Thos. A. Edney,
Spencer M. Freeman,
Thomas J. Enloe,
John L. Becknell,
Private Jas. H. Maxwell,
Sol. B. Williams,
John W Head,
Robt. A. Freeman,
John T. Freeman,
Humphrey Connor.

Co. B.

Serg't Elbert Brown,
Private John G. Allison,
Wm. P. Allison,
Private Braxton Muse,
John B. Allison,
Levi J. Matthews,

Co. C.

Private Sam'l Best,
David A. Allen,
Private Elijah Sorrell,
N. David Fry.

Co. D.

Private David M. Russell,
Allen Reddin,
Private Porter R. Murrell.

Co. E.

Serg't Rich. L. Fortune,
Private Ben. J. Wilson,
Ben. B. Barton,
F P. Cantrill,
Mat. Gillespie,
Private Jacob King,
Jno. Hollingsworth,
Jas. P Holden,
H. B. Pettit,
Wm. C. Hamilton.

Co. G.

Private J. D. Fincannon,
H. Henrick,
Wm. M. Long,
Leonard Shevenell,
Geo. W. Senter,
John F Watson,
James W. Fipp,
Private Clinton A. Jones,
James T. McDonald,
Wm. C. Stamey,
Robt. Powell,
Isaac Fincannon,
Henry Henrick,
Wm. J. Price.

Co. H.

Private Norris Allison,
Richard Allison,
Felix C. Carland,
Wm. Dempsey,
Private Thos. R. Leister,
James M. Plumlee,
Benj. Pinner.

Co. I.

Private M. D. Luther,
Wm. T. Henson,
J. W Rice,
Private J. M. Pettit,
Thos. Green.

Co. K.

Private Jas. M. Patterson,
Jas. Williams,
Robt. W Lankford,
Private John F. Dillingham,
Gideon H. Williams.

Total, ...

THIRTY-FIFTH NORTH CAROLINA REGIMENT.

NON-COMMISSIONED STAFF.

Serg't-Major T. A. Webster,
Q. M. Serg't J. R. Jones,
Com. Serg't S. C. Humphreys,
Hosp. Steward P D. Lassiter.

Co. A.

Private W Jarman,
E. M. Coston,
Private L. Jarman.

Co. B.

Private J. W. Pettiway,
A. G. Condrey,
J. V. Condrey,
T. P. England,
J. C. Ervin,
Private S. G. Giles,
J. Henley,
N. Finley,
Wm. A. Jarrett,
T. J. Thomson.

Co. C.

Corp'l H. A. Currie,
Private H. H. Smith,
John McLeod,
Private Hugh Moore,
J. A. McDonald,
Wes. Jackson.

Co. D.

Serg't Jos. H. Mann,
J. H. Groce,
Mus'n J. H. Gunter,
J. W Oldham,
J. B. Farrar,
W J. Thrailkill,
Private A. Bullard,
A. Council,
Private R. Cotton,
W. R. Drake,
M. L. Fitchet,
J. C. Ragan,
William Stevens,
G. W. Sloan,
R. B. Webster.

Co. E.

Serg't J. J. Lawson,
Corp'l J. F. Winstead,
Private W M. Blalock,
Private J. M. Gentry,
Richard Long,
Wm. M. Long,

Private John Bolin,
Lee Bolin,
A. J. Clayton,
S. D. Clayton,
B. J. Denney,
A. M. Denney,
William Evans,

Private J. P Broom,
S. W Craige,
R. B. Martin,

Mus'n D. F. Batson,
J. A. Taylor,

Private J. R. Benfield,
R. B. Cochran,
J. M. Hunter,
S. E. Morris,
J. H. Hood,
M. H. Jordan,
J. C. Kirk,
J. J. Mason,
W A. Biggers,
M. A. Wilson,

Serg't S. F. Worrell,
T. R. Talton,
Private John Cotton,

Serg't Wm. A. Wilson,
Private L. D. Abernathy,
B. F. Arney,
J. P. Arney,
J. Britton,
H. H. Childers,
W. P. Deitz,
J. A. Deaton,
J. A. Hook,
W. P. Icard,

Private D. A. O'Bryen,
W. H. Thomas,
George Tilman,
B. C. Vaughn,
R. S. Welch,
B. C. Walters,
James Walker.

Co. F.

Private J. A. Morris,
J. W Fowler,
P W Keziah.

Co. G.

Mus'n B. K. Bedingfield,
J. M. Shepherd.

Co. H.

Private J. M. McEwen,
D. W Morris,
R. S. McRae,
D. S. Newell,
T. E. Pucket,
William Petree,
W J. Taylor,
D. H. McCall,
S. E. Howie.

Co. I.

Private Daniel Lancaster,
Thomas Ward.

Co. K.

Private W. A. Langbridge,
Joe Murrell,
J. A. Pearson,
John Stafford,
J. P. Whitener,
J. R. Webb,
W. C. Fount,
A. A. Toder,
H. Zimmerman.

Total, 111.

FORTY-NINTH NORTH CAROLINA REGIMENT.

NON-COMMISSIONED STAFF.

Q. M. Serg't Jas. R. Holland, Co. H
C. S. Serg't J. B. White, Co. H
Hosp. Steward H. Hall, Co. H.

Co. A.

Serg't R. N. Moore,
Private J. M. Morrison,
E. P. Guffy,
W. Sherrill,
Private Wm. Patton,
B. M. Mann,
Wm. L. Jones.

Co. B.

Serg't S. P McGinnis,
Private J. L. Lattimore,
G. Byerly,
Private M. Everhart,
M. Y. Clarke.

Co. C.

Private Isaac Lesley,
J. H. Robinson,
R. L. Benson,
Jos. C. Graham,
Jesse Skeen,
Private Wm. Johnson,
T. L. Thomson,
B. T. Thomson,
John Terrell.

Co. D.

Private Ed. B. Caddell,
H. B. Kelly,
J. J. Long,
Private R. A. Love,
M. S. McDonald,
T. C. Redden.

Co. E.

Private W. F. Clover,
Nelson Lewis,
Private R. H. Albright,
J. T. Farris.

Co. F.

Serg't J. A. Ezzell,
Corp'l J. E. Henagan,
J. R. Dunn,
M. D. Squires,
J. I. Harkey,
Private Noah Black,
Wm. Black,
John Crenshaw,
Private H. H. Davis,
D. E. Harkey,
J. W. Hawfield,
W H. Newby,
L. M. Pierce,
J. W Wolf,
H. B. McAllister.

Co. G.

Private S. A. Black,
L. A. Camp,
J. H. Earls,
T. A. Francis
Private A. J. Gibbons,
Thos. Harden,
David Sanders,
Wm. Wray,

Co. H.

Corp'l E. W. Carson,
Private S. M. Wilson,
J. J. Wilson,
E. S. Costner,
G. P. Clemmer,
A. T. Ford,
J. H. Ford,
A. J. Gamble,
W. J. Henderson,
J. W Henderson,
Private H. P McCarver,
J. E. McCarver,
S. M. Robinson,
T. L. Payne,
B. K. Teague,
Wm. Wilson,
W. C. P. Warren,
W. D. Martin,
J. B. Rhyne.

Co. I.

Private Thomas Drum,
Philip Drum,
Rufus Drum,
John Harvell,
Elbert Harvell,
S. N. Lorance
Private Robt. Lee,
Wm. Holdsclaw,
Tate Powell,
Andrew Powell,
Pink Setzer,
James Davis.

Co. K.

Private H. Kanipe,
J. J. Davis,
Wm. Daugherty,
Thos. Trammell.
Private T. L. Turner,
Jas. Ledford,
Thos. Bess.

Total, 95.

FIFTY-SIXTH NORTH CAROLINA REGIMENT.

NON-COMMISSIONED STAFF.

Com. Serg't S. P. Mullen,
Q. M. Serg't W W Graves,
Hosp. Steward Bailey Buie.

Co. A.

Private H. A. Dudley,
William Gallop,
Jacob Goble,
John Grier,
Private J. Q. Homer,
J. C. Hughes,
John Sawyer.

Co. B.

Private Calvin Culbreth,
Private R. M. Everett.

Co. C.

Private H. M. Luter,
Duncan Parish,
Dorsey Relph,
Private B. J. Sears,
Lerus Williams.

Co. D.

Corp'l J. Faucette,
Private A. J. Gordon,
E. Gates,
Joseph Jacobs,

Private James Roberts,
Thomas Roberts,
Thomas Taylor,
Llewellyn Taylor.

Co. E.

Private J. M. Herndon,
Francis Lucas,
William Morris,
M. Price,

Private Wade Price,
J. L. Scoggins,
W. D. Vickers.

Co. F.

Private William Chitwood,
J. C. Finch,
R. W. Gardner,

Private Frank Lutz,
Philip Spake.

Co. G.

Private Elic Barberry,
E. Carland,
Chas. F. Davis,

Private J. B. Hollingsworth,
Robert Smith,

Co. H.

Private John Chisenhall,
L. H. Dunnavant,
W F. Lackey,

Private David May,
Jas. T. Mitchell.

Co. I.

Private J. D. Jones,
J. G. Horton,
M. D. Savells,
W. R. Smart,

Private O. D. Brice,
G. L. Lovelace,
R. H. Wall,
Jonas Womack.

Co. K.

Private J. M. Alexander,
James Allison,
J. A. De Armond,
Joel Mable,

Private J. R. Oliphant,
W. B. Osborne,
J. F Sloan.

Total, 6

Brigade total, 40 officers, 391 men.

CAVALRY

BARRINGER'S BRIGADE.

Jas. L. Gaines, Lt.-Col. 2d Cav.
Edward M. Jordan, Adjutant 2d Cav. Total, 2 officers.

(NOTE—There were also 21 privates of this brigade paroled but by some means their names are omitted. Vol. 4 of this work, p. 96.—ED.)

ROBERTS' BRIGADE.

W. P. Roberts, Brigadier-General Total, 1 officer.

(NOTE —There were 5 officers and 88 men in this brigade paroled, *95 Off. Rec. Union and Confed. Armies, 1186*, but by some means only General Roberts' name appears on the Parole List.—ED.)

ARTILLERY

MANLY'S BATTERY, CO. A, TENTH N. C. T. (FIRST ARTILLERY.)

S. A. Andrews, Manly's Battery. Jackson Baker, Manly's Battery.
W. H. Baker, Manly's Battery. J. W. Flowers, Manly's Battery.

Total, 4 men.

NOTE.—These four men were on detailed duty. The rest of the battery escaped without surrendering. See Vol. 1, of this work, page 560.—ED.)

WILLIAMS' BATTERY, CO. C. TENTH N. C. T. (FIRST ARTILLERY.)

Dr. W. R. Capehart, Surgeon of Poague's Battalion.
Arthur B. Williams, Capt.
Thomas L. Seigle, 2d Lieut. Henry A. Albright, 2d Lieut.
1st Serg't R. V. Gudger, 1st Corp'l D. H. McLean,
2d Serg't R. L. Chapman, 2d Corp'l W W. Shelly.
3d Serg't M. Chapman, 3d Corp'l M. S. Cansler,
4th Serg't W. A. Williams.

Private J. Abernathy,
W. Beatty,
J. D. Beatty,
H. Buff,
W. Brackett,
A. D. Cochran.
W. F. Chapman,
Private Thos. N. Needham,
R. R. Newton,
John Peeler,
R. G. Peoples,
Edwd. Jenkins,
Aaron Jenkins,
Sam'l Jenkins,

Private Richard Harrell,
J. H. Connell,
Seth Dunlap,
James Burns,
M. H. Dobbins,
Augustus Farley,
B. Gregg,
W. G. Hoover,
Jno. L. Hinkle,
R. B. Hunter,
D. Havener,
D. Johnson,
J. B. Kerr,
D. P Hoyle,
Frances Kerr,
Jno. Ledford,
R. A. McCorkle,
J. A. McKay,
S. McKinney.
John Moad,
J. H. McIlhany,
W B. McCaslin,
John T. Thon,
Wm. S. Wells.
Joseph Hoffman,

Private J. D. Williams,
J. M. Roberts,
Sam'l Stark,
W E. Shaw,
J. W Underwood,
J. R. Underwood,
J. P Underwood,
Robt. Underwood,
Frank West,
John Yancey,
G. W. Smith,
F. Canipe,
D. Fallant,
W. K. Nants,
W. R. Nants,
Alfred Baldwin,
J. Yount,
John Queeny,
R. R. Davoust,
G. L. Wade,
A. J. Cochrane,
Joseph Green,
James Marshall,
Mayfield Moltz,

Total, 4 officers, 70 m

RAMSAY'S BATTERY, CO. D, TENTH N. C. T. (FIRST ARTILLERY

Jesse F. Woodard, 1st Lt., one horse.
Edwin W. Wilcox, 1st Serg't.
Henry S. S. Cooper, Q. M. Serg't.
James A. Gorman, Serg't.

Private Robert Alman,
William F Bunn,
Allen Daughtry,
Thaddeus Downing,
Robert Barnhart,
John Everett,
Constant Hall,
Daniel Hartman,
William Holland,
John Honbager,
James M. Howell,
Thomas Hyde,

Private Joseph Morgan,
Andrew J. Jones,
Caleb A. Miller,
Mark Parker,
Alfred L. Peeler,
Daniel Peeler,
Jeremiah Pierce,
Otho M. Porter,
Andrew J. Ruth,
Silas Shepherd,
Alexander Turner,
George W. Watkins.

Officers Commissioned, 1; Non-Commissioned 3; Privates 24.

A portion of this company were captured on the march from Richmond.

CUMMINGS' BATTERY, CO. C, THIRTEENTH N. C. BATTALION.

A. D. Brown, 2nd Lieutenant. Total, 1 officer.

FLANNER'S BATTERY, CO. F, THIRTEENTH N. C. BATTALION.

Henry G. Flanner, Capt.
James A Collins, 2nd Lieutenant.
Bennett Flanner, Jr., 2d Lieut.
R. S. Greene, Serg't Flanner's Batt. Total, 3 officers, 1 man.

(By some accident the men of these two companies are omitted, as are all of *Miller's* Battery (Co. E, 10th Regiment), see Vol. 1, p. 582 —ED.)

SUNDRY

COMPANY G, 61ST VA., (WEISIGER'S BRIGADE.)

Capt. R. E. Mosely,
1st Serg't P F. Howell,
Corp'l G. W. Collins,
Private K. Cobb,
R. H. Cobb,
A. Hawkins,
W H. Harrison,
W F. Bough, 1st Lieut.,
Private A. Ivey,
P. Lee,
J. Mulder,
J. L. Nicholson,
E. Reese,
T. Tutor.

Total, 2 officers, 12 men.

(NOTE.—This was a North Carolina company from Halifax and Northampton counties.—ED.)

COMPANY E, TENTH VIRGINIA CAVALRY (BEALE'S CAVALRY BRIGADE.)

Private L. G. Heye,
J. A. Mock,
Private D. A. Spaugh,
B. R. Van Eaton.

Total, 4.

(NOTE.—This was a North Carolina Company from Davidson, Rowan and Davie.—ED.)

PROVOST GUARD SECOND CORPS.

1st Serg't Benjamin A. Knox, Co. B, 4th N. C.
Benjamin L. Butler, Co. C, 30th N. C.
Octavius Atkinson, Co. E, 43d N. C.
Corporal William C. Batts, Co. B, 2d N. C.
John Scott, Co. E, 5th N C.
Kedar J. Ballard, Co. C, 5th N. C.
James R. McPherson, Co. A. 5th N. C.
John W. Lee, Co. G, 14th N. C.
Marshall M. Harrelson, Co. D, 20th N. C.
John C. Johnson, Co. B, 20th N. C.
William Eubanks, Co. I. 32d N. C.

Hos. Stew'd Chauncey S. Pomeroy.

Private Simon Moore, Co. B, 2d N. C.
Jacob Williams, Co. H, 2d N. C.
Robert J. Flake, Co. F, 2d N. C.
John T. Warren, Co. E, 2d N. C.
Sumpter A. Hoover, Co. C, 4th N. C.
Robert Q. Holmes, Co. C, 4th N. C.
James Johnson, Co. A, 4th N. C.
Benjamin H. Lancaster, Co. F, 4th N. C.
Wiley Johnson, Co. A, 5th N. C.
Joseph M. Guilford, Co. D, 5th N. C.
William Whitaker, Co. F, 5th N. C.
John C. Basinger, Co. D, 5th N. C.
Fleming C. Fletcher, Co. I, 12th N. C.
John H. Neal, Co. F, 12th N. C.
John A. Pitman, Co. H, 12th N. C.
Marcus Setzer, Co. A, 12th N. C.
Theodrick Redford, Co. K, 13th N. C.
Hampton B. Hammond, Co. C, 14th N. C.
Leary Young, Co. I, 14th N. C.
Alexander C. Teel, Co. C, 14th N. C.
Coleman J. Hudson, Co. H, 20th N. C.
James McAlpine, Co. F, 20th N. C.
George C. Goodman, Co. A, 20th N. C.
Norfleet C. Cash, Co. E, 23d N. C.
William J. Hinton, Co. G 23d N. C.
Richard G. Proctor, Co. K, 23d N. C.
William L. Smith, Co. H, 23d N. C.
William E. Brown, Co. B, 30th N. C.
May M. Massey, Co. D, 30th N. C.
William Vines, Co. C, 30th N. C.
R. B. Pegram, Co. D, 30th N. C.
Robert D. Beltch, Co. D, 32d N. C.
Joseph F Bynun, Co. G, 32d N. C.
Joseph Griffin, Co. H, 32d N. C.
Madison M. Long, Co. K, 32d N. C.
Lafayette N. Brown, Co. A, 43d N. C.
John Dees, Co. I, 43d N C.
James Stallings, Co. G, 43d N. C.
Thos. J. Ashcroft, Co. I, 53d N. C.
Madison Chamberlain, Co. G, 53d N. C.
Albertus W Clark, Co. B, 53d N. C.
William Ingold, Co. F 53d N. C.
James McDaniel, Co. D, 53rd N. C.
Lafayette Shepherd, Co. A, 53d N. C.
Alfred Stewart, Co. H, 53d N. C.
C. H. Wilson, Co. I, 54th N. C. Total, **58.**

INVALID BATTALION COMMANDED BY LIEUTENANT BENJAMIN BATES.

Serg't J. M. Page, Co. L, 8th N C.
H. Cunningham, Co. B, 27th N. C.
B. M. Nicholson, Co. C, 46th N. C.

Private W Coffey, Co. F, 1st N. C.
L. H. Evans, Co. K, 2d N. C.
S. Zoller, Co. H, 2d N. C.
T. H. Brachen, Co. H, 5th N. C.
T. Kelley Co. C, 5th N C.
E. Butler, Co. D, 11th N. C.
J. Allen, Co. A, 15th N. C.
S. J. Milliken, Co. B, 16th N. C.
J. F. Kell, Co. H, 18th N C.
J. Starling, Co. C, 18th N C.
E. Ricks, Co. F. 18th N. C.
E. Henderson, Co. C, 18th N. C.
W. M Wedington, Co. F, 20th N. C.
J. Huffman, Co. A, 21st N C.
S. Kirkland, Co. G., 28th N. C.
J. L. Green, Co. H, 28th N. C.
E. Staley, Co. H, 30th N. C.
S. L. Dickinson, Co. K, 30th N. C.
L. H. Carter Co. D, 33d N C.
J. W Brown, Co. F, 37th N. C.
J. F Moore, Co. E, 41st N C. (3d Cav).
D. R. Mustin, Co. G, 43d N. C.
N. R. Waters, Co. E, 48th N. C.
J. J. Bruel, Co. I, 53d N. C.
J. T. Montgomery Co. A, 53d N. C.
P C. Butts, Co. K, 54th N. C.
N. W Higginbotham, conscript, assigned to light duty.
W T. Miller, conscript, assigned to light duty.
W. Koffman, Co. D, Thomas' Legion. **Total, 50.**

DETAILED.

With Quartermaster Anderson's Corps.

Henry H. Moore, Teamster Co. H, 8th N. C. T.
William W Sherrod, Ambulance Driver Co. G, 17th N. C. T.
Geo. W. Alexander, Teamster Co. H, 35th Reg't N. C. T.
William A. James, Teamster Co. D, 42d N. C. T
Geo. W. Hafner, Teamster Co. K, 49th N C. T
Emanuel Houser, Blacksmith, Co. K, 49th Reg't N. C. T.
William Loftin, Ambulance Driver Co. E, 66th N C. T

With G. W Shell, Quartermaster Headquarters.

Pleasant Hutchison, Co. H, 22d N. C. T.
Jas. Farmer, Co. A, 45th N. C.

In Ordnance Reserve Department.

Private Jesse W Lassiter, Co. H, 30th N. C. Troops.

In Medical Purveyor's Department.

Private N. C. Summers, Co. C, 4th N. C. Reg't, Q. M. Serg't.
Peter Heavner, Co. E, 34th N. C. Reg't, Teamster.
D. Reid, Co. E, 34th N. C. Reg't, Teamster. Total, 13.

PAROLED BY MAJOR D. E. BRIDGFORD, PROVOST MARSHAL A. N V

Sundry paroled by Maj. D. B. Bridgford, Provost Marshal A. N. V.

Alexander Crews, 2d Lt. Co. G, 30th N. C.
B. B. Singletary, Surgeon 45th N. C.
A. H. Galloway, Maj. and Q. M. Scales' Brig.
J. H. McAden, Surgeon, Scales' Brig.
T. H. Cameron, 1st Lt. C. S. M. C.
B. J. Smith, 1st Lt. Co. G, 4th N. C.
D. L. Stafford, Co. F, 2d N. C.
W C. Mills, Co. I, 7th N. C.
W T. Cole, Co. B, 7th N. C.
W C. Palmer, Co. D, 7th N. C.
W O. Serralt, Co. D, 14th N. C. Total, 6 officers, 5 men.

PAROLED BY CAPTAIN F. C. COX.

Enlisted men of different commands belonging to the Army of Northern Virginia, who were not present with their commands for parole, but afterwards paroled by Captain F C. Cox, A. A. G.

Wm. George, Co. G. 1st N. C. T.
Jno. McDonnall, Co. C. 3d N. C. T
A. Jones, Co. F, 6th N. C. T.
W L. Huffman, Co. A, 12th N. C. T.
J. T. Kirkpatrick, Co. B, 13th N. C. T.
M. W. Snow, Co. I, 18th N. C. T.
H. W N. Owenby, Co. A, 25th N. C. T.
W G. Hamilton, Co. D, 26th N. C. T.
J. W. Maybury, Co. A, 1st N. C. Art.
H. L. Shore, Co. B, 1st N. C. Batt.
James P Dwiggens, Co. H, 63d N C. (5th Cav.) Total, 11.

Total, Cavalry, Artillery and Sundry, 20 officers, 255 men.
Omitted, Barringer's Brigade, 21 men.
" Roberts' Brigade, 4 officers, 88 men.

THE APPOMATTOX PAROLE LIST

By THE EDITOR.

At the surrender at Appomattox this State had nine infantry brigades (containing 42 regiments and 2 battalions) and 2 cavalry brigades (containing 6 regiments) and six batteries of artillery. A little more than three months before two other North Carolina brigades, Kirkland and Clingman, in Hoke's Division, had been withdrawn from this army and sent under General Hoke to the defence of Wilmington and on 26 February the Seventh regiment, in Lane's Brigade, had been sent on detached service to North Carolina.

The infantry brigades were Cox and Grimes in Grimes' Division and Johnston and Lewis in Early's Division, both in the Second Corps commanded by Major-General Jno. B. Gordon; Cooke and MacRae in Heth's Division and Lane and Scales in Wilcox's Division in the Third Corps, and Ransom's Brigade in Johnson's Division, Anderson's Corps. We also had Barringer's and Roberts' Brigades in W H. F Lee's Division in the Cavalry Corps.

The above 11 brigades (adding in Grimes' staff) surrendered 462 officers and 4,210 men, according to *95 Vol. (serial) Off. Rec. Union and Confed. Armies, pp. 1277, 1278. See* also Vol. 4 of this work at pp. 441, 442.

Besides above 9 brigades of infantry and 2 of cavalry, North Carolina had at Appomattox six batteries of artillery, *i. e.* Flanner's and Ramsey's in Haskell's Battalion, First Corps; Williams' and Manly's in Poague's Battalion in the Third Corps, and Cumming's and Miller's in Blount's Battalion in Anderson's Corps. The numbers of said six batteries are not given in said Vol. 95 of official records, but if estimated at 12 officers and 250 men the total credited to North Carolina in that volume is 5,134, as stated in Vol. 4 of this present work at p. 442.

By above parole list, the 9 infantry brigades paroled 455

officers and 4,287 men, while by some inadvertance the names of only 3 officers and no men represent the two cavalry brigades, and 9 officers and 102 men represent the six batteries of artillery; to these add 8 officers and 153 on above list under the head of *Sundry* and there is a total of 475 officers and 4,542 men, making grand total 5,017

In making out the total from the Parole list, it must be noted that there are quite a number whose commands are not given and having no means of knowing how many of these were from this State, we have copied none of these.

Both the numbers given as above from *Vol. 95, Off. Rec. Union and Confed. Armies,* and those gathered from foregoing Parole list fall short of the truth in that neither takes account of the North Carolinians in the Naval Battalions, in Signal and in Engineer Corps and on similar duties.

A fair estimate would be that there were something upwards of 5,500 North Carolinians among the 28,231 officers and men surrendered by General Lee or in round numbers, one-fifth.

ADDENDA.

MEMORANDUM.

These are articles which came after the rest of this work, other than the Index, had been completed.—Ed.

THE FIRST NORTH CAROLINA SOLDIER WHO DIED

By R. H. BRADLEY, Private Company A, Bethel Regiment.

The first soldier killed in battle on the Confederate side was, as is well known, Henry L. Wyatt, of Company A, Bethel Regiment. Three times as many men died in hospital as were killed on the battlefield, but it is not so well known that the first soldier from North Carolina who lost his life for the Confederacy was James Hudson, of Company B (Hornet's Nest Rifles), of the same regiment.

The "Pettigrew Hospital" (as it was afterwards called), was the first military hospital that was organized in the State of North Carolina during the war between the States. It was located on the old Fair Grounds, east of Raleigh, near the present "Soldiers' Home," and in the house formerly occupied by the keeper of the Fair Grounds, which house is still standing and is occupied by a colored family.

It was organized by the late Dr. E. Burke Haywood individually, and not by the State, as many may think. Dr. Haywood's memory is revered by many an old soldier, who was relieved and saved from an untimely death by his great medical skill, love and sympathy. Dr. Haywood was greatly assisted by W H. Dodd, Esq., as druggist, whose pleasant smiles and persuasive words would make the pills disappear easier, let them be ever so bitter. How many (except the oldest citizens) remember Bill Dodd as a pill roller?

The first Regimental Hospital was organized by Dr. Peter E. Hines, then of New Bern, now of this city

The company of which I was a member, "Edgecombe Guards," arrived in Raleigh on 30 April, 1861, from Fort Macon, where we were first ordered by the Governor.

I was just recovering from the measles when I took severe cold from exposure, incident to camp life (my camp was

at horse stall No. 55, on the old Fair Grounds), which terminated in pneumonia, and I was sent to the hospital which contained but few patients at that time. I recollect two besides myself—one was a young physician, Dr. J J Lawrence, from my company, and the other was James Hudson, a member of the Hornet's Nest Rifles, from Mecklenburg county. Mr. Hudson died on 11 May; his company followed his remains to the depot and fired a salute in honor before the departure of the train.

Mr. Hudson was the first man who lost his life in the service of North Carolina in the late struggle between the North and South, which fact, I have no doubt, has been lost sight of by all save a few who were present and had the fact impressed upon their minds. He and myself, both being sick with pneumonia, were quartered in the same room.

I shall ever remember this sad death and never forget his last night's struggle with fever and delirium, with no mother or sister to bathe his feverish brow and with love and affection speak words of consolation to him in his last moments on earth. He was delirious all night previous to his death from the effects of fever.

Pat, the Irish nurse, who was always fond of sampling the spirits, to ascertain whether or not Mr. Dodd was furnishing the patients with a good quality, and myself, were witnesses of his last hours of pain and distress, and his passage "over the river," which was at last peaceful.

His name does not appear upon the roster of North Carolina troops, for the reason that he died two days before the regiment was mustered into service; nevertheless he died in defence of his State, as much so as the soldier who died on the field of battle, for he was in camp in response to the call of the Governor for troops to defend the Commonwealth.

The following contemporary notice is copied from the *Raleigh Register* of 15 May, 1861, which is on file in the State Library:

"*Death of a Volunteer.*—We regret to learn that Mr. James Hudson, a highly esteemed member of the Hornet's Nest Rifles, from Charlotte, died at the hospital of the encampment, in this city, on Saturday last. His disease was pneu-

monia. This is the first death that has occurred among the volunteers in this city. The remains of the deceased were escorted to the Central depot on Saturday afternoon, when after depositing them on board of the train bound to Charlotte, the company fired a salute in honor of his memory, and then returned with saddened hearts to their encampment."

ROBERT H. BRADLEY.

RALEIGH, N. C.,
31 December, 1901.

SIXTH REGIMENT AT MANASSAS, 21 JULY, 1861

By B. F WHITE, Captain Company F

The main facts related by Major A. C. Avery (Vol. 1 of this work, pp. 240-349) in reference to the part the Sixth Regiment took in the first battle of Manassas are correct, but owing to his absence through sickness from the regiment when all points of the battle were discussed and the field visited and reports made to the commission sent out by Governor Clark, he has fallen into some errors. He fails to state that the Sixth Regiment halted for some time in front of the Lewis House, and that while here, Colonel Fisher rode forward to ascertain at what point to lead forward his regiment, at this juncture Lieutenant-Colonel Lightfoot requested Major R. F Webb to ask, for him, the privilege of putting the regiment into line of battle, as Colonel Fisher had not drilled the regiment and was incompetent to do it, and further that Colonel Fisher and himself were not on good terms. (This request Colonel Fisher refused.) Colonel Lightfoot's conduct towards Colonel Fisher had been such as to create an estrangement and their relations were very far from cordial.

On Colonel Fisher's return, the regiment was moved several hundred yards and drawn up at a right angle from its former position. Avery states that this was our first position. After remaining here for some time a few shells from the enemy's battery passed over our heads. One passed through our ranks as it bounded on the ground; the men opened ranks and as it did not burst no one was hurt. Immediately after this we were ordered forward, marching in file, turned a little to the left, passed down a hill through a wood. On emerging from the woods into an old sedge field,

we crossed a branch (which I think was called Drake's branch). While making this move quite a number of Louisianians and a part of a Mississippi Regiment in disorder, passed up a hill to the rear.

Here the Sixth Regiment halted for a short time. Then the regiment headed for a point in the rear of where Colonel Bartow fell. When approaching near that point a courier or mounted officer called to Colonel Fisher not to go in that direction, for his regiment would be cut up by the Yankee cavalry. Thereupon the regiment was turned abruptly to the left, crossing an old worm fence, and passing behind a dense pine thicket immediately in the rear of the Fourth Alabama, Second Mississippi and two companies of the Eleventh Mississippi. On reaching an old road the regiment turned to the right and passed along a thick copse of wood on the left and soon emerged from the pines opposite the Mississippi troops. When the right of the Sixth Regiment got opposite the left of the Mississippi Regiment, I heard distinctly one of our field officers call to Colonel Fisher, "Colonel, turn the head of your regiment this way." To this Colonel Fisher paid no attention whatever, but passed on into an angle formed by the Yankees in the Sudley road and the New York Zouaves marching to turn our left flank. When the left of company F, (third company in regiment), commanded by First Lieutenant Carter, came opposite the Mississippi regiment, one of our field officers called out, "Halt." Carter repeated the command, then "Right face." Colonel Fisher, who was but a short distance away, called out sharply, "Who in the hell gave that command? I am Colonel of this regiment; follow me."

Lieutenant Carter gave the command, "Left face, forward, march." No other company up to this time either halted or right faced. Company F immediately followed the two companies in its front. Lightfoot remarked, "Did any body ever see the like." Soon after this we were fired upon at an angle from our left, the balls passing mostly over our heads, only one man in our company being hit. He was shot in the head. The second and third volley came low. About this time Colonel Lightfoot came through the left of company F

and was slightly wounded, but this did not interfere with his locomotion, calling out as he left, "Boys, take care of yourselves," and to their discredit or discretion, many took his advice and emulated his example, but did not stop till they reached Manassas, five miles away Company F faced to the rear and made a left wheel until they came on a line somewhat in advance of the Mississippians and opened fire upon a section of Sherman's battery and two howitzers commanded by Captain Ricketts. About this time Companies A, E, F and D got considerably mixed up. I was much employed in driving home with a stone the balls for our Irish comrades. I was often called to, "Lieutenant, take this stone and drive me ball down." The kick of the gun was similar to that of a mule, and the report was not much less than a rifled 4-pounder.

About this juncture a Federal officer rode up to us waving his hat and calling, "For God's sake stop; you are firing on your friends." On discovering his mistake he attempted to ride away. As he passed the left of the Mississippians he reeled and fell. He and his horse were both captured. This officer turned out to be Wilcox, who afterwards became a Major-General. Colonel Liddell, of the Eleventh Mississippi, got his horse and rode him for many a day

About this time the charge was made upon the battery. On reaching the battery I found all the horses killed. The two guns, 40-pounder brass howitzers, were unlimbered, but not trained upon our regiment, but rather pointing in the direction of the Second Mississippi. Our line passed the battery and on approaching the old Sudley road, were subjected to a heavy fire from Yankees stationed in the road, and also from the New York Zouaves on our left.

In coming out of the fight I passed down the line of the Zouaves. Whether Colonel Fisher was killed by the Yankees charging from the Sudley road, or the Zouaves on our right, or from scattering shots from our own men, will never be known.

Colonel Isaac E. Avery informed us that Captain Ricketts, in a conversation with his brother, Col. Waightstill Avery, informed him that "the position of Fisher's Regiment was such

that he supposed them to be a support for his battery;" that had he a minute's time longer, that he would have swept the whole head of our column down; that all of his men were either killed or wounded. This was the turning point in the battle. In falling back we passed directly in front of the Zouaves and were subjected to a heavy fire, the balls passing mostly over our heads, doing us little damage.

Our line passed the battery and on approaching the old Sudley road were subjected to a heavy fire from the enemy stationed in it and also a flank fire from the New York Zouaves on our left, we were compelled to retreat. On leaving the field we passed through the line of Kirby Smith's men, who were coming up as a support. On reaching the battery they found the dead and wounded Yankees lying around and honestly supposed that they did it. I passed a Virginia Colonel who I was told was Colonel Fletcher or Colonel Kemper. On getting back to the branch at the foot of the hill and edge of the woods the scattered men of the Sixth were formed into line and marched forward to the left of Kirby Smith's command and led to the rear of one of our batteries, which did fine execution on the retreating columns of the enemy We pursued the enemy as far as the stone house. There was still firing to the east. Here we were halted and addressed by President Davis, who told us of the glorious victory we had won.

On the roll being called there were found to be present one hundred and twenty-five (125) men of the Sixth Regiment. Twenty-five of these were from Company F.

Captain James Craige, whose company (G) was near the left of the regiment, was leading up his company in file, when he received a fire from an advancing column from the Sudley road, ten of his men fell dead in a bunch, being only two less than one-half of the number killed in the regiment. Two-thirds of the regiment was blanketed by the three or four forward companies and the left companies took very little part in the fight simply from the position of the regiment and conduct of Lieutenant-Colonel Lightfoot. I have passed over the ground four times that the Sixth Regiment passed over in going into action. There was not at that

time, forty years ago, a gully which a man on horseback could not easily have crossed. The two guns brought over the Sudley road to the front of the Henry House were never fired from that position, not because of the nature of the ground, but simply because the battery was disabled, the men being either killed or wounded.

I am of the opinion that Colonel Fisher, Lieutenant Mangum and others were killed by our troops over on the old Sudley road and not by the enemy. Where the Sixth Regiment fought is free from gullies or steep hillsides. At the time of the battle all that ground was in virgin forest, piney old field and sedge, except where we joined in the flank movement.

On the evening of the battle I heard Colonel Fletcher, of Virginia, boasting of the capture of the battery by his regiment. I told him how it was done, but he would not stand corrected. The Virginians still claim the honors, I believe.

B. F WHITE.

MEBANE, N. C.,
31 December, 1901.

NOTE.—A very interesting account of the Sixth at Manassas is also given by Gen. Clingman in this vol. at p. 29, *ante*.—ED.

NORTH CAROLINA AT SHARPSBURG

REPORT OF THE BATTLEFIELD COMMISSION.

To His Excellency, the Governor:

Of the committee of North Carolina officers and soldiers, participants in the battle of Sharpsburg, who were appointed by you at the request of the United States Antietam Board to assist them in designating the position held by North Carolina troops in that great battle, the undersigned were able to accept and attend. They left the State 29 May, 1894, and were joined in Washington by General H. Heth, one of the Federal Commissioners on the Antietam Board, but formerly Major-General in the Confederate service, and by Senator Ransom, who had been a distinguished participant in the battle, and who kindly accompanied us upon our special invitation. Together with them, this committee visited the battle field 30 May, and remained till we had located the positions held by the brave men of this State on that eventful day, 17 September, 1862. Such of the positions as were not fully settled by the presence on the committee of men from any particular command have since been designated by correspondence with members of such commands, maps of the battle field having been sent them upon which they have marked the positions held by their respective regiments. This has now been satisfactorily done, and this report has been held back that the completion of the work devolved upon us might be reported.

We are glad to say that the identification of the positions held by each of our regiments has been perfect. The locality in the nearly thirty-two years since the battle had undergone remarkably small change. The landmarks are all there. Besides the ground upon which a soldier fights is photographed in his mind. Every little inequality of the surface

has its value at the time and the general topography of the field is attentively considered as it has often a vital bearing upon the issue of the battle.

The battle of Sharpsburg, Md., or Antietam, as it is called by the Federals, was fought Wednesday, 17 September, 1862, between the United States Army, commanded by Major-General George B. McClellan, and the Confederate States Army, commanded by General Robert E. Lee. The Federal Army reports for that morning show "present for duty" an effective force of 101,000 men, consisting of six army corps. The First, Hooker; Second, Sumner; Fourth, Couch; Fifth, Fitz John Porter; Sixth, Franklin; Ninth, Burnside; Twelfth, Mansfield; and Pleasanton's Cavalry Division. On the Confederate side there were two corps, commanded respectively by Longstreet and Jackson. So great had been the loss by straggling, caused principally by forced marches, with insufficient food and defective supply of shoes, that when the battle opened General Lee had not more than 27,000 men in line. This was raised by the arrival about 9 a. m., of McLaw's Division, and about 3 p. m., of A. P Hill's Division, to a total of 35,000 men. Indeed, so heavy had been the straggling that General Lee states in his letter to President Davis 21 September, that in this battle Evans' Brigade had 100 men present, Garnett's Brigade 120, and Lawton and Armistead's Brigades combined 600 men.

In this battle there were present thirty regiments and one battalion of infantry, one regiment of cavalry and three batteries of artillery from North Carolina, to-wit.:

Fifteenth North Carolina, in Cobb's Brigade.

Twenty-seventh, Forty-sixth and Forty-eighth North Carolina, in Walker's Brigade.

Twenty-fourth, Twenty-fifth, Thirty-fifth and Forty-ninth North Carolina, in Ransom's Brigade.

Sixth North Carolina, in Law's Brigade.

Twenty-first North Carolina and First North Carolina Battalion, in Trimble's Brigade.

Seventh, Eighteenth, Twenty-eighth Thirty-third and Thirty-seventh North Carolina, in Branch's Brigade.

Sixteenth, Twenty-second, Thirty-fourth and Thirty-eighth North Carolina, in Pender's Brigade.

First and Third North Carolina, in Ripley's Brigade.

Fifth, Twelfth, Thirteenth, Twentieth and Twenty-third North Carolina, in Garland's Brigade.

Second, Fourth, Fourteenth and Thirtieth North Carolina, in Anderson's Brigade.

Ninth North Carolina (First Cavalry), Hampton's Brigade, and the batteries of Manly, Reilly and Lloyd.

Of these, the cavalry regiment commanded by Colonel (afterwards General) L. S. Baker, was on our extreme left under Stuart. Pender's and Branch's Brigades came up in the afternoon by forced march from Harper's Ferry, being part of A. P Hill's Division, and took position on our extreme right just in time to repulse the advance of Burnside's corps. Early in the morning the North Carolina brigades of Walker and Ransom had occupied the extreme right to prevent the threatened advance of Burnside across Antietam creek, but about 9 a. m., when the left wing was broken by the weight of the Federal numbers, these two brigades were hurriedly moved to the center of the left wing near the Dunkard church. They arrived just in time as the Federals were pouring through the break in our lines and a delay of ten minutes longer would probably have been fatal to the existence of the army The removal of these two brigades left the advance of Burnside's and Porter's corps across the bridge and fords of the Antietam creek unopposed except by the small brigade (400 men) of Toombs. Fortunately Burnside did not cross till 1 p. m., and when he did he loitered until 3 o'clock when making his advance the fate of Lee's army had again been sealed but for the arrival of A. P Hill's Division, two of whose brigades—Branch's and Pender's—were North Carolinians. "Had their arrival been delayed ten minutes," says the official report, "the army would have been taken in reverse." Thus twice during that eventful day did the Confederate Army narrowly escape disaster. And on each occasion North Carolina troops were important factors in the salvation of the army. They were to Lee what Bulow's Di-

vision of Blucher's corps was to Wellington at Waterloo. They saved the day The North Carolina troops, other than Baker's Cavalry Regiment, and the brigades of Walker, Branch, Ransom and Pender, which have been located above, were all stationed in the left center, reaching from the town of Sharpsburg, which was the center of our line up towards the Dunkard Church. A part of this left center was singularly thrown forward, in advance of our general line, till driven back by overwhelming numbers. It was the North Carolina brigade of Anderson, thus advanced beyond the main line, that held the now historic "Bloody Lane" till thrice their number of Federals lay dead in their front in musket range. It was thrust out in the flank of the advancing enemy like a "solid lance head of iron tempered in the fire of battle."

To the military student the battle of Sharpsburg will always appear one of the boldest—not to say one of the rashest—battles of modern time, judging it from the Southern standpoint. Nothing but success redeemed General Lee from liability to the severest military criticism. But he safely relied upon the tried valor of his troops and the wholesome awe with which our then recent successes around Richmond and at Second Manassas had inspired the enemy. He also knew the slow movement and cautious character of the opposing General—so slow that a board of war condemned him for having moved in this campaign at the rate of only six miles a day. An accident, the loss of a dispatch sent by General Lee to one of his Major-Generals and dropped in his encampment, disclosed to McClellan General Lee's plan of campaign and that in face of a foe largely his superior he had divided his army and had left nearly one-half of it on the southern bank of the Potomac to capture Harper's Ferry while the other wing remained in Maryland. Had McClellan fallen with vigor and promptness with his whole army upon the 20,000 or 22,000 men under Lee, north of the Potomac, the loss of that army with its commanders would have been a fatal blow to the Confederacy. But fortunately, McClellan neither did this nor relieved Harper's Ferry, which surrendered with 12,000 prisoners on the 15th releasing the besieg-

ing force, of which Walker's Division rejoined Lee on the night before the battle and McLaw's and A. P Hill's Divisions came up during the progress of the battle as above stated. It is true that after finding the "lost dispatch" revealing Lee's plan, McClellan sent an overwhelming force again D. H. Hill's Division, holding the pass in the South Mountain on the 14th which that gallant general held as long as possible, delaying the Federal advance till Harper's Ferry might surrender and its besiegers might join our army north of the Potomac. But the "Rebellion Record" gives us the situation on both sides better than either commander could have then known it. From that it appears that McClellan had not only 101,000 men present for duty, but that 73,000 more were then around Washington forty miles away by rail. That in the presence of 174,000 men, General Lee could divide his effective force of less than 40,000 by the Potomac river, and several miles of interval, should capture 12,000 men at Harper's Ferry, and should then re-unite his army during the battle north of the river and hold the field was splendid justification of Lee's superb confidence in his troops. It showed a boldness the success of which future ages may admire, but which will not justify an attempt to imitate. At no other time did the Confederacy so narrowly escape a catastrophe. The greatest compliment perhaps ever paid to Confederate valor will be found in the reports of this battle made by the Federal Colonels and Generals, and by McClellan himself, as preserved in the "Rebellion Record." They recite the heavy losses sustained from our fire, and the courage shown by their men in attacking our positions or repulsing our assaults. They all concur in ascribing to us superior numbers. Even McClellan, in a dispatch during the battle, attributes to Lee 95,000 men and telegraphs Lincoln that he is "in the midst of the bloodiest and most memorable battle of the war and probably of all history." Yet it is beyond question that Lee had only about 35,000 men after his reinforcements had joined him and was outnumbered nearly three to one. General McClellan places his own forces at 87,000, while the morning report of his army for that day calls for 101,000 effective. Though thus outnumbered, Lee

and his soldiers not only held their ground all that long September day, repelling every assault, but all next day they stood in line defying an enemy who dared not advance. On the night of the 18th they recrossed the river into Virginia, leaving not a cannon nor a wagon behind them. During the entire action the Confederates fought without breastworks, which there was neither time nor means to throw up. Fortunately in some parts of the line on the slope of the hills on the side held by us there was a ledge of lime stone rock which served admirably as natural rifle pits and were considerable protection both against artillery and infantry fire. So heavy fell the leaden hail of battle that notwithstanding thirty-two years of cultivation and visits by relic-hunters, the son of one of our committee, a lad of 10 years of age (Fred Phillips, Jr.), picked up a handful of bullets in the space of a few feet.

In few actions during the entire war was the percentage of loss so heavy upon us. We had no reserves. Every man was engaged. Out of the 35,000 Confederates in this battle one-third were killed or wounded. Retreat, with the Potomac at our backs, meant the annihilation of the army. There was no choice but to conquer or die. That North Carolina was there that day, and that her troops composed more than one-fourth of the men actually in line should never be forgotten. The positions held by them, and identified by the committee will be marked by the Federal government with pillars of stone. To distant ages they will speak of the fame, the valor, the devotion to duty of those men of "long enduring blood"—the North Carolinians who twice saved the day for the Confederacy at Sharpsburg. Many of them rest where they fell, and nightly Potomac's breezes

"Answering low, soothes many a soldier's endless sleep."

In the providence of God, final success did not crown our arms, but none who know, or who have learned, the true story of the bearing of North Carolina's sons, whether officers or private soldiers, throughout the great contest, can refrain from saying they "knew how to do their duty" The State

does well to note on this battle field where her soldiers held the line. Living or dead, they could ask no grander eulogy.

Very respectfully,

WALTER CLARK, Adjutant Thirty-fifth N. C.
Chairman of Committee.
F M. PARKER, Colonel Thirtieth N C.
S. McD. TATE, Major Sixth N C.
NEILL W RAY, Captain Sixth N. C.
JAS. A. GRAHAM, Captain Twenty-seventh N. C.
W H. H. LAWHON, Captain Forty-eighth N C.
FRED PHILLIPS, Adjutant Thirtieth N. C.
R. O. LEINSTER, Private Fourth N C.
JNO. C SCARBOROUGH, Private Fourteenth N. C.
JNO. R. RICHARDSON, Private Twenty-third N. C.
J M. MONIE, Private Ninth N C. (First Cav.)

RALEIGH, N. C.,
17 September, 1894.

(The rank and regiment above given is that of each of the committee at the date of the battle. Many of them were promoted afterwards, and some of them went to other regiments.)

THE FIRST REGIMENT AT GETTYSBURG

By SERGEANT C. W RIVENBARK, Company C.

Thirty years ago I wrote for publication "Two Years at Fort Delaware," which has been reprinted in Vol. 4 of this work. I wish to say a few words here on the conduct of my old company at Gettysburg, of which I was then acting Orderly Sergeant, and the manner of my capture. The history of the regiment has been ably written up by our gallant Colonel, H. A. Brown.

Beginning at the charge made on the second line of the enemy's works at the southeast base of Culp's Hill, I take it for granted that the reader is familiar with the charge made by the regiment on the evening of 2 July, as given by Colonel Brown. (Page 148, first volume of this work.) In that successful charge our ranks were thinned so that when our roll was called at daylight next morning our company numbered only twenty-three, officers and men.

Though the regiment went forward with a will, as it always did, it was simply impossible for a human being to endure the concentrated fire of artillery and small arms that were directed upon us at short range, so that we were ordered back to the line of works we had captured the evening before and from which we had just charged. Before arriving there our company (C) formed itself behind two large boulders surrounded by others of less dimensions, forming, as it were, a natural little fort sufficiently large to cover the little band of twenty-three.

We immediately took advantage of this position, while the balance of the regiment settled back to its position of the evening before. Now we found ourselves fronting to the south and a little in advance of the regiment. It was then

about 6 o'clock a. m., and by the time we could look around at the situation we saw across a small field about two hundred yards wide, the Twenty-seventh Indiana Regiment, numbering 339 officers and men, advance from the wood in a full charge towards us. Immediately we commenced some of the most rapid firing we had ever been called upon to do; and our regiment succeeded in repulsing them. In that charge they lost one hundred and ten (110) killed and wounded and one prisoner who ran into us to save his life. Before they had advanced one hundred yards they had four (4) color-bearers killed and four wounded. They were supported by the Second Massachusetts, which immediately came forward to charge over the same ground with two hundred and ninety-four (294) men and twenty-two officers. They soon retired to the wood leaving four officers and forty-one men killed and six officers and eighty-four men wounded. The above figures are correct, for they are copied from the monuments of the two regiments above mentioned, now standing upon the field. The rest of our brigade was fronted to the west, while our regiment was fronted to the South. The line of battle at Gettysburg was in the shape of a fishhook, the First North Carolina Regiment was on the extreme left, or point of the hook, and fronted south right across the point of the hook.

The enemy did not attempt again that day to charge us out of our stronghold, but they planted a battery at a convenient distance and commenced to shell the tops of the giant old oaks that stood around and whose limbs hung over our heads. Many limbs fell on us during the remainder of the day, but we would ward them off as best we could, and while some were hurt by them, no serious damage was sustained.

At about 4 o'clock that evening when Pickett and Pettigrew's charge on the opposite side had failed, that noble old hero, our Division Commander, General Edward Johnson, made his appearance on the firing line, and said: "Men, I want you to fall back on your position of yesterday; but I don't want to see one of you run; follow me slowly," which we did in good style. As the enemy never pressed us in the least I suppose they had had enough. In a few minutes we

were recrossing Rock Creek. We were very warm and the water was about waist deep and I took a chill.

A kind Confederate cavalryman in passing, saw me all shivering and shaking and invited me to a near-by rock and told me to mount his horse behind him. He carried me about two miles out on the Cashtown road and put me down at one of our field hospitals. I found the physician in charge too busy with the wounded to give me any attention. As it was growing dark I lay down opposite the farm house that had been converted into a hospital, the yard of which was full of wounded and dying men. At that time I felt sure that the battle was ours, for a great many of our wagons were moving towards Gettysburg during the night.

When these two grand armies met at Gettysburg, the Confederates came from the north and the Union army came from the south. Thus as I had come in on the Cashtown road I felt safe because our wagons on the night of the 3d were still going on towards Gettysburg. General Lee was concentrating southwest of the town, preparing to withdraw his shattered, but not defeated, army in that direction.

Next morning when I arose from the ground the first thing that met my gaze was a regiment of the enemy's cavalry a hundred yards up the road, coming toward me. I still had my trusty rifle in my hands, but it would have been suicidal to have used it then. As they approached an officer asked me why I did not drop my gun. I told him that I had forgotten that I had one. "Well," said he, "You had better go on towards Gettysburg," which I did and that night got some medical attention, a night's rest in a hay loft and something to eat next morning. I was then turned over to Kilpatrick's cavalry which started us on the march to Frederick City, as narrated by me in "Two Years at Fort Delaware."

I must refrain from narrating the means by which I escaped from Fort Delaware and my adventures on the road home: since at the time I was pledged to secrecy as to many matters which it may not be well to divulge even after a lapse of nearly thirty-seven years, lest some one, though an enemy at that time, will be inconvenienced even now, for I would have to mention names of persons who might yet be

living. The story would be an interesting one, showing venality in officials and much charity and kindness among country people along my route home.

C. W RIVENBARK.

CHARLOTTE, N. C.,
31 December, 1901.

UNPARALLELED LOSS.

COMPANY F, TWENTY-SIXTH REGIMENT N. C. T., AT GETTYSBURG 1 JULY, 1863.

BY CAPTAIN R. M. TUTTLE.

Company F, Twenty-sixth Regiment N. C. T., on the first day's fight, carried into action 3 officers and 88 enlisted men, every one of whom was either killed or wounded. A fact so remarkable is here recorded over the signature of its Captain, now a Presbyterian minister at Collierstown, Va., and of others nearly as well known and the name of each man is given. Captain, now Rev. Dr. Tuttle, writes thus to a friend:

"Your letter came duly to hand, and I set to work to settle forever the contest as to Company F Fortunately, and even more, for it seems like a special Providence, I had preserved my report published in the Virginia paper (Richmond *Enquirer* or *Examiner*). I had pasted it long years ago (during the war), in the back of my sister's album, and it is still clear and legible. I have had to amend it in four names only, using just a little later information. The proof is now, irrefragable, I give, you will observe, not only the *names, but the exact wounds received,* just what I sent to the Richmond paper soon after the battle. I was detained in a hospital in Richmond some weeks after the battle.

"The Orderly Sergeant's statement as you will see, fully agrees in all essential features with my report. These papers will, I think, enable you to clinch every claim we make for Company F Yours truly,

"ROMULUS M. TUTTLE."

There was enclosed in the above letter a statement signed by J. T. C. Hood, Orderly Sergeant, Company F, Twenty-sixth Regiment, North Carolina Troops, as follows:

"Company F, Twenty-sixth Regiment, North Carolina

Troops, went into the fight at Gettysburg, Pa., with 88 answering to roll call on the morning of 1 July, 1863, besides three commissioned officers, (one private being detailed to guard our knapsacks).

"Having been wounded on the first day in both a leg and a foot, I hobbled to the stone bridge two miles South of Gettysburg, where I had an opportunity of seeing a great many of the wounded of the first day's fight; and from what I gathered from them and saw myself, the loss of Company F, on the first day was about twenty-five killed and sixty wounded. Also, after the second and third day, there was not a single man left, all being killed or wounded."

In addition to the above the muster and pay roll of the company, giving its condition on 30 June, 1863, as it rested in bivouac that day about three miles from Gettysburg, is still preserved by Captain Joseph J. Young, now residing at Polenta, Johnston county, who was the Quartermaster of the regiment from the beginning to the end of the war. He has preserved duplicate copies of the muster and pay rolls of the regiment, which he values as among his greatest treasures.

This muster and pay roll states that there were present for duty, three commissioned officers, three Sergeants, two Corporals, one Musician and eighty-four privates; and present on extra or daily duty, nine privates; total present commissioned, three; total enlisted, 99; aggregate present, 102. The strength of the Company present and absent is put down as 134. In addition to the above, we have the following from Captain James D. Moore, cashier of the First National Bank, of Gastonia, N. C., who was a private in Company F. at Gettysburg, viz.:

"I was present at the battle of Gettysburg, a private in Captain R. M. Tuttle's company (F), Twenty-sixth Regiment. In the first day's battle we had 87 men for duty, we lost every man, either killed or wounded, except one, Sergeant Robert Hudspeth. I was the 85th man shot, wounded in the neck and left leg. Henry Coffey (Sergeant), now living near Lenoir, was the eighty-sixth man shot. Our company joined the color company on the left, and being at the head of

the company, I joined the color guard and was by the colors during the fight. The entire color guard was killed or wounded, and a number of officers who picked up the colors and carried them forward were also killed or wounded, among them, the young and gallant Colonel Burgwyn. Lieutenant-Colonel Lane was severely wounded toward the close of the fight, near the top of the hill. He also had the colors when he was shot. Of the two left of my company, Henry Coffey was wounded just after I fell, leaving only Sergeant Robert Hudspeth surviving unhurt out of our entire company. This Robert Hudspeth came to see me at the field hospital on 4 July and he informed me that he had gotten some four or five men who were on detail as ambulance and pioneer corps on the first day and were not in the fight on that day and he took them into the fight the third day. On that day, Tom Cozart, of Company F, carried the flag; Cozart fell (killed) with the colors just before reaching the stone fence, the others were killed or wounded, and that he (Hudspeth) was knocked down by the bursting of a shell."

The following are the names of the killed, mortally wounded and wounded of Company F, Twenty-sixth Regiment, North Carolina Troops, Pettigrew's Brigade, at the battle of Gettysburg, Pa., 1-3 July, 1863, as reported to the Richmond (Va.) *Enquirer* or *Examiner* soon after the battle, by the Captain—Romulus M. Tuttle—as he lay wounded in the hospital in Richmond:

We went into the battle 1 July, 1863, with eighty-eight rank and file and three commissioned officers—the Captain and two Lieutenants—ninety-one in all. Every man was either killed or wounded, viz.:

KILLED ON THE FIELD.

Lieutenant—John B. Holloway

Privates—Robert M. Braswell, Robert H. Carswell, I. H. Coffey, Cleveland Coffey, T. J Cozart, Thomas Crump, James Deal, William Fleming, Jackson Gragg, Abram Hudson, John C. Lewis, J B. Littlejohn, Joseph Phillips and W E. Phillips (twins), J P Shook, A. John Taylor, W L. Thompson, M. L. Townsell.—19.

Mortally Wounded, Privates—J. M. Clouts, J. G. Coffey,

Thos. M. Coffey, W S. Coffey, Rufus Ervine, H. H. Hays, G. W Holloway, George Morgan, Joseph Setser, W E. Setser, Hosea Stallings, William Underdown.—12.

WOUNDED—WOUNDS DESCRIBED.

Captain R. M. Tuttle, badly, right leg.
Lieutenant C. M. Sudderth, badly in hand.
Sergeant J T. C. Hood, badly in thigh and foot.
Sergeant R. N Hudspeth, by bursting of shell.
Sergeant H. C. Coffey, badly in wrist.
Corporal S. P Philyaw, badly in thigh.
Corporal A. H. Courtney, leg broken (amputated).

PRIVATES.

Hezekiah Annas, badly in thigh.
George Arney, leg broken.
S. P Badger, badly in foot.
Joseph Baldwin, badly in thigh.
Zero Black, badly in hip.
W W Bean, badly in foot.
W W Bradford, slightly in arm.
Nathan Bradshaw, slightly in knee.
R. W Braswell, slightly in breast.
John Bowman, badly in thigh.
Redmond Church, badly in foot.
J. C. Clarke, badly in arm.
William Clarke, badly in foot, leg and shoulder.
A. J. Coffey, finger shot off.
H. C. Courtney, badly in thigh.
J. P Coffey, by bursting shell.
S. W Crisp, badly in thigh.
H. C. Crump, slightly in arm.
Nathaniel Culbreath, badly in side.
Thomas Curtis, badly in thigh.
William Curtis, arm amputated.
J M. Holloway, badly in breast.
Paul Howell, badly in thigh.
Ambrose Hudson, by bursting shell.
A. M. Hudspeth, badly in face.
G. W Hudspeth, badly in leg.

W W Kerby, slightly in shoulder.
John Kincaid, badly in shoulder.
Elkanah Mathis, slightly in arm.
James D. Moore, badly in thigh.
Noah Page, badly in thigh.
William R. Payne, slightly in body.
A. W Perkins, slightly in side.
Gideon Philyaw, slightly in hip.
George Porch, slightly in thigh.
John Porch, badly in back.
Pinkney Powell, slightly in head.
M. M. Rader, badly in shoulder.
W H. Rich, slightly in arm.
W R. Rich, slightly in head.
Philip Sargent, badly in thigh.
T. W Setser, badly in thigh.
William Stallings, leg broken.
John M. Sudderth, badly in thigh.
T. F Sudderth, slightly in finger.
Benjamin Taylor, slightly in heel.
S. A. Thomas, badly in arm.
J C. Thompson, badly in shoulder.
C. A. Tuttle, slightly in arm.
Richard Upchurch, slightly in hand.
J W Underdown, badly in thigh.
Joseph Winkler, badly in back.
Israel Zimmerman, badly in leg.—60.

RECAPITULATION.

Killed dead	..	19
Mortally wounded		12
Wounded, but recovered		60
Total		91

Only four or five men were left from the first day's fight to go into action on the 3d. T. J Cozart was one of these and he was killed carrying the flag of the regiment.

R. M. TUTTLE.

COLLIERSTOWN, VA.,
3 July, 1901.

CAPTURE OF CEMETERY HILL.

THE SECOND DAY AT GETTYSBURG.

By N. W RAY, Captain Company D, Sixth Regiment N. C. T.

I had the pleasure, a few weeks ago, of going over the battlefield of Gettysburg in company with old comrades; and we met there with Union soldiers who fought against us and directly in front of us. There are perhaps 500 monuments, some of them very costly and perhaps as many more substantial granite markers, all set up by the different commands of the Union army, to show their positions and to mark the notable places. On many of these monuments are inscriptions, giving a brief record of the part performed by the different commands. I have no desire to detract from the glory of those Confederates who fought near "The Devil's Den," across "The Valley of Death," in "The Wheat Field," "The Peach Orchard," and on the third day went into "The Bloody Angle" at "High Water Mark." But those who drove the Union army from their strong, well chosen positions behind the stone walls along "Seminary Ridge," and the fields north of the town on the first day, and those who on the second day charged, and captured, and for a while, held "Cemetery Hill," ought not to be so ignored by those who write up "Gettysburg" by telling only of the charge in the third day's fighting.

No one can go there, look over that battlefield and consider the different movements and positions, and undisputed events as recorded, without being convinced that the fighting of the Confederates on the first and second days was as valiant and as praiseworthy, as that of the third day.

The positions of the Confederates are not yet marked with monuments of any kind, but they are well established, and we were told that they are to be marked by durable markers. But although the poor Confederate may not have his name inscribed on polished granite or bronze tablets, yet the brief

recitals on the Union monuments are an enduring record of facts that establish the fame and glory of the Confederate troops. Whether intentional or not, the Northern people in selecting Gettysburg and making it famous, and marking it so well, as one of the battlefields on which their soldiers won glory, have thereby made an imperishable record of the valor and courage of Confederate soldiers. As we stood on East Cemetery Hill during our recent visit, from which commanding position the well informed guide was explaining the movements of the first and second days to a large party of Northerners, some of them scholars, and as he closed with a graphic description of the charge on Cemetery Hill by Hoke's and Hays' Brigades, pointing out, from where he stood, the line of attack and the spots where different leaders fell, one of the party turned to me and said: "I am a Union man, but it would have been a shame for the Union army to have been beaten here; they had so much advantage in position." I tell this to show that any one looking over that field, even those who are not skilled in war, are at once impressed with the heroic qualities of the Confederates who came so near winning the battle of Gettysburg.

I belonged to the Sixth North Carolina Regiment, which was part of Hoke's Brigade of North Carolina troops—Early's Division, Ewell's Corps. General R. F. Hoke had been wounded at Fredericksburg and was not present; Colonel Isaac E. Avery commanded the brigade. The regiment to which I belonged was on the right of the brigade and on our right was Hay's Louisiana Brigade.

On the first day, we came in on the north to northeast of the town and fought along and across Rock creek, and near the brick yard and railroad depot and through the eastern part of the town. To show how severe was the contest on that first day, I will say that our part of the line saw hand-to-hand fighting; and from what we could see and hear then, and judging from what we saw on our recent visit to the field, the fighting to our right and along Seminary Ridge must have been much more severe—yet, the Confederates carried every point.

After getting on the southeast of the town our part of the line was in full view of Culp's Hill and Cemetery Hill. We were halted and reformed our lines along a little rivulet that runs through an open field, Culp's. There, we were held under an annoying skirmish fire until the afternoon of the second day, during all of which time the enemy were preparing for us. They had covered Cemetery Hill with artillery and each gun was protected by embankments. They had also artillery on a hill to the east of Cemetery Hill, towards Culp's Hill. Their lines of infantry were most advantageously posted behind stone walls and in trenches which they made in the steep sides of the hill, so posted that their artillery could fire over the heads of their infantry But in the face of all this, when the afternoon was far advanced couriers were seen hurrying to and fro, delivering messages to our brigade and regimental commanders, and soon the order was passed along the line and we were commanded to move forward. We were to silence the guns on Cemetery Hill. As we approached it, we were under a galling fire from the infantry, which was protected by the stone wall and trenches that ran around the hill. The artillery poured shot and shell and grape and canister into us, and withal, the battery, on the left toward Culp's Hill, had an enfilading fire on us. But our men still moved forward, climbed over the stone wall, drove the infantry away, went on up the hill, drove off the cannoneers, spiked their guns, and took, for the time, complete possession of East Cemetery Hill. We supposed that we had won the battle, for the dense smoke and approaching darkness made it impossible for us to see what was going on to the right or left of the hill. Oh! the memory of that charge—that hand-to-hand struggle—that storming and capturing of East Cemetery Hill on the evening of the second day at Gettysburg. And yet it was a *success* that *did not succeed.* For we had been there but a short while when orders were brought to us to fall back to our original position, and to move back with as little noise as possible. The moon was just rising over the trees on Culp's wooded hill to our left, and it shone through the battle smoke, with an enfee-

bled, sicklied light into the pale faces of our dead, as we quietly made our way back down the hill, up which we had charged. The flag of the Sixth North Carolina Regiment, which is to be placed in the monument at Raleigh, (pardon me for making special mention of my own regiment) felt more than one gallant color bearer shiver and fall in that charge, yet ere it could fall, the nearest comrade of the surviving color guards grabbed it and bore it bravely to the top of that stronghold of the enemy; and when ordered to fall back from the ground won at such fearful cost, it was carried safely back. That flag is worthy of the place accorded it in the Confederate monument at Raleigh.

It is not my purpose to say anything as to the mistake in not supporting us in the position we had gained. But I venture to say that no one, not even our enemies, will say that any blame could be attached to the troops engaged in storming Cemetery Hill on the evening of the second day.

On that hill to-day amid its embrazured earthworks and along its stone walls are a number of costly monuments erected by the several commands of the Union army that were engaged there, and on these monuments they have written in plain words, cut in granite and bronze, telling of the desperate charge by *Hoke's North Carolina Brigade* and Hays' Louisiana Brigade, 2 July, 1863; of the hand-to-hand encounter, after every round of ammunition had been fired; of the capture and spiking of their guns. These are enduring records. And on the Bachelder maps the positions of these two brigades on the evening of the second day are plainly marked as being on *Cemetery Hill.*

I have written briefly of the parts performed by the command to which I belonged. Being only a line officer, I could know but little of what was being done on other parts of the line. But I desired especially to call attention to the "facts as being so well established, and yet so little known," and so seldom mentioned. No one can visit Gettysburg battlefield and stand on Cemetery Hill without being convinced that it was the key to Meade's position; nor can any one stand there and see the positions of the two armies, the Union ar-

tillery and its supporting lines (the earth works and stone walls which protected them are still plainly visible), without being impressed what an undertaking it was to storm those heights. And as he reads the record of that charge, written in living letters on the Union monuments, he will admit that those who made it contributed thereby to the fame of the "Confederate Soldier." Let any North Carolinian go to Gettysburg, view the grounds, study the operations of the several days of the fight, and the part performed by the several Confederate commands; let him consider the facts—the well established facts—he will find no cause to blush, but he will be obliged to feel proud of his State. He will find the tracks of her soldiers all over that field, and he will find no record that reflects any discredit on them. They bore their part on the first day, along Seminary Ridge, and Rock Creek; on the second day, up the steeps of Cemetery Hill, capturing the guns which crowned its summit; and on the third day, in the assault on Cemetery Ridge, erroneously called, by some, Pickett's charge, they made a record, which North Carolina may, with pride, compare with that of any other troops.

I wish all the old Confederates who took part in that battle could go there now and view the grounds. They would be amazed at what they did; at how near they came to being successful. And if those who were not there on either day of the fight, and who yet attempt to write it up, would go there and learn the facts—the well-established facts—as shown by the record, they would at once see that only *dense ignorance* is shown in attempting to write up Gettysburg without telling of North Carolina's creditable record in each day of the battle.

N. W RAY.

FAYETTEVILLE, N. C.,
2 July 1894.

NOTE.—All readers do not distinguish between Cemetery *Hill* which we carried (only to abandon) so gallantly on 2 July, and Cemetery *Ridge* which we assaulted in vain on 3 July.—ED.

AN INCIDENT AT GETTYSBURG.

THE TWO COLONELS.

KENAN, C. S. A., AND CALLIS, U. S. A.

This correspondence is published as illustrative of many similar occurrences between officers and men of the opposing forces. It also contains a statement of the operations of the first day's fight at Gettysburg by a Union officer who was a participant.

An interesting coincidence about it is that both gentlemen were born in the Cape Fear region of our State—one in Duplin and the other in Cumberland county. After the war both were members of the Legislature of their respective States. In 1868 both were Democratic candidates for a seat in the United States House of Representatives, Callis being elected in Wisconsin, but Kenan defeated by the large Republican majority in his district in North Carolina:

RALEIGH, N. C., 22 August, 1893.

General John B. Callis, Lancaster, Grant County, Wisconsin:

MY DEAR SIR:—Upon a recent visit to Gettysburg and going over the ground where the first day's battle was fought, I was forcibly reminded of the circumstances under which I met you, and which have been related by me to others, numbers of times in the last thirty years.

You and I were in opposing commands. You were Lieutenant-Colonel of the Seventh Wisconsin, and I was Colonel of the Forty-third North Carolina Infantry, Daniel's Brigade, Rodes' Division, Ewell's Corps. After the engagement had continued for some time the Union forces fell back and occupied Seminary Ridge, and later in the afternoon this became the point of attack by the Confederates and was carried by them. The firing having ceased and comparative quiet restored, Lieutenant Shepherd, of my regiment, reported to me that among the wounded in our front was Lieutenant-Colonel Callis, of the Seventh Wisconsin, and that he

(or his father's family) was from Fayetteville, N. C., Shepherd himself being also a Fayetteville man. This fact no doubt interested him. Thereupon I went forward and found you lying a little beyond the crest of the ridge, and about the spot where I stood the other day at Gettysburg. After some conversation and doing what I could in your behalf, I caused you to be carried to the building near by, in which the wounded Union soldiers were placed for immediate treatment. I think it was the large brick Seminary building. And shortly afterwards one of my men handed me a pair of splendid spurs which he said you had presented to me. I sent them home and have prized them highly ever since. I well remember telling you that "You are now my prisoner, and I'll treat you well; I may be yours later on." And so it happened, for I was wounded on Culp's Hill on 3 July, taken off the field, placed in an ambulance and captured on the retreat on the night of 4 July, with many other wounded Confederates, and was a prisoner until the war closed.

I hope we will meet at Gettysburg again, not on a hostile, but on a friendly historic field, when our performances will be impressed with a character different from that of 1863. A committee has been appointed by the government, charged with the duty of marking the lines of the Confederate troops in the interest of history, and I have been in correspondence with Colonel Bachelder, its chairman, in reference to that matter. I may therefore go to Gettysburg again, and, if so, will write you, and request your presence at that time.

I will be pleased to learn your military career after the time referred to above. The Adjutant-General of your State, upon my application, gave me your address.

Yours truly,

THOS. S. KENAN.

To this letter the following reply was received:

LANCASTER, Wis., 3 September, 1893.

Colonel Thos. S. Kenan, Raleigh, N. C.:

MY DEAR COLONEL:—Your favor of a recent date is before me and its contents highly appreciated. It contains convincing evidence of the fact that we met in deadly combat

on the historic field of Gettysburg 1 July, 1863, over thirty years ago—I now carrying a souvenir in the shape of a minie ball in my right lung, and you bearing honorable scars, evidencing the fact that we both fought desperately for the causes we individually thought just. And now after thirty years we are exchanging friendly greetings. Thus it is *paratur pax bello.* I have always admired a gentleman who never forgets that he is a gentleman no matter what his environs may be, and must say that I took you to be such, when you kindly treated me as your prisoner of war on the field at Gettysburg, hence the presentation of my spurs, I thinking I would have no more use for them. I was doubtless somewhat delirious with pain when you came up to me, but the facts were so indelibly fixed on my mind that they are as fresh to me as though they were of yesterday, and are as follows: On the morning of 1 July 1863, about 9:30 o'clock, the Iron Brigade, composed of the Second, Sixth and Seventh Wisconsin, Nineteenth Indiana and Twenty-fourth Michigan, charged General Archer's Brigade on Willoughby's Run and captured General Archer and most of his brigade. In this charge my horse was killed and I was slightly wounded, and not taking time to shed my spurs, I went in on foot. We held Willoughby's Run until 3 o'clock in the afternoon, when we found ourselves in the little end of a "V" being flanked on the right and left by A. P Hill's and Ewell's Corps. General Reynolds, of our first corps having been killed and General Meredith, commanding our brigade, and most of our field officers, having been wounded or killed in the morning, what was left of our brigade was in a tight place. We moved by the right of companies to the rear, making the Seminary on the Ridge our objective point. Being closely pursued by the Confederates, we faced, wheeled into line and fired; then again by the right of companies to the rear, loading on the march, and, as before, wheeled into line and fired. We executed the same movement with terrible effect.

Many a brave North Carolinian bit the dust in that movement before we reached the Seminary. At this juncture I was shot in the right breast, the ball entering my lung, where it still remains. Captain Hobert, of my regiment, made a

detail, with himself, to take me off the field. They carried me over the pike into a field near the old railroad grade, where they were compelled to surrender and were taken prisoners to the rear, leaving me where you found me. The first thing I remember, I was surrounded by private Confederate soldiers, who were curiously examining my uniform, they taking my coat off, in the side pocket of which was my pocket book containing $220 in greenbacks and gold, with papers by which I might be identified should I be found dead on the field. They went and sat down on the railroad grade near by and were examining the contents of the pocketbook when an officer came to me and saw my condition. He interrogated me as to my rank, regiment, name and nativity, and in stooping over me to catch my words I though I could see signs of pity depicted on his face, which gave me hope. I asked him to unbuckle the spur from my boot. He did so and seeing the other foot bootless, he asked its meaning. I told him some of the men had pulled it off without unbuckling the spur and that it nearly tore the leg off. He looked around and found the boot with the spur on it; he took it off and threw the boots and spurs by my side, asking at the same time if they had taken anything else from me. I told them they had taken my coat and money. He inquired who they were, and I, pointing to them on the railroad grade, said, "There they are now." He looked and saw them and ordered them to restore the pocketbook and money, which they did—he placing the book and money in an inside pocket of my coat. I told him to take the money and send it to my family, as I feared it would be an incentive for the men to finish me and take the money as soon as his back was turned on me. He replied, "I will see that you are taken care of," and I soon found myself in charge of two Confederates, one a German and one an Irishman, with a negro to bring water and pour on my wounds, and faithfully too, they did their whole duty. I looked around and found that you were not in sight. I told the men that I was glad that I had given you my spurs as a partial reward for your kindness, and the Irishman replied, "Yis, sor, he's a mighty foine man, so he is sor." And the German said, "Yah, he bin so better as gude." I think this

was the first thing that provoked a smile since I had been shot. You know it rained that night, which was a God-send to me, for it cooled the fever that was burning in me. In this condition I lay on the field until the afternoon of 3 July, when the Confederates commenced falling back over me, and I fearing the cavalry and artillery might crush me, begged the men to take me to some place of safety, and they took me to a little house just across the pike and left me on the porch until the owner of the house came, who was a kind-hearted old Pennsylvania German, and he took me in and placed me on a straw bed in the corner of the room. The two men having heard that you were killed dodged into the cellar and remained there all night. On the morning of the 4th, General Buford's Cavalry came in pursuit of the Confederate forces and his chief surgeon caused me to be taken into the city where I received the best of care in a private house for three months before I could be removed to my home. * * (Here followed an account of his subsequent military services, promotion to Brigadier-General and election to Congress in 1868.)

I have told the story of the spurs and your kindness until it has become a "campfire story" all over the State, and told it as I relate it to you; and I wish there were more frequently such interchange of friendly greetings between ex-Confederate and Union soldiers as this between you and me.

I was born in Fayetteville, N. C., 3 January, 1828. When I was ten years old my father removed to Benton county, Tennessee, and in 1840 to Lancaster, Grant county, Wisconsin, while it was a Territory. After I was of age I was actively engaged in business pursuits until 1861, when the call to arms was sounded in tones of thunder from the mouth of the first gun that was fired on the proud emblem of our nationality, then floating over the walls of Fort Sumter. I then conceived it to be not only my privilege, but my patriotic duty to abandon my business, my home and my family for a time and go to battle for the Nation's safety. My father, whose memory I revere, viewing the situation from a Southern standpoint, but at the same time being honest in his convictions, advised otherwise, saying that I was going to war

with my own flesh and blood, as all of our relatives lived in the South, but I followed the dictates of my own convictions and went, and ever since have been proud of having done my duty. * * *

Keep the spurs, Colonel, with my blessing, but I hope the occasion may never come for you to use them so vigorously that you will think yourself criminally guilty of cruelty to animals, as I have, many times. Pardon me, if I have deployed my skirmish line of thought on untenable ground, in this my disconnected answer to your tersely written communication of 22 August. With assurances of my highest regard and sincere desire for mutual and perpetual good feeling and friendly relations, I am very respectfully yours,

JOHN B. CALLIS.

P S. —I shall be more than glad to meet you at Gettysburg as indicated in your favor, my health permitting.

C.

The ill health of General Callis prevented his meeting Colonel Kenan at Gettysburg as proposed, and he died in the year 1897.

FLANNER'S BATTERY AT THE CRATER, 30 JULY, 1864

By CAPT. H. G. FLANNER, Company F. 13th N. C. Battalion.

I claim that the battery commanded by me and composed entirely of North Carolinians is entitled to the credit of preventing the Federal army from entering Petersburg on the morning of the springing of the mine. The facts are these: The mine was sprung about daylight of 29 July (30 July. Ed.), and was immediately followed by the capture and occupation of our line of breastworks by the enemy. They remained in the works until 8 o'clock before making preparations for the advance. About that time they reformed line of battle and began advancing towards the city Flanner's Battery was posted in the main road near the Gee House, about two hundred yards in rear of the Confederate breastworks, immediately in rear of the mine, forming what might be considered a second line, but entirely without infantry support. Immediately upon the advance of the enemy we opened on them with shell and canister, and they soon sought shelter in their trenches. In a few minutes they again formed and commenced advancing. Again we opened on them with our six guns. The enemy pressed steadily forward, when our guns were doubled charged with canister, and a deadly fire was poured into their ranks. Their lines were then broken, and they fled to the works and there remained till our infantry composed of the brigades of Mahone, Girardy and Sanders, all under the command of Mahone, arrived, and were placed in position preparatory to making the final charge which resulted in the recapture of the works about 2 o'clock in the day

The fire of the enemy, from nearly one hundred guns, was concentrated upon my company for two hours; but amid this terrible rain of deadly missiles these brave North Caroli-

nians stood to their guns and repulsed every advance made by the enemy, holding them in check alone, and without infantry support, until the arrival of General Beauregard with the troops commanded by Mahone before mentioned.

We claim the honor of saving the day, and preventing what might have been a very serious disaster and probable loss of Petersburg.

No one save those who went through the fiery ordeal can form the slightest conception of the fury of this attack. Not less than fifty shells a minute were hurled at the company; and but for the protection afforded them by the sides of the road, they would have been swept off the face of the earth. There are those now living who can confirm my statement, and if this should meet the eyes of gentlemen cognizant of these details, they will doubtless do us this justice. The history of a battle can not truthfully be written from the standpoint of any one man, although present in the engagement. It is due, therefore, to the brave men who composed my command that they should be properly placed upon the record.

We do not wish to lessen the claims to which the valorous troops of other commands are entitled, but let us make such contributions as the future historian can work into a continuous narrative and do justice to all.

HENRY G. FLANNER.

WILMINGTON, N. C.,
30 July, 1877.

NOTE.—The above article by Captain Henry G. Flanner as to the services of his Battery, Company F Thirteenth North Carolina Battalion, (see Vol. 4. p. 354, of this work) at the Crater is taken from Vol. 5, Southern Historical Papers, pages 247-248, and deserves reproduction here. Captain Flanner had. as he states, no direct infantry support, in his rear, but the enemy were prevented from debouching not only by the effective fire of his guns but by the Confederate Infantry on either side who would have taken them in flank and rear had they advanced. A very vivid, interesting and accurate account of that day and probably the best extant, is that given by Captain Robert D. Graham, Fifty-sixth North Carolina Infantry, in Vol. 3 of this work, at pp. 371-374. The battery styled by him as Latham's (its former Captain) was Flanner's at that date —EDITOR.

EXPERIENCE OF PRISONERS UNDER FIRE AT MORRIS ISLAND

By CHAS. M. BUSBEE, Serg't-Major Fifth Regiment, N. C. T.

I was captured at the battle of Spottsylvania Court House 12 May, 1864. Many other prisoners were captured at the same time. During the day we were marched to the rear of the Federal Army and spent the night in a field in which thousands of cattle had been herded during the day. We slept upon the ground in dirty mud, the rain falling upon us all night. The next day we were marched via Fredericksburg to a landing on the Potomac River called Belle Plaine, and there were put on a cattle steamer and taken to Fort Delaware. This fort was the abiding place of many Confederate prisoners and was located on an island in the Delaware River, about seventy-five or one hundred miles below Philadelphia.

Many of the prisoners had friends and kinspeople in the North and were the recipients of money and clothing. There was a very unique and I have no doubt profitable (to the authorities of the prison) financial method of delivering to the prisoners what money was sent to them from the outside. The funds so sent were not delivered in cash, but in the shape of sutler's checks. These checks were small, oblong pieces of parchment with their value printed on them, ranging from 5 cents to one dollar, and were received as cash by the sutler. For exchanging the cash sent to any prisoner into these sutlers' checks, the prison authorities charged a commission of 10 per cent., so that for $5.00 sent to any prisoner, he received only $4.50 in checks. Somebody's pocket was nicely lined by this performance.

The Summer was passed with the constant hope that we would be exchanged. Many were the methods of passing the

time. The main amusement was gambling in a mild form. Faro banks, chuckaluck tables, vingt et un (familiarly called vantoon) and other games were liberally patronized, Confederate money and sutlers tickets being the stakes. I remember a Captain Morgan, of Kentucky, who ran a faro table and who had acquired three old carpetbags full of Confederate money in the business.

During the Summer smallpox broke out among the prisoners. Thereupon the prison authorities insisted upon a wholesale vaccination. That would have been all right if pure vaccine virus had been used, but the virus used was not pure, and the result was that much suffering ensued. Many prisoners got in a fearful condition by reason of being vaccinated with the poisonous virus that was used and were compelled to go to the hospital on account of their condition. Many did not recover for months. I escaped by showing a scar from vaccination when a child.

During the Summer, the Federal batteries on Morris Island, near Charleston, were shelling the City of Charleston, imperiling the lives of non-combatants, consisting of women, children and old men. The Confederate Government as a protection to these helpless people, placed six hundred Federal prisoners of war (mostly officers) within that part of the city which was more especially under the fire of the Federal batteries, and notified the Federal authorities that this had been done and the purpose for which it was done. As an act of retaliation the Federal authorities took six hundred Confederate prisoners who were at the time incarcerated in Fort Deleware (who were understood to have been drawn by lot) and sent them to Morris Island, placing them within a stockade located between the famous batteries Gregg and Wagner, and within the direct line of fire from the Confederate batteries on Sullivan's Island and Fort Sumter. These prisoners were carried from Fort Deleware to Morris Island in the steamship *Crescent,* which was guarded on its way down South by two gun-boats. There were many disagreeable incidents connected with the trip, some of which were perhaps necessary, but some could have been avoided.

One incident I well remember because it occasioned con-

siderable suffering. The officers of the ship allowed the drinking water to give out. The weather was hot, it being in August, and while off Hilton Head it was announced that the drinking water was out. We went without water from the morning of one day to the afternoon of the next, about thirty hours. I, with many others, tried the experiment of letting down a bottle through a little porthole into the sea and endeavoring to slake our thirst with water from the ocean, but we found it impossible to do so.

When we reached Morris Island we were put on shore in the stockade which was erected on the beach about forty or fifty feet from the water. Our quarters consisted of simple "A" tents arranged in parallel rows and forming streets between each two rows. In each street were two or three holes dug into the sand into which brackish water oozed and which were called by extreme courtesy "springs." From them we got our drinking water. The stockade had a platform around it, near the top, upon which were posted guards with orders to fire upon any one who might break any rule of the prison, whether inadvertently or not. The stockade was square. I do not remember its exact size. We were guarded by the notorious Twenty-fourth Regiment of Massachusetts Infantry, which was the first regiment of negroes who were enlisted by the Federal Government. Its first commander was Colonel Shaw, of Boston, who was killed in the assault on Battery Wagner. At the time when it was doing guard duty over us, its commander was one Colonel Hallowell, of Philadelphia, a man whose character will be fittingly described by an incident which I will mention further on.

Our life within this stockade was not particularly pleasant. We had to perform all police duties connected with the camp, being guarded by these negro soldiers and ordered about by negro Sergeants and Corporals. Our rations consisted of one small piece of Chicago meat about an inch and a half or two inches square and a cup of corn meal mush twice a day. The desire to retaliate in kind was emphatically evidenced by this last article of food. The prisoners in Charleston were being fed upon excellent cornbread and so the Federal authorities brought down for us from the North in a schooner, corn

meal in bulk which on the journey become utterly unfit for food. Notwithstanding this fact, they fed it to us in the form of mush as they were not able to make cornbread. And to this day no good cornbread is ever seen north of Mason and Dixon's line. They fed it to us without sifting, so that when it was served it contained all the impurities and animal life, which it had acquired on its sea voyage from the North. When complaint was made to Colonel Hallowell he was reported to have cynically said that we ought not to complain because we were getting our fresh meat and bread both together.

Smoking tobacco was not obtainable at all and the only chewing tobacco we could get was what was then known as navy plug, a vile compound of the meanest tobacco and licorice. However, those who chewed managed to get along with it and also to manufacture a smoke out of it. It was not an uncommon sight to see on a little piece of board outside of a tent, well chewed pieces of tobacco drying out in the sun for smoking purposes.

I remember one Sergeant who was in charge of the street upon which the tent I occupied was located. He was formerly a slave of General Wm. A. Blount, and hearing my name, he made inquiries of me and ascertained who I was. Ever afterwards he would do me any act of kindness in his power. In the distribution of the daily rations, the meat being carried around in an empty cracker box and the mush in a large vessel, he would frequently, whenever he could do so without being seen, give me a double portion. I wish I could remember his first name, but he had Blount as his family name.

As I have said, the stockade was placed in the line of fire of the Confederate batteries on Sullivan's Island, which were shelling Battery Wagner. The Confederate gunners would cut their fuses so as to endeavor to prevent any shell from exploding in our neighborhood, but on more than one occasion a shell exploded prematurely and on one occasion that I well remember, a shell burst directly over the stockade and threw several of its fragments among us, but fortunately, striking no one. In the latter part of October we were

moved from Morris Island to Fort Pulaski, at the mouth of the Savannah River.

An incident that happened on the day we left Morris Island will show the character of Colonel Hallowell. It was against orders for any prisoner to leave his tent in the morning before reveille for any purpose. The evening before the day of our departure, notice was given to the prisoners that this rule would not be enforced the next morning. However, no notice was given to the guards surrounding the stockade of any relaxation of the regular rule. The consequence was that when the first man relying upon the notice went out of his tent the next morning to get some water from one of the springs, he was fired upon by one of the negro guard. The ball went through his knee and on into the shoulder of another prisoner lying asleep in a tent on the opposite side of the street.

We were taken from Morris Island to Fort Pulaski in the hold of a schooner towed, as I remember, by a gun-boat or steamer. While on the way a plan was perfected to cut a hole through the side of the schooner and take the chance of escaping to shore. Upon the night of our arrival in the stream off Fort Pulaski the scheme was carried into effect, but the first man out into the water (whose name I forget), was seized with cramp while swimming to shore and made such a noise in the water as to attract the attention of the watch on one of the war vessels who turned a searchlight and discovered him. The scheme for escape was thereby frustrated. I think the plan of escape was under the direction of Major Goldsborough, of Baltimore.

Our quarters at Fort Pulaski were in the casemates of the fort. We slept in double wooden bunks of two stories, three men in the upper bunk and three in the lower. Our rations were very meagre, but we got four crackers per day instead of mush. After I left Fort Pulaski I understood that the prisoners who remained eat all the cats in the fort, of which there was quite a number, stewing them on the stove in tin cans. Fort Pulaski is not a pleasant habitation at any time and my recollections of it are not of the rosiest hue. It was particularly exasperating to be encased within a dun-

geon-like hole and gaze while almost starving through the grated casemate window at oysters in abundance clinging to the sides of the moat which surrounded the fort.

If a personal reminiscence will be excused, I will state how I got out of Fort Pulaski, as it illustrates the fact that combinations exist in all places. General W H. Mulford, who was the Federal Agent of Exchange, entered into negotiations with Colonel W H. Hatch, the Assistant Agent of Exchange of the Confederate Army (who was afterwards a distinguished member of Congress from Missouri) for the purpose of exchanging the sick prisoners in Charleston and Fort Pulaski respectively They had a conference on the subject and after agreeing to the exchange of the sick, one said to the other (it matters not which one), "Now if you have any special friends in prison whom you would like especially to get out, why you just add six names to your sick list and I will add six names to mine." The proposition was accepted and so six names of prisoners who were not sick were added to the list. I, fortunately, was one of the six added to the list of those who were to be released from Fort Pulaski. I owed this blessing to Lieutenant M. J. O'Brien, who was an Aide on Colonel Hatch's staff. I did not know Lieutenant O'Brien nor did he know me, but his interest in me had been enlisted by a mutual friend, a Mr. Dennis Redmond, who edited an agricultural paper at Augusta, Ga., and who was a great friend of my grandmother; and who, when he learned that I was in prison, had asked Lieutenant O'Brien (who was his intimate friend) to do what he could for me if opportunity offered. Lieutenant O'Brien is now the efficient General Manager of the Southern Express Company.

I well remember what I was doing when my name was called out in Fort Pulaski for exchange, but for what purpose neither I nor any one else could at the time imagine. I was playing a game of seven up with Captain John Cowan, of Wilmington, for a cracker. It was a common game among the prisoners, although the stakes were high and the victor had extra luxurious living for the day. From Fort Pulaski those who were to be exchanged were taken in a steamer to Charleston harbor, when the exchange was effected.

I have given from memory after this long interval some of the incidents that I remember as connected with my prison experience. I have not attempted to give a complete recital nor to philosophize on the subject. I have forgotten many things connected with my Summer and Fall outing in 1864, and I have written this fragmentary sketch only at the urgent request of the Editor of this work and to put on enduring record something that will recall one phase of the hardships suffered by the soldiery of the South.

CHAS. M. BUSBEE.

RALEIGH, N. C.
31 December, 1901.

TWENTY-SIXTH BATTALION

(FREEMAN'S BATTALION.)

By THE EDITOR.

The following should have been printed in Vol. 4, p. 401, as *Twenty-sixth Battalion.*

This battalion was the *Prison Guard* at Salisbury and rendered faithful and onerous service. It was known as "Freeman's Battalion" and consisted of three companies:

COMPANY A— *Captain C. D. Freeman*—110 men.
COMPANY B—*Captain H. P Allen*—108 men.
COMPANY C—*Captain E. D. Sneed*—112 men.

See "Salisbury Prison, by Chaplain A. W Mangum," Vol. 4, at p. 753. That article also gives us a fair conception of the nature of the duties, often most unpleasant, performed by these companies. But beyond that narrative, we have very little information.

COMPANY B, TENTH VIRGINIA CAVALRY

By H. R. BERRIER, Orderly Sergeant.

This company was raised in Rowan, Davie and Davidson counties, N. C. W B. Clements, of Davie, was Captain; H. J Grimes, of Davidson, First Lieutenant; T. F. Grimes and G. A. Bingham, of Davie were Second Lieutenants. The company, when first organized, was known as the "North Carolina Rangers," and was attached to the Wise Legion. The company was in the battle of Roanoke Island, but succeeded in escaping capture. It went thence to Murfreesboro, N. C., and came under the command of Colonel W J. Clarke, of the Twenty-fourth Regiment N C. T., and did picket duty. After the burning of the town of Winton, N. C., by the enemy, the scattered troops of Wise's Legion were ordered to Richmond, Va., where the Legion was reorganized with seven Virginia companies, one North Carolina company, one Kentucky company and one Louisiana company. These ten companies formed what was afterwards known as the Tenth Virginia Cavalry, commanded by J Lucius Davis. The regiment was with Wade Hampton in the charge at Seven Pines (or Fair Oaks). Four of the company were wounded, none killed. Company B lost seven men at Gaines' Mills and was under fire at both battles of Cold Harbor, Second battle of Manassas, Antietam (or Sharpsburg), and first Fredericksburg. In the Gettysburg campaign Company B was under fire eighteen days out of twenty-one consecutive days. We forded the Potomac river at an old deer crossing, destroyed the canal, besides seventeen packet boats loaded with commissaries for the Federal army and went near enough to Washington to see the big guns on the breastworks. We burnt Montgomery Blair's house and after numerous small skirmishes we reached Hanover, where we had a hard fight and lost some of our best men, and reached Lee's army

at Gettysburg 2 July and were in Hampton's famous charge on the 3d. On the morning of the 4th this writer, although only an Orderly Sergeant, found himself in command of the Tenth Virginia Cavalry and remained in command until we got to Williamsport, where most of the scattered men came in. After this Company B was with Lee constantly in front of Grant from Culpepper Court House over the Rapidan to Appomattox. At Brandy Station (or Fleetwood) Company B lost seven of its best men. At Reams Station it lost five men killed and nine wounded. At Stony Creek, twenty miles south of Petersburg, Company B lost one-ninth of its entire number present. At Appomattox it was helping Fitzhugh Lee to burn part of Grant's wagon train where one of Company B's oldest veterans lost his life (Corporal Clodfelter). This writer lost his right leg at the very close of the war. The larger part of Company B did not surrender, but made their way home with their horses and arms and also their least severely wounded.

H. R. BERRIER.

BAGDAD, N. C.,
31 December, 1901.

NOTE.—Every effort has been made to get a narrative of Company G, Sixty-first Virginia, and other North Carolina companies which served in regiments from other States. but nothing has been obtained beyond the *data* given in the article on "North Carolinians in other Commands," already printed in this work, Vol. 4, p. 403.—ED.

THE HOME GUARDS.

By JAMES R. COLE, Colonel Fourth Regiment H. G.

In addition to what has been already stated as to the North Carolina Home Guards in this work, I wish to add the following:

Having served as a private soldier in Fort Macon under Col. Tew in the months of April, May and June, 1861, I was promoted to be First Sergeant in Co. F, Nineteenth North Carolina (Second Cavalry), in which I served nearly a year, and was in the battle of New Bern and several smaller fights; was then made Adjutant of the Fifty-fourth Regiment and served in Eastern North Carolina and in Virginia; was then transferred to the Adjutancy of the Twenty-second North Carolina Regiment, then near Berryville, Va., in the Shenandoah Valley. After the battle of Fredericksburg and the winter of 1862-'63, I returned home to Greensboro, N. C., on account of my health. Soon thereafter, while in Raleigh on my way to the Army of Northern Virginia, I was informed by General Gatlin that Governor Vance had appointed me Colonel of the Fourth Regiment of Home Guards, and wished me to take immediate command. I returned home and organized ten companies out of the two militia regiments of Guilford county. I suppose there were as many as 1,000 men in the regiment before it was depleted by the Confederate Act of 17 March, 1864, which took the men from 45 to 50 into the army as Senior Reserves. The county was divided into districts and the officers and men had specific duties to perform in guarding bridges, arresting deserters and returning them to the army, protecting the people against deserters, robbers and traitors. At this time of the war (latter part of 1863, all of 1864 and 1865, until the close of the war) this portion of the State was overrun by deserters not only from North Carolina, but from all the States south, as it was in the direct path to their homes. On the waters of Deep River,

the Buffaloes, Yadkin and in all that broken wooded country were safe hiding places for these desperate and lawless men, and they had many sympathizers and friends to conceal them. These deserters and outlaws were well armed and reckless, and terrorized the country and murdered, stole, burnt and made it as dangerous as to be in the midst of moving armies. I received orders to arm, provision and keep in the field as many men under their officers as I thought necessary. Lieutenant-Colonel Faucett and Major Summers, of the regiment, were assigned to their respective localities and every Captain had orders from me to patrol his district and keep it clear of lawless men. Captain Hildesheimer and Adjutant Richard Sterling and myself joined various parties, frequently in the night, and run down and captured many deserters and returned them to the army.

This service, while very onerous and disagreeable, was also at times very dangerous. Bands of desperate men would waylay us, secrete themselves in dense thickets on the side of the road we were travelling and attempt our lives. I kept myself in communication with the Adjutant-General and the Governor, and had many vexations because of apparent conflict of State and Confederate laws. The Governor sustained me in all my efforts and the service rendered by the officers and men was highly efficient and creditable. It was also my duty to aid the enrolling officer to enforce the Conscript law and send to the army men within the Conscript age. Dr. Glenn of Guilford, was the Surgeon of my regiment, and rendered valuable aid in this department of the service. On different occasions I ordered the entire regiment from the whole county to meet in Greensboro for drill and instruction and the commands were promptly obeyed. In the Fall of 1864, an emergency having arisen by the invasion of the eastern part of the State and by heavy reinforcements of the enemy, Governor Vance ordered out about one-third of the Home Guard (I think) and about fifty companies from different parts of the State were ordered to Goldsboro. The Governor ordered me to take command of the troops sent to that point, and, under the direction of General C Leventhorpe, to organize the First Regiment in the field of which I

was appointed Colonel; W F Green, of Franklin, Lieutenant-Colonel, and A. Summers, of Guilford, Major. Out of the fifty companies I formed ten. Out of the hundred officers, I selected forty. Captain Hildesheimer, of Guilford, was appointed Quartermaster; Lieutenant Banks, of Wake, was appointed Adjutant; Sergeant Hannah, of Guilford, was appointed Sergeant-Major. When the organization was complete and arms procured and the men uniformed, I made my report to General Leventhorpe and was gratified to receive the approval of himself and his Adjutant-General, Major Bond. Tents had been furnished the regiment and we were fully in the field and ready for whatever service might fall to our lot. The men were drilled every morning in squad and company drill by their officers and for two hours every afternoon in regimental drill by myself, assisted by the field and staff officers.

In November it was reported that the enemy was approaching from the direction of New Bern and I was ordered by General Leventhorpe to take my regiment to Kinston and take charge of a long line of breastworks on the eastern side of the Neuse river to meet the enemy as he approached Kinston. General Leventhorpe commanded the brigade composed of my regiment, the Seventh Regiment of Cavalry, Cumming's Battery of Artillery, a South Carolina Battery, several heavy guns along the breastworks and two or three other regiments of infantry. In the absence of General Leventhorpe, as the next in rank, I commanded the brigade. Under my immediate command when not commanding the brigade, was the First Regiment Home Guards, the South Carolina Artillery and the battery of heavy guns on the breastworks. Guards and scouting parties were thrown forward towards the enemy at intervals day and night, drills were kept up, officers instructed, and all the duties of soldiers so well performed that six weeks after the organization of the regiment, General Leventhorpe, on inspecting, reviewing and witnessing its drill, paid us the high compliment of saying, "You have accomplished wonders." We felt gratified because of this compliment coming from a soldier and gentleman of age and experience, and from a man whose supe-

rior for manliness, courage, gentility and all the elements of nobility it would be hard to find.

On one occasion when we were looking for an attack by the enemy the Sergeant on duty found a young South Carolina soldier asleep on his post guarding the heavy artillery. The Sergeant arrested him and put him in the guard house. Charges were preferred by order of the General and he was about to be tried for his life. I asked the General if he could not let the soldier off from further punishment, as he was nearly scared to death now. General Leventhorpe, after consideration, told me to show him how narrowly he had escaped a disgraceful death and release him. This is a specimen of the General's kindness, and yet he was a strict disciplinarian.

My regiment was called upon to take part in the execution of three deserters at one time, and many other unpleasant duties fell to their lot. The regiment had about 500 men, and during the many months they were in active service there were very few infractions of discipline and disobedience of orders. Lieutenant-Colonel Green was a lawyer of fine ability and a soldier of approved courage on the field of battle.

I wish I could recall the names of the many officers who aided me so efficiently in making the regiment equal to the best in the army Nearly all of them had seen hard service in the field in other commands.

In the winter the regiment was relieved by other commands, and ordered on other duty When Fort Fisher was threatened the regiment was ordered out to the part of the State then threatened and from that time to the close of the war part of the command were in the field and part performing duty in their respective counties.

When Sherman was marching through North Carolina and Stoneman at the head of 5,000 horsemen was coming through the mountains in the west, General Beauregard took command with headquarters at Greensboro. Governor Vance left the Capitol and established himself in the same city and General Leventhorpe had his command entrenched north and west of the same place. Governor Vance directed me to report to General Beauregard some time in March and I received

orders from him to take command of a scouting party of about twenty well mounted and well armed men and set out for the mountains to meet Stoneman and send back accurate information about his force and movements. Passing through Guilford, Forsyth, Stokes and Surry, we came upon the enemy near Pilot Mountain and I sent a courier back to General Beauregard with information nine hours later than any he had previously received. I met Colonel Belo at the head of a company of cavalry and other Confederate cavalry joined in watching the enemy. I followed a body of Stoneman's cavalry into Virginia and learning through other parties that the enemy was going to Southwestern Virginia, I started back with my command and arrived in Greensboro just a few hours ahead of a part of Stoneman's troopers who had pursued a different route from that followed by my command. Lee's army about this time surrendered and while Sherman was marching towards Greensboro in pursuit of Johnston's army and Johnston was entering into negotiations for surrendering, I received orders one morning from Governor Vance to assume the duties of Chief Quartermaster of the State and take charge of all the goods, and property belonging to the State at Greensboro, and distribute the clothing to the soldiers, State and Confederate. This property filled several large warehouses and was probably worth a million dollars. There were probably 20,000 soldiers of the various armies in the town and round about, and Lee's paroled soldiers were arriving daily. The soldiers, rendered desperate by misfortune and defeat and insubordinate to all command, were storming houses, breaking into military stores, taking horses and wagons, and a general riot and mutiny was threatened and several men were killed. Under these circumstances I took charge and after several days hard work, assisted by a score of earnest assistants and guarded by 300 soldiers under Major Brantley, of Mississippi, the goods were distributed among the soldiers and thousands of men from all parts of the Confederacy went away from Greensboro on their way home clothed by the State of North Carolina by order of her great Governor. The soldiers were dis-

banded and returned to their homes and my last service to my country was performed at my own home in helping to clothe our brave, ragged soldiers.

The above is about all I can recall at this late date, for I have no rolls or papers or other data. But for these Guards, raised for home defence, anarchy, murder and arson would have reigned in the interior of our State.

JAMES R. COLE.

DALLAS, TEXAS,
31 December, 1901.

HOME GUARDS FACE STONEMAN.

APRIL, 1865.

By T. GEO. WALTON, Col. Eighth Regiment N. C. Home Guards

Not long before Lee's surrender I had caused some earth defences to be thrown up on the south side of the Catawba river at a point known as the Rocky Ford. The crossing there was by a low bridge. After comparatively a short distance on both sides of the river the ground becomes precipitous. When Stoneman approached the river the officers of the Federal troops could be plainly seen from our position directing the movements of their troops.

Governor Vance, at my solicitation, had furnished us with a cannon of large calibre. This I placed under the command of Lieutenant Mark Erwin, a gallant officer. Seventy soldiers from the Western counties were placed behind the breastworks above mentioned, on the bank of the river, supported by the Home Guards in reserve. These kept up a continuous and effective fire on the Federal troops when they approached the river and prevented their efforts to cross. Being thus held in check, the enemy sent a heavy detachment several miles up the river which crossed at Flemming's Ford where there was no sufficient force to oppose their passage. In the meantime our cannon was struck and disabled by a cannon ball from the forces opposite to us.

Lieutenant-Colonel S. McD. Tate, of the Sixth Regiment N. C. T., was home on wounded furlough at the time and aided me with his experience and advice. When news came that the flanking party from up the river was taking us in the rear, our cannon being already rendered useless, as stated, our troops at Rocky Ford were withdrawn and Colonel Tate and I rode off just in time to prevent being caught in a *cul de sac*. The Home Guards and the other troops did their duty, but we were greatly outnumbered. It was to our credit

that we held Stoneman's vastly superior force in check till his flanking force had crossed the river above and were ready to take us in the rear. Our scarcity of men forbade an adequate force being placed at Flemming's Ford to prevent the enemy from crossing there.

T. GEO. WALTON.

MORGANTON, N. C.,
31 December, 1901.

NOTE.—Col. Walton, who commanded the Home Guards in the fight at Rocky Ford is now in his 86th year, but his account is clear and valuable. A similar account of the event is also given by Major A. C. Avery in the history of his Battalion, Vol. 4 (of this work) at p. 376.—ED.

HILLSBORO MILITARY ACADEMY;
ITS RELATION TO THE WAR.

By WILLIAM CAIN, Cadet Captain, Company A.

In 1859 Colonel C. C. Tew, of South Carolina, established a military school at Hillsboro, N. C., that was modeled after the Military Academy at West Point and the State Military Academies of Virginia and South Carolina. The usual four years (college) course was prescribed and in addition a preparatory course of one year was offered, which was perhaps necessary in the beginning to ensure sufficient numbers to make the school self-supporting.

Colonel Tew was a graduate of the South Carolina Military Academy, afterwards a professor and in 1857-'9 superintendent of the Arsenal Academy at Columbia, S. C.

His thorough training and genius as a military man were illustrated at Hillsboro, where in one year's time, the corps of cadets was thoroughly organized, uniformed, armed and superbly drilled.

The value to the State of this trained body of young soldiers was appreciated as soon as the Civil War began, for North Carolina had no other military school within her borders but this and the one at Charlotte under Colonel D. H. Hill, also very recently organized, though there were a few classical schools with military features.*

In 1861 when the State seceded, the number of students at the H. M. A. was one hundred and thirty. Very soon a large number of men who had been elected officers in the Confederate Army and who were entirely without military train-

* The school of Capt. C. B. Denson contributed several valuable officers to the State, see Vol. 4, page 420. There were several other schools of like character. As indicative of the patriotism of the youth, Horner's school at Oxford, all presumably under 17, met *en masse* 1 March, 1865, and tendered their services to Governor Vance to help defend the State in her last extremity.—Ed.

ing, came to Hillsboro to be drilled by the cadets and it was certainly a novel sight to see the little cadets, from 13 years old and upwards, each tramping his squad of grown and some times grizzled men, over the parade ground and to witness the grim seriousness with which the future veterans took their temporary military subjection to their juniors in years. The work of the academy was soon suspended, Colonel Tew and all the professors going into the army and the cadets serving as drill masters in various regiments, or permanently joining the fighting ranks—in fact very few of the old cadets returned to the academy on its re-opening in March, 1862, under Major W M. Gordon.

The influx of such trained numbers of men into the army at this critical period, not only in this State, but over the entire South, was highly advantageous and the effects incalculable; for the raw officers and men who constituted the Confederate Army knew nothing of tactics or discipline and the army was a mere assembly of immense proportions until the cadets of the several military academies and the few officers of the old United States Army brought order out of chaos. In three months' time these contributed principally to making a fairly well drilled and disciplined force out of very raw materials.

As the value of this assistance is not generally known, it is meet that it should be recorded.

The labors were great, for generally only three or four drill-masters could be furnished each regiment, but the enthusiasm of privates and officers helped to overcome difficulties and I recall one regiment, the Twenty-fifth North Carolina, in which the officers all formed themselves into a company and were drilled as privates by one of the drill-masters, thus illustrating the maxim, *"Obeir pour savoir commander."*

As previously stated, the academy was reopened in March, 1862, and the number of students steadily rose to 150, which number was maintained during the war. It is stated by Colonel J P Thomas, in his history of the South Carolina Military Academy, p. 134, that Governor H. T. Clark (then Governor of North Carolina), and Senator W T. Dortch, appreciated the value of the training of the military academy so much, that they urged Colonel Tew to resign from the army

and again take charge of his school at Hillsboro. His resignation had in fact been accepted when Colonel Tew (who was Colonel of the Second North Carolina) fell at Sharpsburg, being shot through the head at the Bloody Lane, soon after succeeding to the command of the brigade on the wounding of General George B. Anderson.

The school was nevertheless carried on to the end of the war along the same lines originally sketched by its founder and proved its usefulness in many ways.

The following incident well illustrates the spirit of our boys during the war.

In the fall of 1863, the walls of Sumter had been battered down and the capture of the city of Charleston seemed probable. As has been well said, "There was dismay among the people, but not among the cadets at the Hillsboro Military School." A large number marched to the train, elected their officers at the station and proceeding to Charleston, tendered their services to General Beauregard. He declined to accept them, either on account of their youth or from the breach of discipline. They were not allowed to return and doubtless all went into the army. "It was disobedience, but it was a splendid exhibition of ardor and courage."

I come now to the last incident I shall mention in connection with the relation of the academy to the war, where the cadets saw some actual service. Towards the end of the war, when Stoneman was approaching Greensboro from the west, tearing up the track and causing havoc wherever he went, the authorities ordered out the cadet corps to resist Stoneman's advance. Only a few of the smallest boys were retained to guard the academy buildings and some of them stood on rocks during the selection, to make themselves appear taller and thus gain the coveted distinction of entering the field.

Of course we were vastly outnumbered by Stoneman's raiders unless assistance was to come from somewhere, but of that no one thought at the time. However, Stoneman's retrograde march disappointed the only hope the boys had as a corps, to have a brush with the enemy during the war. The cadets were carried back to Hillsboro and remained there till February, when they were ordered to Raleigh and else-

where to guard prisoners—large bodies of Federal officers on the road to exchange. These prisoners were turned over at Goldsboro to the Junior Reserves, who presumably carried them to Wilmington to be exchanged. These officers doubtless saw that the end of the Southern Confederacy was near when companies of cadets were ordered into the field and so it proved; for soon General Johnston's army retreated past Raleigh and Lee had surrendered.

The corps of cadets was disbanded at Hillsboro a few days before Johnston's surrender.

The foregoing very brief sketch will give some idea of the part played by the Academic Corps during the four years of the war. It was a modest part, but it was done thoroughly and well.

The cadets who were at the academy in the Spring of 1861 went into the army with scarcely a single exception and nearly all became officers in spite of their youth. Four of them ultimately became Field Officers; Walter Clark (one of the youngest at the academy), Lieutenant-Colonel of the Seventieth Regiment N. C. T.; W. F. Beasley Lieutenant-Colonel, Seventy-first N. C. T.; Egbert A. Ross (killed at Gettysburg), Major of the Eleventh N. C. T., and Nathaniel A. Gregory Major of the Seventy-first Regiment N. C. T.

Among those who rose to be Captains were Jason P. Joyner, Twenty-seventh N. C. Regiment, killed at Sharpsburg, and Matt. Manly, who at the close of the war was senior Captain of the Second N. C. Regiment. A very large number became Lieutenants. Many of the cadets were from other States and an accurate roll is not possible, but probably a third of the young cadets at the academy in the Spring of 1861 perished in the war. Among the dead, there was no more gallant, chivalrous spirit than Luria, of Georgia, who was killed around Richmond, a Lieutenant in the Twenty-third N. C. Regiment, none more daring or indefatigable than Jock Caldwell (son of Governor Tod. R. Caldwell), a Lieutenant in the Thirty-third N. C. Regiment, who was killed at Gettysburg, and no gentler, purer, braver boy died for the Confederacy and the State of his birth than John Henry Curtis (son of Rev. Dr. Curtis, of Hillsboro), who fell in the

battle of Bentonville, near the close of the war, a private in an artillery company

Every one of the professors in 1861 also went into the army. Colonel Tew became Colonel of the Second North Carolina Regiment and was killed, as already stated, at Sharpsburg, in Maryland, 17 September, 1862; Captain Chas. E. Lightfoot became Lieutenant-Colonel of the Sixth N. C. Regiment, then Colonel of the Twenty-second Regiment, and was taken prisoner in the Seven Days Battles in front of Richmond, and after his exchange was in command of the artillery defences of Richmond till the close of the war and was paroled at Appomattox; Captain John M. Richardson was Major of the Twenty-first N C. Regiment in 1861; Lieutenant D. H. Hamilton was Major of the Thirteenth N. C. Regiment and Lieutenant Frank Schaller became Colonel of the Twenty-second Mississippi Regiment, was wounded and taken prisoner. Lieutenants A. S. Gaillard and Warren Adams joined South Carolina regiments. The first rose to rank of Captain, the latter became Lieutenant-Colonel by the end of the war.

If the institution had been in existence a half century or even ten years when the war broke out, instead of only two years, it can not be doubted that the officers of the State regiments would have been drawn largely from its ranks and that North Carolina's quota of Generals would have been increased. Indeed the need of such an institution was shown by the number of men from other States who commanded North Carolina regiments and brigades.

WM. CAIN.

CHAPEL HILL, N. C.
31 December, 1901.

HILLSBORO MILITARY ACADEMY
(IN SPRING OF 1865.)

By CADET J. GEORGE HANNAH.

The Legislature, session of 1863 and 1864, passed an act exempting all cadets at the school, and all that entered before they were seventeen, from service, subject to the call of the Governor (before this act, the boys were sent to the army as soon as they reached the proper age.) We were ordered to Salisbury at the time of Stoneman's raid, but failed to reach that place in time for the fight, and returned to Hillsboro, where we remained till March, when we were ordered to Raleigh. To show how anxious we were to take part in the war, I remember two of the smaller boys of my company, Jno. C. Haigh, of Fayetteville. and R. L. Heriot, of South Carolina, getting rocks to stand upon to make them taller, as orders were, for about one dozen of the smallest boys to be detailed to remain and guard the barracks.

On arrival at Raleigh we spent the first night in the second story of the old market house and were afterwards sent to Camp Mangum. and put in charge of exchange of Yankee prisoners, taking them from Salisbury to Goldsboro, and turning them over to the Junior Reserves, who carried them to Wilmington. We remained at Raleigh until General Johnston's army came, when we were ordered to Hillsboro and were disbanded a few days before General Johnston surrendered.

Our battalion of cadets composed two hundred or more. Nearly half of the boys were from the different Southern States. Captain Tucker, of South Carolina (one of the professors) commanded the battalion of cadets, comprising two companies, viz.:

Company A, Cadet Captain William Cain, of Hillsboro (now Professor of Mathematics at the University of North Carolina.)

Commpany B, Cadet Captain David S. McAllister, of Cumberland county, (now a Presbyterian minister in South Carolina.)

Adjutant, Cadet Alex. Cunningham, of Vicksburg, Miss. Each company had four Sergeants and three Corporals. No Lieutenants.

While we did not "smell much powder," we did all that was required of us, and learned something of the privations and hardships of a soldier's life. The cadets and professors who were at the Hillsboro Military Academy in 1861-2 furnished a large number of officers to a number of North Carolina regiments, and several other States.

J. GEO. HANNAH.

SILER CITY, N. C.
31 December, 1901.

NOTE—There were other schools, as that of Capt. C. B. Denson, already referred to, that of D. H. Christie (later Colonel of Twenty-third N. C. Regiment) at Henderson, Lovejoy's at Raleigh, one at Statesville, and perhaps others, which had added military features to their regular course of study and which sent out many well drilled officers and soldiers, but the history of the two exclusively Military institutions at Charlotte and Hillsboro are given as bearing more directly upon the Military organizations whose story is told in these volumes and as furnishing a fair idea, though on a somewhat larger scale, of the aid furnished by those other institutions.—ED.

NORTH CAROLINA MILITARY INSTITUTE.

By BRIGADIER-GENERAL JAMES H. LANE.

The North Carolina Military Institute at Charlotte was established a few years before the war by some of the well-to-do citizens of that patriotic and enterprising town. At the outbreak of hostilities it numbered about one hundred and fifty cadets, officered by D. H. Hill, Superintendent and Professor; Chas. C. Lee, Commandant and Professor; Robert M. McKinney, Professor and Instructor of Tactics; and James H. Lane, Professor and Instructor of Tactics. Hill rose to the rank of Lieutenant-General; Lee as Colonel of the Thirty-seventh North Carolina, was killed at Frazier's Farm; McKinney, as Colonel of the Fifteenth North Carolina, was killed at Williamsburg; and Lane attained the rank of Brigadier-General, commanding North Carolina troops. After the fall of Fort Sumter, the patriotic ladies of Charlotte presented the corps of cadets with a Secession flag, made by their own fair hands. Early one morning as the train was speeding its way to South Carolina, those enthusiastic boys unfurled that flag for the first time over their barracks and saluted it with a fire from their battery, and loud and prolonged cheering, so characteristic of college boys. Every window on the train was open with eager heads thrust out, the men yelling and waving their hats and the ladies waving their dainty handkerchiefs. The engineer made his whistle scream as it had never screamed before. When the troops of the State began assembling Colonel Hill went to Raleigh where Governor Ellis put him in charge of the First State Camp of Instruction. McKinney left Charlotte soon after to take part in the capture of a fort in the eastern part of the State. Those brave boys caught the war fever badly, and were eager to resign and enter the army.

Lee wrote Hill that he could not control them much longer, and Governor Ellis ordered the whole corps to Raleigh as drill masters, where Lee, at Colonel Hill's request, acted as assistant commandant of the camp, and Lane as Adjutant. There is no doubt that the tactical knowledge of the Bethel Regiment and the other troops in that camp was largely due to those well drilled boys. When the Bethel Regiment was organized, Hill was elected Colonel; Lee Lieutenant-Colonel, and Lane Major. Colonel Hill appointed Cadet Poteat Adjutant, and made Cadet Ratchford his Aide. The whole corps wished to follow their professors to the seat of war in Virginia, but Colonel Hill told them that none could go except those that had their parents' permission. A detachment of them attached themselves to the regiment and took a conspicuous part in the battle of Bethel, the first battle of the war. After the Bethel Regiment was organized, the corps of Cadets was disbanded, some remaining in Raleigh and others going to the other camps of instruction. When I took charge of the Twenty-eighth North Carolina, I found that several of them had been assigned to it as drill-masters, and I had one of them, Cadet Nicholas Gibbon, appointed my Captain Commissary. After rendering such efficient service as drill-masters, those boys were found in the army in various official positions. In my brigade, for instance, James G. Harris, the gallant Major of the Seventh North Carolina, and often in command of the regiment, was a cadet; so was John P Young, a brave boy Captain in the same regiment, who was killed in the bloody charge at Chancellorsville. David M. Oates, the gallant Adjutant of the Thirty-seventh North Carolina, was also a cadet. I have no data to refer to—write only from memory—and am sorry I cannot recall, at this late day, others of those brave boys and their military careers. Much of my life has been spent in military institutions of learning, and it gives me pleasure to say that I have never seen a finer body of boys than the corps of cadets of the North Carolina Military Institute at Charlotte.

JAMES H. LANE.

AUBURN, ALA.,
31 December, 1901.

THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA IN THE WAR, 1861-'65.

By Hon. K. P. BATTLE, LL. D., Member Convention 1861.

These numbers are based on statistics collected in 1887 and 1890, twenty-two and twenty-five years after the close of the war. After such a length of time it was impossible to reach all students, owing to change of address, death or other causes. It is believed that a much larger number entered the army than is actually recorded. The number killed is also too small for the same reason.

In very many cases, the statistics only give the bare fact that the persons were in the Confederate States Army. In such cases, for want of better information, they have been counted under the head of "Privates." This has undoubtedly increased the number of privates far beyond what was actually the case. Unfortunately, however, at this time it is impossible to remedy this.

The alacrity with which University students rushed into the war is indicated by the fact that out of the 80 Freshmen who matriculated in 1859, only one graduated, and he was of infirm health. Out of the class which matriculated in 1860, all but two enlisted, and Dr. S. B. Weeks states that 23 of them were killed. The number at the University in 1858-'9 were 456; in 1859-'60, 430; in 1860-'1, 376; in 1861-'2, 129; in 1862-'3, 73. Yet, she alone of all Southern State institutions, kept her light burning all through the war. Dr. Weeks counted the graduates from 1825 to 1864 and ascertained that out of the number, 1,384, at least 537 entered the Confederate service.

Out of the Faculty of 1861, five entered the army of whom four were killed.

UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA.

Number of students during 1830-1867 inclusive.	2,792
Deduct number dead before 1861, at least.	200
Total number U. N. C. men entering the C. S. Army 1861-'65 (including 6 before 1830)	1,062
Percentage of those living who were in C. S. Army	42
Number of U. N. C. alumni during 1850-1862 inclusive ..	1,478
Number entering C. S. Army	842
Percentage of whole in C. S. Army	57
Number of University men in C. S. Army killed.	312
Percentage of those in army killed.	29

NUMBER IN C. S. ARMY AND CASUALTIES.

	No. in Service.	Killed.	Pr. Ct. Killed.
Lieutenant-Generals	1	1	100
Major-Generals	1		
Brigadier-Generals	13	4	31
Colonels	50	10	20
Lieutenant-Colonels	28	9	32
Majors ..	40	15	38
Adjutants, etc. ..	46		
Surgeons	71	4	6
Captains	254	82	33
Lieutenants	155	63	40
Non-commissioned Officers	38	24	63
Privates	365	87	24
Totals ..	1,062	*299	28

*Later statistics collected by Dr S. B. Weeks increased the number to 312.

The highest military rank attained by a University man was by Lieutenant-General Leonidas Polk, who was killed at Kennesaw Mountain, in Georgia.

The University had only one son who rose to Major-General, Bryan Grimes.

Of C. S. Brigadier-Generals she had thirteen. These, named in the order of their rank (Vol. 1 of this work, p. 11) were:

1. Richard C. Gatlin,
2. L. O'B. Branch (k),
3. J. Johnston Pettigrew (k),
4. Thos. L. Clingman,
5. Chas. W Phifer (Miss.),
6. Geo. B. Anderson (k),
7. Isham W Garrott (Ala.),
8. Alfred M. Scales,
9. Matt. W Ransom,
10. Robert D. Johnston,
11. Wm. Gaston Lewis,
12. Rufus Barringer.
13. John D. Barry.

Adjutant-Generals R. C. Gatlin and John F Hoke; the first North Carolina Quartermaster-General L. O'B. Branch and Colonel William Johnston the first Commissary-General, were from the University. As were also Surgeon Peter E. Hines, Medical Director, and Surgeon E. Burke Haywood, of the General Hospital at Raleigh. Ashley W Spaight was a Brigadier-General in the Texas service, Thos. C. Manning was Adjutant-General of Louisiana, and Jacob Thompson was Inspector-General of Mississippi. These are not included in the thirteen Brigadiers above who were in the Confederate service.

The University furnished thirty-six Colonels, twenty-two Lieutenant-Colonels and twenty-seven Majors to North Carolina. Adding those in other States, it furnished in all fifty Colonels, twenty-eight Lieutenant-Colonels, and forty Majors.

The names of Field Officers furnished to other States need not be given here.

COLONELS.

John P Cobb, Second Regiment N. C.
Gaston Meares, Third N C. (killed).
W L. DeRosset, Third.
D. K. MacRae, Fifth.
T. M. Garrett (killed), Fifth.
Isaac E. Avery (killed), Sixth.
William F. Martin, Seventeenth.
Robt. H. Cowan, Eighteenth.
C. M. Andrews (killed), Nineteenth (Second Cav.).

Thos. S. Galloway, Twenty-second.
W J. Clarke, Twenty-fourth.
Z. B. Vance and Henry K. Burgwyn (killed), Twenty-sixth.
Jno. A. Gilmer, Twenty-seventh.
David Coleman, Thirty-ninth.
Thos. S. Kenan, Forty-third.
Thos. C Singeltary, Forty-fourth.
J. H. Morehead, Forty-fifth.
W L. Saunders, Forty-sixth.
S. H. Walkup, Forty-eighth.
Lee M. McAfee, Forty-ninth.
Jas. A. Washington, Fiftieth.
W. A. Owens (k) and J. T. Morehead, Fifty-third.
K. M. Murchison, Fifty-fourth.
H. C. Jones, Fifty-seventh.
D. D. Ferrebee, Fifty-ninth (Fourth Cav.).
Peter G. Evans (k), Sixty-third (Fifth Cav.).
J H. McNeill (killed), Sixty-third (Fifth Cav.).
Chas. W Broadfoot, Seventieth.
Jno. W Hinsdale, Seventy-second.
Chas. E. Shober, Seventy-seventh.
Jno. F Hoke, Twenty-third and Seventy-third.
Thos. Ruffin of Orange, W B. Rodman and D. M. Carter, on Military Court.

LIEUTENANT-COLONELS.

John L. Bridgers, Tenth (First Art.).
O. P Meares, Eighteenth.
Fourney George, Eighteenth.
W L. Scott, Twenty-first.
Jno. T. Jones, Twenty-sixth (killed).
W W Sellers, Thirtieth (killed).
E. R. Liles, Thirty-first.
J. H. Saunders, Thirty-third.
Jno. D. Taylor, Thirty-sixth (Second Art.).
O. H. Dockery, Thirty-eighth.
A. M. Waddell, Forty-first.
B. R. Moore, Forty-first (Third Cav.).

R. W Singeltary, Forty-fourth.
W A. Jenkins, Forty-sixth.
A. C. McAllister, Forty-sixth.
M. T. Smith (killed), Fifty-fifth.
Thomas Ruffin, of Wayne (killed), Fifty-ninth, (Fourth Cav.).
E. J. Mallett, Sixty-first (killed).
C. G. Wright, Sixty-sixth.
E. C. Yellowley, Sixty-eighth.
Walter Clark, Seventieth.
J. M. Wynns, Fifteenth Battalion.

MAJORS.

Seaton Gales, Jos. A. Engelhard, W A. Graham and E. J. Hale, A. A. G.
N. E. Scales, R. C Badger and J. W Wilson, Brigade Quartermasters.
W J Saunders, Staff.
L. C. Latham, First Regiment N. C.
T. N. Crumpler, Ninth (First Cav.), killed.
J. H. Whitaker, Ninth (First Cav.) killed.
Basil Manly, Tenth (First Art.).
L. J. Johnson, Seventeenth.
Jonathan Evans, Twenty-fourth.
W J. Montgomery, Twenty-eighth.
John M. Kelly, Thirty-fifth (killed).
W A. Holland, Fortieth, (Third Art.)
C. W McClammy, Forty-first (Third Cav.).
C. M. Stedman, Forty-fourth.
B. R. Huske, Forty-eighth.
Jas. J Iredell, Fifty-third, (killed).
Jno. W Graham, Fifty-sixth.
Jno. M. Gallaway, Sixty-third.
J. J. Spann, Sixty-fifth (Sixth Cav.)
Jno. W Moore, Third Battalion Artillery.
A. C. Avery, Seventeenth Battalion.
Clement Dowd, Home Guards.

R. S. Tucker, Staff, in State service at Raleigh.
Aug. M. Lewis, Quartermaster, in State service at Raleigh.

CONFEDERATE DEAD.

The four tablets in Memorial Hall, prepared by Colonel William L. Saunders, present the names of 271, but investigation since has increased the number of University who were killed, or died of wounds during the war, to 312. These according to rank were:

1 Lieutenant-General,	5 Surgeons and Ass't Surgeons,
4 Brigadier-Generals,	2 Aides,
12 Colonels,	67 Captains,
6 Lieutenant-Colonels,	69 Lieutenants,
17 Majors,	23 Sergeants and Corporals,
4 Adjutants,	100 Privates.
2 Sergeant-Majors,	

But numbers, while large enough to show the patriotism which fired the sons of the University, do not alone show the full measure of the contribution to the defence of the State in those memorable years. There must be added the increased value given their services by reason of the education received here.

KEMP P BATTLE.

CHAPEL HILL, N. C.
31 December, 1901.

NOTE.—Dr. Battle, the accomplished author of this article, was member of the Convention of 1861, Public Treasurer of N. C. 1866-'7; President University of N. C. 1875–1891, and since that date Professor of History at the University.

Our other Colleges of that date, Davidson, Trinity and Wake Forest, contributed many valuable officers and men to the war but probably not as great a per centage as a larger proportion of their alumni were educated for the ministry. Wake Forest produced one Brigadier General, the late General Thomas F. Toon.—ED.

THE LAST BATTLE AND THE LAST SURRENDER.

By W W STRINGFIELD, Lieutenant-Colonel, Sixty-Ninth Regiment N. C. Troops.

The fight in which the last gun was fired in the war east of the Mississippi river was near Waynesville, 9 May, 1865, and a Federal soldier named Arrowood was the last man killed in battle. He was shot about fifty feet in front of where the Waynesville White Sulphur Springs building now stands. The next day, 10 May, the surrender of the remnants of General J G. Martin's forces, with fragments from several regiments raised from that section took place. The enemy proceeding westward the detachment of the Eightieth North Carolina under Major Stephen Whitaker surrendered at Franklin, Macon county, *14 May, 1865*, this being the last body of organized armed troops then remaining east of the Mississippi of all those whom the Confederacy had sent to battle. The above incidents have already been narrated: the surrender at Waynesville in the history of the Sixty-ninth, Vol. 3 of this work at page 761, and that at Franklin by Captain R. A. Aiken in his history of the Eightieth Regiment, Vol. 4, p. 128. But probably fuller details may be interesting in this the last article in these volumes.

Western North Carolina beyond Asheville was at that time, the most inaccessible portion of the Confederacy. It was cut off on all sides by mountain ranges and was not anywhere penetrated by railroads or telegraphs. The nearest Rail Road in North Carolina was the terminus of the Western North Carolina Rail Road, six miles east of Morganton.

The Department of Western North Carolina, after the abandonment of East Tennessee by our forces, became an independent one, its commander, General James G. Martin, reporting direct to Richmond. In those last perilous and heroic days, it was cut off from all outside communication

and became a little Confederacy to itself, the Switzerland of the South. All during the war, its people were exempt from raids from the enemy but were vexed with domestic troubles.

After Lee's surrender on 9 April and while negotiations were pending between Generals Johnston and Sherman, wild rumors of every kind filled the air. Just before that time, however, about the date of Sheridan's great flanking movement against Lee, Stoneman's Cavalry raid set out from Knoxville, Tennessee and moved eastward towards Bristol, Lynchburg and Danville, Virginia, but turning Southward he threatened Greensboro, captured Salisbury, and thence returned via Morganton towards Asheville. He approached Asheville on both sides. On the North he was repulsed by the Sixty-second, Sixty-fourth, Sixty-ninth and Seventy-ninth (Eighth Cavalry, formerly Fourteenth Battalion) or rather by the fragments of them which were left. This was on 28 April.

General Martin being soon after advised of Johnston's surrender asked and obtained a truce and kindly issued rations to the Federals. They, however, almost immediately violated the truce. On 17 April Colonel James R. Love, of the Sixty-ninth who at that time held Swannanoa Gap had defeated Stoneman's advance on that side driving his men back to Mill Creek in McDowell county. Here the enemy turned back through Hickory Nut Gap, and Colonel Love being thus outflanked retired under orders from General Martin to Balsam Gap, seven miles west of Waynesville.

General Martin himself went on further west, 33 miles, to Franklin, N. C., accompanied by his accomplished chief of staff, Major A. Gordon, of Louisiana, who is the author of the valuable article on the Organization of our troops in Vol. 1, of this work. A day or two before, General Martin had sent the writer with written instructions under a flag of truce to General Stoneman at Knoxville. This flag with its party of 23 went down the Tennessee and on to Knoxville, about 100 miles through the mountains but they were not suffered to return. They were all thrust into jail at Knoxville for refusing to take the oath, having first been

insulted on the streets. A Michigan Lieutenant named Abbott with fifty well armed men dismounted and disarmed our party and trampled the flag of truce under his feet. This was the first day of May

General Martin hearing nothing from the flag of truce turned back with Major Gordon and while spending the night at the hospitable home of John B. Love, near Webster, his son, Colonel John R. Love, came in and gave a stirring account of his fight with the enemy near Waynesville on that day, 9 May, 1865, as stated in Vol. 3, of this work, p. 760.

The Federals seemed to have resolved themselves into a general horse gathering association for the exploitation of Buncombe and Haywood counties. Colonel W H. Thomas commanding Thomas' Legion (Sixty-ninth and Eightieth Regiments) had his Headquarters at Quallatown, Jackson county, among the Cherokee Indians. Hearing of this "Horse-Jockey Battalion," of Colonel Bartlett of the Third North Carolina (Tory) Regiment, Colonel Thomas moved forward gathering up 200 or 300 men of the different regiments from that section who were home on furloughs or convalescent and with some fragments of his own command joined Colonel Love at Balsam Gap greatly to the consternation of the pillagers. The Indians whooped and yelled in approved Indian style. Col. Thomas went into Waynesville with this force, the stalwart Indian warriors being feathered and painted. The day before in the skirmish with Bartlett, a Federal named Arrowood was killed at the old Love Mansion fifty feet in front of the present White Sulphur Springs Hotel at Waynesville. As already stated this was doubtless the last man killed in battle east of the Mississippi. That was on 9 May, 1865.

A truce was soon had, and the Confederates surrendered upon assurance from Colonel Bartlett that he would control his forces and stop the pillaging and horse stealing. He was plainly told that if he could not the ex-Confederates would re-assemble and control them for him. There was no more trouble in that section.

A portion of Bartlett's Regiment, under Lieutenant-Colonel George W Kirk (whom later events made notorious)

proceeded west and near Franklin, Macon county, approached a detachment of the Eightieth North Carolina Regiment commanded by Major Stephen Whitaker. This was the last embodied force remaining to the Confederacy, east of the Mississippi, of all the mighty hosts whom the Confederacy had sent to battle. On the next day,

14 MAY, 1865,

this last organized force of the Confederacy laid down its arms, the men were paroled and went to their several homes. In Vol. 4, *Confederate Military History,* page 791, the date of this surrender is erroneously given at 12 May.

W W STRINGFIELD.

WAYNESVILLE. N. C.,
31 December, 1901.

SUPPLEMENT TO PAROLE LIST.

[OTE.—On p. 567 *ante* it will be seen that by some means all the names of two North Carolina Cavalry Brigades of Barringer and Roberts were tted (except 3 names) in making up the Duplicate Parole List for General from which we printed, or had become detached since, and access to copy filed by General Grant at Washington having been denied, the omis- ı could not be supplied. Owing to the energy and zeal of Hon. Theo. F. ıttz, our efficient member of Congress from the Salisbury District, a copy :he Parole List of those Brigades from the original at Washington has just n received as this form is going to press and is here inserted. All Confed- te Veterans are indebted to him that our list is thus made complete, and t the Cavalry take their place (the handful that was left) with their ırades on this roll of honor of those who, spared by sabre, shot and shell, :e faithful to the end —ED.

BARRINGER'S BRIGADE.

BRIGADE STAFF.

Vm. A. Blount, Surgeon.

. W. Bassett, 1st Lieut. and Brigade Ordnance Officer.

Total, 2.

REGIMENTAL AND COMPANY OFFICERS.

Jas. L. Gaines, Colonel 19th N. C. (2d Cav.)
Edward M. Jordan, Adjutant 19th N. C. (2d Cav.)

Total, 2.

NINTH REGIMENT (FIRST CAV.)

Co. B.

vate Adolphus Mizzell.

Co. D.

vate W. Watts, Private J. F. Parsons.

Co. E.

geant R. Height. Private R. D. Grissom,
vate S. R. Philpot.

Co. G.

ivate A. Lunsford.

Co. H.

ivate J. W. Danner.

Total, 8 men.

NINETEENTH REGIMENT (SECOND CAV.)

Co. A.

Private W. P. A. White, Private H. Reed.

Co. D.

Sergeant J. Melvin.

Co. E.

Private J. B. Staton Private E. Barnes.

Co. I.

Sergeant G. W. Stone. Private J. Dalrymple.

Total, 7 men

FORTY-FIRST REGIMENT (THIRD CAV.)

Co. H.

Private W. H. Brown. Total, 1 man

SIXTY-THIRD REGIMENT (FIFTH CAV.)

Co. A.

Sergeant J. M. McIver. Private Benj. Rush,
Private D. J. McDonald.

Co. G.

Private J. B. Barnes.
Alex. McSween, Jeff Davis Legion. Total, 5 men

Brigade total, 4 officers, 21 men.

ROBERTS' BRIGADE.

rigadier-General W. P. Roberts. **Total, 1 officer.**

REGIMENTAL AND COMPANY OFFICERS.

William J. Luck, Surgeon 59th N. C., (4th Cav.)
A. E. Eve, Assistant Surgeon, 16th Battalion (or 75th Reg't.)
E. J. Holt, 1st Lieut, Co. A, 16th Battalion (or 75th Reg't.)
J. C. Privett, 2d Lieut. Co. H, 16th Battalion (or 75th Reg't.)
Total, 4 officers.

FIFTY-NINTH REGIMENT (FOURTH CAV.)

Co. A.

rivate William Davis.

Co. B.

ergt C. A. Reid,
rivate George Chandler,
Thos. Evans,
Wyatt Foard,
Jno. Henry,
Jeff. Terrell,
Wm. Page,
Geo. Davis,
James Hooper,
Wm. R. Smith,

Private Nat. Covington,
Apollos Love,
John Burton,
C. G. Bennett,
Henry Willis,
Warren Miles,
Joseph Terrell,
Benj. Stephens,
Alex. Cheek.

Co. C.

ergt W. B. Kennedy,
P H. Hand,

Private J. T. Hancock.

Co. D.

rivate Jesse Dickens,
Joseph Tester,

Private Jesse F. Lowe,
Joseph Cook.

Co. E.

rivate A. P. Ray,
Geo. Gatlin,
Jacob Johnson.

Private Daniel Blackwelder,
Jno. Hoffman,

Co. G.

rivate Willoughby Wright,

Private Wilson Wright.

Co. H.

orp'l W. A. Tyson,
rivate W. Johnson,
Robert Mason,

Private L. Thigpen,
Robt. D. Deans,

Co. K.

Private John G. Bennett. Total, 40 men.

SEVENTY-FIFTH REGIMENT (SEVENTH CAV.), OR SIXTEENT BATTALION.

REGIMENTAL BAND.

Musician A. Forbes,
J. W Taylor,
E. A. Rountree,
J. S. Perry,
Musician J. H. Parker,
W. H. Farmer,
D. W. Boykin,
Wiley Dunn.

Co. A.

Serg't H. B. Gardner,
Private C. B. Coffie.
Corporal E. F. DeBruhl,

Co. B.

Private J. J. Brown.

Co. C.

Private Jno. Elmore,
Private J. P. Britt.

Co. D.

Serg't W. H. Call,
Private A. A. Haller.
Private J. M. Stafford,

Co. E

Serg't G. M. Bingham,
W F. Furchess,
Private P. H. Hayne,
Private W. W. Wilson.
W. G. Hayne.

Co. F.

Private D. W. Williams,
Allen Tyson,
M. Turnage,
Private S. H. Tyson,
L. R. Perry,
W. Johnson.

Co. G.

Corp'l W. D. Edwards,
Private J. H. Murphy.
Private A. R. Deloatch,

Co. H.

Serg't W. J. Tate,
Private J. F. Shields,
J. P. Robeson,
Private D. Robeson,
Jno. Ziegler,
P. Williamson.

Co. I.

Serg't R. W. Woodard,
Corp'l W H. Wiggs,
J. H. Loper,
Private J. R. Aycock,
B. Ellis,
J. P. Smith.
Private E. Hinnant,
W E. Richardson,
L. Strickland,
G. M. Langston,
T. N. Wiggs,
Total, 48 men.

Brigade total, 5 officers, 88 men.

CORRECTIONS.

MEMORANDUM.

By THE EDITOR.

After the body of this work had been completed and four volumes had been issued advertisement was widely made, by the kindness of the Press, throughout the State requesting corrections of errors in "form or substance," which had been observed by any one, to be sent in to the Editor. Those sent in are compiled and printed in the following pages.

CORRECTIONS.

GENERALS FROM NORTH CAROLINA.

Vol. 1, Page XI. Add to Major-Generals, Jeremy F. Gilmer, and to Brigadier-Generals, Gabriel J. Rains.

Page XII. *Add,* Further investigation shows that Major-General Jeremy F. Gilmer and Brigadier-General Gabriel J. Rains were appointed from North Carolina and should be in the list of our Generals, though from the nature of their duties they did not command our troops.

Major-General Jeremy F. Gilmer, brother of Hon. Jno. A. Gilmer, Sr., was a most accomplished officer. For a while he was chief of staff of our Army of Tennessee, and later was Chief of the Engineer Corps of the Confederacy.

Brigadier-General Rains was also in the Engineer Corps, though in the Seven Days' Battles around Richmond he commanded a Brigade. He was born in New Bern.

To the list of Generals born in North Carolina, but appointed from other States, should be added Lieutenant-General Leonidas Polk.

Editor.

BETHEL REGIMENT.

Vol. 1, p. 113. Line 22, for Junius French, read William Bryce.

Page 117, C. W Broadfoot, Colonel, instead of Lieutenant-Colonel, and same change on p. 118.

Page 118. W G. Lewis, Lieutenant-Colonel Forty-third instead of Colonel.

Add to list on pages 118-121 the following:

Lieutenant-Colonels—J T. Davis, Forty-ninth Regiment.

Page 119. Captains—F R. Alexander, K, Fifty-sixth Regiment; R. R. Crawford, D, Forty-second; W. M. Fetter, K, Thirty-seventh; P J Johnson, K, Thirty-fifth; W. J. Kerr, E, Eleventh; J. S. Nichols, E, Eleventh.

First Lieutenants—J. W Shepperd, K, Fifty-sixth.

Second Lieutenants—J. J Alexander, B, Forty-third Regiment; William Bryce, E, Fifty-ninth; Robert T. Burwell, B, Forty-third; J. B. Lowrie, H, Eleventh; W N. S. Means, E, Eleventh; A. M. Rhyne, K, Forty-second; W F. Rozzell, E, Eleventh; W E. Stitt (in place of Captain E. W Stilt, page 119), B, Forty-third; W J. Wiley, F, Sixty-third.

On p. 118, for Major Egbert H. Ross, read Egbert A. Ross.

On p. 123, Charles M. Stedman was Major Forty-fourth, not Forty-third.

E. J. HALE.

FAYETTEVILLE, N. C.

SECOND REGIMENT.

VOL. 1, p. 158. Captain E. D. Hall's Co. A, when transferred, became Co. H, Fortieth Regiment (Third Artillery.)

JNO. L. CANTWELL.

WILMINGTON, N. C.

FOURTH REGIMENT.

VOL. 1, Page 234. A. N. Wiseman was the first Orderly Sergeant of Company K.

Page 234. George Shuford, who died in 1862, was a member of the Regimental Band, as was also E. B. Stinson for a time. The latter was also Bugler of the sharpshooters.

Page 234-235. The regiment arrived at Manassas on 28 July, instead of the 29th, and left Yorktown 3 May instead of the 4th.

Page 236. General Featherston was in command of the brigade while at Yorktown, and for some time before and after.

Page 239. The Color Bearer who was killed at Seven Pines was James Bowers, not Bonner.

Page 270. H. C. Long was wounded at South Mountain. He afterwards resigned.

Page 270. Lieutenants Bonner, Creekman, Tuten and Styron were of Company I, not Company "A." Lieutenant James C Herrington, a brave and faithful soldier, was of

the same company. He was killed at the post of duty in the battle of Chancellorsville.

GEO. D. SNUGGS, Co. K.

CONCORD, N. C.

Vol. 1, p. 230 and 269. Sergeant-Major F. D. Carlton, *not* F. A. Carlton.

Page 269, last line, W A. Eliason, *not* W K. Eliason.

P C. CARLTON.

STATESVILLE, N. C.

SEVENTH REGIMENT.

VOL. 1, p. 386, *insert.*

On Sunday, 16 April, 1865, "Cooke's and Lane's detachments" (Seventh and Forty-sixth North Carolina Regiments), Lieutenant-Colonel A. C. McAllister commanding, reported to General D. H. Hill, Lee's Corps, Army of Tennessee, and surrendered with them near Greensboro, N. C. On the 29th we turned over four-fifths of the arms, retaining one-fifth. Officers were allowed to retain their side arms. Thirteen (13) commissioned officers and one hundred and thirty-nine (139) men belonging to the Seventh were paroled on 1 May, 1865. Major J G. Harris was in command of the regiment and commanded it oftener in the battle and on the march than any officer in it. The gallant J McLeod Turner was paralyzed by the wound received at Gettysburg, and walked with the aid of crutches until his death in 1887

Same p. last line "Morrisville" should be MOORESVILLE.

J S. HARRIS, Capt. Co. B.

DAVIDSON COLLEGE, N. C.

EIGHTH REGIMENT.

VOL. 1, Page 407. The distance between the lines was not 300 yards, as there stated, from over-caution doubtless. I have been to Petersburg twice since the war, and have recently telephoned the guide, Allen, who corroborates my own measurement by replying that the exact distance is 63 yards, and between the rifle pits 35 yards.

CICERO R. BARKER.

SALISBURY, N. C.

NINTH REGIMENT.

VOL. 1, Page 783. The date of Colonel Cheek's sketch should be 20 March, not 24 March. ED.

SIXTEENTH REGIMENT.

VOL. 1, p. 755, lines 24 and 25, for "taking them at the point of the bayonet," *read* "compelling the enemy to retire precipitately under cover of nightfall."

B. H. CATHEY.

BRYSON CITY, N. C.

Page 736, lines 20 and 21 should read thus: Company L became Co. K and Co. M became Co. I in the Thirty-second Regiment.

On same page, Ricks Pearce should be a Lieutenant in Company L.

D. G. CONN.

RALEIGH, N. C.

NINETEENTH REGIMENT.

VOL. 2, p. 88, line 23, for "Sixty-third N. C. (5 Cav.), *read* "Co. H. Forty-first Regiment (3d Cav.)"

Page 103, near bottom, J. N. Turner was Captain of Company D, *not* Company B. He had previously been Lieutenant in Company B.

W A. GRAHAM.

MACHPELAH, N. C.

Vol. 2, p. 89, line 6, for R. W Allison, *read* R. M. Allison.

P. C. CARLTON.

STATESVILLE, N. C.

TWENTY-FIRST REGIMENT.

VOL. 2, Page 144. Strike out "Gaston Lewis, Colonel." This was inserted by error of printer.

JAS. F. BEALL.

LINWOOD, N. C.

TWENTY-FIFTH REGIMENT.

VOL. 2, Page 299. Fourth line from bottom for Robert Ransom, *read* M. W Ransom. ED.

THIRTIETH REGIMENT.

VOL. 2, p. 496, line 22, for Elias Dunn, *read* Elias Bunn. He was a brother of Hon. B. H. Bunn.

At the call for men to re-enlist for three years or the war, in April, 1862, before the Seven Days' Fight in front of Richmond, Captain William T. Arrington, of Company I, formed the company in line and asked every man who was willing to re-enlist to move one step forward, and every man stepped forward. The company was given a sixty days' furlough to visit their homes in Nash and Edgecombe, but we were recalled before the expiration of that time to go to Richmond. Did any other company do as well?

WALTER S. TURNER.

HOLDER, FLA.

THIRTY-FIRST REGIMENT.

VOL. 2, p. 511, for John J. Cox, Q. M., *read* Joseph Cox.

THOS. S. KENAN.

RALEIGH, N. C.

THIRTY-THIRD REGIMENT.

VOL. 2, Page 578. In the "Parole List at Appomattox," at page 538 of this (5th) volume, it will be seen that Colonel R. V Cowan, of the Thirty-third, signed the Parole List. This he doubtless felt compelled to do by virtue of his military oath of obedience, but when it came to the "formal surrender" the next day, which released him from his obedience, he turned over the regiment to Major Weston and rode to the rear as there stated. There is no conflict between Major Weston's statement and the above record.

EDITOR.

FIFTIETH REGIMENT.

VOL. 3, p. 165, line 11, for "Brem's Battery" *read* "Graham's (Petersburg, Va.) Battery."

Extract from report of Colonel James Deshler, Chief of Artillery to General Holmes:

"Graham's Battery seems to have completely stampeded—resulting in the loss of two guns and three caissons.

"Captain Branch, First Lieutenant Cooper, of French's Battery, and First Lieutenant Coleman, of Brem's Battery served their pieces themselves and did everything that men could do to encourage their men."

Extract from report of General Junius Daniel, of the battle of Malvern Hill:

"I directed Captains Graham and Brem to move forward and report to Colonel Deshler, and I did not see these batteries any more until I saw them leaving the field when Captain Graham's Battery was almost completely disorganized and with two pieces and two caissons less than when it left me. This battery, as I afterwards learned, left the field without proper orders and in great disorder.

"For the operations of Captain Brem's Battery, I respectfully refer you to his report."

Extract from report of General Theo. H. Holmes:

"The enemy kept up a furious cannonade until after dark. Under this my troops, which were mostly newly levied, behaved well, with the exception of Major E. Burroughs' Battalion of cavalry and Graham's Battery, with a part of Branch's, whose conduct was shameful in the extreme."

(In his amended report General Holmes withdraws his reference to Captain Branch.)

(*See serial Vol. 13, pages 906-911 Off. Rec. Union and Confed. Armies.*)

J. C. ELLINGTON.

RALEIGH, N. C.

FIFTY-FIFTH REGIMENT.

VOL. 3, p. 287 In Company C, Dixon Falls was Captain instead of Silas D. Randall. Just after Company C *insert*

"*Co. D, from Cleveland county,* Silas D. Randall Captain."

On page of engraving facing p. 287, No. 4 should be "E. D. Dixon."

On page of engravings facing p. 299, No. 2 is T. D. Falls and No. 3 is J A. Whitley.

C. M. COOKE.

LOUISBURG, N. C.

(This last error has been corrected in all but a few volumes.—ED.)

FIFTY-SIXTH REGIMENT.

VOL. 3, p. 314. Line 7, on this page, by some accident dropped out and in its place line 19 is duplicated.

This obscures the fact that Lieutenant Daniel M. McDonald, of Company B, Fifty-sixth Regiment, was captured with Lieutenant R. W Thornton, of the same company, 22 May, 1863, and Lieutenant B. W. Thornton, also of the same company, was killed in our capture of Plymouth. The two officers first named were never exchanged.

Page 322, line 9, for Captain Bower *read* Barnes.

As the regiment boasted of many soldiers who could have acquitted themselves well as company and even battalion commanders, some of them among the earliest volunteers of the war who cheerfully served in the ranks to the end, we wish here to make mention of Private Wm. J. McDonald, late of Fayetteville, N. C., now deceased, whose picture appears at page 371, Vol. III, who went through the war without receiving or asking for a furlough.

By another accident at the bottom of p. 399, Vol. III, while the reference is correctly given, there is an error in the number of corps there stated. The reference will show that General Lee says that there were four, and that one of the four was assigned to Major-General Gordon, who succeeded General Early in October, 1864, and acted as a corps commander for the remaining months of the war.

ROBERT D. GRAHAM.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

VOL. 3, Page 315.

Beginning at Company F, in the fourth line, erase Lieu tenant after the word "From," and insert *First Sergeant*

In the fifth line—in the parenthesis—("had been Firs Sergeant in the Bethel Regiment"), erase First Sergeant an insert *a private.*

In the ninth line, "Alfred R. Grigg, Second Lieutenan 10 August, 1862," erase August and insert *May.*

B. F. GRIGG.

LINCOLNTON, N. C.

FIFTY-EIGHTH REGIMENT.

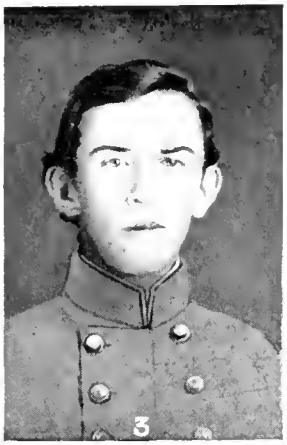
VOL. 3, p. 454. It is inadvertently stated that the regi ment was at Savannah and Averasboro, but it was not a either. Lieutenant-Colonel Silver was not in command a Bentonville.

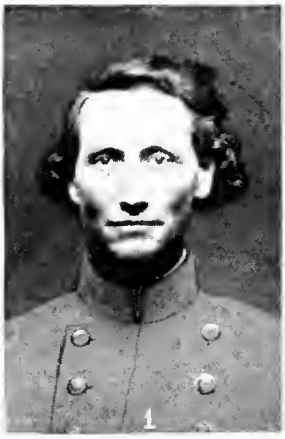
Captain, afterwards Major Stewart, was ranking Captain at Chicamauga. Both he and Captain Conley were killed in the Atlanta campaign.

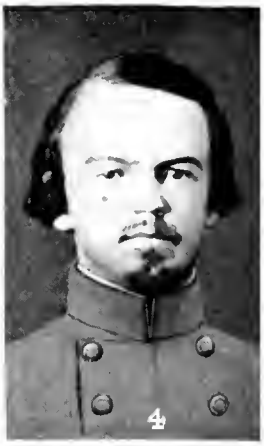
G. W F HARPER.

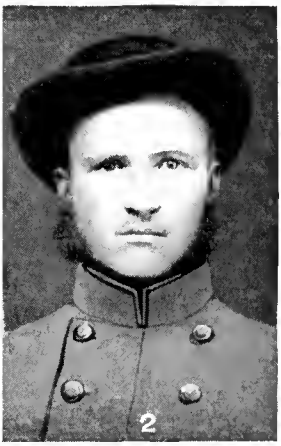
LENOIR, N C.

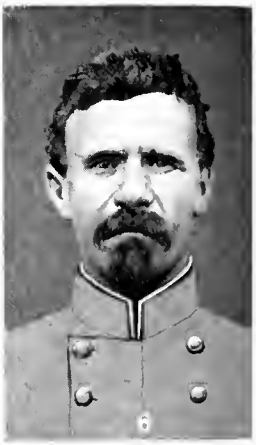
S. M. Silver, A. T. Stewart and C. O. Conley were the senior or ranking Captains of the Fifty-eight Regiment in the order named, at the time of the battle of Chicamauga, in which they all participated. Captain G. W F Harper was assigned to duty as Major of the regiment at Florenceville, Ala., November, 1864, in the Nashville campaign, and served as such until the reorganization of the regiment in March, 1865, when by order from Army Headquarters, he was assigned to same duty in the Fifty-eighth and Sixtieth consolidated battalion. Major Harper commanded the regiment at the battle of Bentonville, and in the march and skirmishes through South Carolina, which preceded it. At the time of the Bentonville battle I was on the sick list; but learning that my presence was needed, I went to the front and assisted in forming the line of battle, but was soon sent back by the sur-

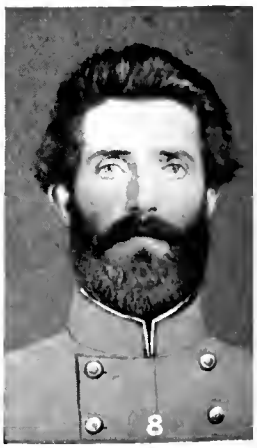












SIXTY-THIRD (5 Cav.) REGIMENT.

1. Elias F. Shaw, Lieut.-Colonel, 63d Regt. (5 Cav.) Killed at Chamberlain's Run, March 31, 1865.
2. Robert Augustus Davidson, Sergt., Co. F., 63d Regt. (5 Cav.)
3. A. G. Jones, Orderly Sergt., Co. K, 63d Regt. (5 Cav.)
4. Nicholas L. Williams, Sergt., Co. B, 63d Regt. (5 Cav.)
5. Carroll F. Nance, 1st Sergt., Co. I, 63 Regt. (5 Cav.) Killed at Ashland, Va
6. Woodson B. Cash, Sergt., Co. I, 63d Reg (5 Cav.)
7. Richard Austin Davidson, Private, Co. F 63d Regt. (5 Cav.)
8. Samuel P. Washington, Private, Co. I, 63 Regt. (5 Cav.)

geon to the division hospital. Major G. W F. Harper was a good officer and a gallant soldier.

S. M. SILVER.

GROUSE, Oregon.

SIXTY-THIRD REGIMENT.

VOL. 3, p. 541, line 1, for "superiority" read "seniority."

JOHN M. GALLOWAY.

MADISON, N. C.

Page 541, and in note on p. 529, it is stated that Colonel McNeill and Lieutenant-Colonel Shaw were killed at "Five Forks 1 April." It should be "at Chamberlain Run, 31 March."

In note on p. 545 for "Seventy-sixth" *read* "Seventy-ninth." *See* further Vol. 4, at p. 116.

EDITOR.

VOL. 3, p. 545. The word "was," four lines from bottom of page should be "were."

On page 546, between the words "entitled" and "official," in second paragraph from bottom, insert *War of the Rebellion.*

In line 11, on page 548, immediately after the word "volunteered," insert: "and waived an exemption from the war to which he was entitled on account of nearsightedness."

The word "gratified" in line 20, on page 549, should read grateful.

On page 550, beginning of second paragraph from bottom, "Volume 69" should read Volume 60.

On page 551, "James M. McNeill" should be James H. McNeill.

On same page strike out word "on" just before "10 October," and all in that paragraph after word "Garysburg," and for authority of my date "10 October," see page 755, Vol. 26. Serial Vol. 26 is, in Roman figures, Vol. XVIII.

On page 553, "Kinnon's" should be Kennon's, and "25 May" should be 24 May.

On page 553, after the first paragraph add: For map of Plymouth see page 344 of this volume—Vol. 3.

On page 558, at end of first paragraph, "Vol. 45" should be Vol. 44. And next citation "Vol. 45, p. 736," etc., should be Vol. 44.

On page 563, "Vol. 44, p. 683," the page should be 688.

On page 466, immediately after "Vol. 44, pp. 690-691, add: Vol. 43, p. 614, Vincent.

Page 575, line 5 from bottom. For "attack" *read* "attract."

Read word "direction," at bottom of page 573, directions.

Read, etc., after 440 at bottom of page, 577.

Last word on page 578 should be Bristoe.

In fourth line on page 581, "Twenty-sixth" should be One Hundred and Twenty-sixth.

On page 581, figures "447" should be 447-449.

On page 588, near middle, the word "chair" should be care.

On page 591, I am in error in saying that "we marched by companies to Richmond, Va., and reunited there as a regiment." Captain R. E. Cochrane, Quartermaster of our regiment, gives the facts in substance, thus: "Each man did report to his Captain, as you say. After we disbanded, I, as quartermaster, established a camp for the transportation of the regiment in charge of a few men, in about six miles of Louisburg on a creek near a mill. I returned to this camp a few days beforehand to prepare for the reassembling of the regiment and there it reassembled and remained a few days. While there we had a great regimental review. The people there, the ladies especially, turned out in great numbers to witness it. From that camp we marched via Henderson, N. C., and Clarksville, Va., to Richmond. I also think that you are in error as to the number of men in the regiment; it was nearer 1,000 than 500. As we marched through Richmond, I was constantly asked by citizens, 'What brigade is this?' I answered, 'It is not a brigade; it is the Fifth North Carolina Cavalry Regiment.'"

Captain Cochrane was in a better position than I to know

the regiment's numbers and there was no better man and no more faithful officer in the regiment.

With one single other exception, Captain Cochrane's correction is the only one that has been made of this sketch. And I state this solely that future readers may thereby judge its accuracy and truth, when we, about whom this history is written, have all "crossed over the river."

Near bottom of page 592, the citation of "page 945" should be page 954.

Just after "Vol. 60, p. 828," near top of page 594, add: Vol. 67, p. 15.

After the word "canister" on page 602, insert, and grape; and same on p. 603.

On page 603 after the word "perforated," add—by rifle balls.

Word at bottom of page 603 and top of page 604 is, of course, "glorious."

Colonel W H. H. Cowles died at his home near Wilkesboro, Monday night, 30 December, 1901. I doubt if the armies of the world have ever had a better cavalry officer, in all respects.

When preparing my sketch for the third volume, I wrote Colonel Cowles for his memories of the action of the Sixty-third at Blacks and Whites. On account of sickness, he could not answer until after my sketch had finally gone to the printers. I now quote from his letter:

"As to the part taken by the Fifth Regiment in the fight at Blacks and Whites, I had no means of observing, being only in command of my own regiment and 'going along with the boys.' I had no time for observing anything outside of its conduct. We checked the advance of the enemy and drove him back to the railroad cut and there held him until nightfall, when we were relieved. I understood that your command acquitted itself well and heard of Roberts' gallant charge on the right; but saw nothing of it. We were in dense woods after we left where our battery was stationed. There was no better material in the army than that of the Fifth North Carolina Cavalry. The advantage the First

had of it was that of longer experience and probably better drill and discipline. Colonels Ransom and Baker were both United States army officers and graduates of West Point. They started us right and kept us right. Their strict discipline aroused some bitter feeling on the part of both officers and men at first, but we soon found that they were right and that it was for our good."

General W. P Roberts, 8 August, 1901, wrote me this:

"I wish I could help you on the history of the Fifth Cavalry, but I cannot. It was a most gallant regiment. Frequently it fell to my lot to command it on the skirmish line and it always behaved with conspicuous gallantry. Its Colonel, McNeill, was a splendid officer and of great individual courage."

It gratifies me as it will all the men of our great regiment, to have it go down to the ages with the endorsement of these two magnificent cavalrymen.

C C. Wheeler, private of Company I, had three horses shot under him prior to 27 October, 1864, when he lost his right leg near Wilson's House on Boydton Plank Road. In the charge at Upperville, his horse was killed and fell on his leg and held him fast and he was about to be run over by the charging Federals when two of our men dismounted and turned the horse off of him and saved him from capture.

At Upperville, Sergeant Adams, of Company I, in that fateful charge, cut two Federals from their horses with his saber. Wheeler saw this. Private Wheeler, who has only one leg, is still living in Granville county

"Vol. 80, p. 643," near bottom of page 609, should be page 638.

On page 613, in second line of first paragraph, insert between the words "and with" and "the Nineteenth," these words: his brigade and.

Just before the *first* "732" on page 617, insert: Pages 642-643. Then strike out, as repetition, all after "735" down to and including the *next* "732."

On page 618, strike out the words "That night the Sixty-third camped on the Darbytown road."

"Vol. 78," near bottom of page 621, should be "Vol. 87."

And here just after "245" add: Vol. 87, pp. 221 and 250. General Hancock's and General Miles' reports of Reams Station.

On page 622 the words, "the 25 ultimo," should be "the 25th instant," and "1206" should be 1207.

On page 625 strike out the words, "And I feel sure, from my would be more satisfactory."

On page 629, between the word "position" and "507," insert: Says Federal General Bragg.

"The word "captiously," near bottom of page 633, should be cautiously.

The word "grave," near bottom of page 635, should be brave.

The word "the" before "right" in seventh line on page 646 should be "their."

"Deven," near bottom of page 648, should be "Devin."

Near top of page 650, the word "our" must read your. And add "obedience to this order showed that W H. F Lee considered Barringer's his '*best* brigade.' "

On page 653, at end of General Fitzhugh Lee's words, add —and says it "suffered severely This brigade was the rear of the column and I was obliged to retain it in position to prevent the enemy from attacking the remainder of the command. Their rapidly arriving forces soon augmented the troops it was so gallantly holding in check, and produced a concentration impossible for it to resist."

On page 656, after the words "as only a loving wife can," add: She was Miss Moselle Partee Foard, daughter of Major R. W Foard, of Concord.

On same page the word "are" before "absolutely" should be "were."

On the map at page 582, "Middleburg" should be further north and almost on a straight line between Aldie and Upperville. On the mountain and directly west of Upperville, should appear Ashby's Gap and just at east base of mountain should be Paris, right under Ashby's Gap.

In lower end of Bull Run Mountains, next to the railroad,

should appear Thoroughfare Gap, with the mountains extended further south and railroad crossing them.

On map at page 645, in "Indications for Five Forks," the words "The Nineteenth and Forty-first were immediately in the rear of the Sixty-third," should read: The Nineteenth was immediately in the rear of the Sixty-third, when the action began. "5" should be *behind*, that is, just north of the line "1--2." The little line "4" is too far south; it should be just about where the middle of the figure 1 is. Just after Custer charged on the Third the Second charged from rear of Fifth, around its right, and joined the Third in the saber fight.

PAUL B. MEANS.

SEVENTY-THIRD REGIMENT (4th Reserves.)

VOL. 4, Page 65. The companies of this regiment were from the following counties:

A, Cleveland; B, Gaston; C, Lincoln; D, Catawba; E, Mecklenburg; F, Union; G, Cabarrus; H, Rowan; I, Davie; K, Iredell. ED.

SEVENTY-FOURTH REGIMENT (5th Reserves.)

VOL. 4, Page 69. The companies of this regiment were from the following counties:

A, Yadkin; B, Wilkes; C, Wilkes; D, Ashe and Alleghany; E, Burke and Caldwell; F, Surry; G, Alexander and Caldwell; H, Supporting Force Eighth Congressional District; I, Supporting Force Ninth Congressional District; K, Supporting Force Tenth Congressional District.

John A. Young was the first Colonel of this regiment.

ED.

SEVENTY-SIXTH REGIMENT (6th Reserves.)

VOL. 4, Page 97 The companies of this regiment were as follows:

A, Chatham; B, Chatham; C, Davidson; D, Davidson; E, Wake; F, Moore; G, Montgomery; H, Randolph; I, Sup-

porting Force Seventh Congressional District; K, Anson, Stanly and Davidson.

John M. Worth was also at one time Colonel of this regiment. ED.

SEVENTY-SEVENTH REGIMENT (7th Reserves.)

VOL. 4, Page 100. Company H was from Forsyth instead of Stokes; Company I from Rockingham, and Company K was the supporting force of the Sixth Congressional District. ED.

SEVENTY-EIGHTH REGIMENT (8th Reserves.)

VOL. 4, Page 107 The companies of this regiment were as follows:

A, Bladen and Columbus; B, Robeson and Richmond; C, New Hanover and Brunswick; D, Cumberland; E, Cumberland and Harnett; F, Wayne; G, Duplin; H, Sampson; I, Johnston; K, Supporting Force Fourth Congressional District.

Peter Mallett was the first Colonel and Augustus Landis first Lieutenant-Colonel of this regiment. ED.

(These corrections for above five regiments are from official records from General Holmes' headquarters, kindly furnished by Colonel John W. Hinsdale —ED.)

SEVENTY-NINTH REGIMENT.

VOL. 4, Page 113. Add P A. Cumming as Sergeant-Major. ED.

SUPPLEMENTAL SKETCH 16th REGIMENT.

VOL. 4, Page 173. In last line, for "United States Ford" *read* "Ely's Ford on the Rapidan."

J S. MCELROY.

IVY, N. C

FIFTEENTH BATTALION.

VOL. 4, Page 365. Insert after list of officers "Lieutenant H. J. Jenkins was taken prisoner and was one of the 600

officers sent as prisoners to be placed under fire at Morris Island in the Fall of 1864. See Vol. 4, of this work, page 722." ED.

TWENTY-THIRD BATTALION

VOL. 4, Page 399. The companies of this battalion were from the following counties as appears from the records of General Holmes' Headquarters: Company A, Franklin and Nash; Company B, Orange; Company C, Granville; Company D, Warren. ED.

TWENTY-SIXTH BATTALION.

VOL. 4, Page 401. This battalion was omitted at its proper place, but see *Addenda* Vol. 5, p. 626, for its history.

UNATTACHED COMPANIES.

VOL. 4, Page 401. Three other companies are known: Captain P M. Warren, from Chowan; Captain W Myers, from Perquimans, and Captain C. R. Gaylord, from Washington. Captain John W Galloway's company of "Coast Guards" was raised the first year of the War for the defence of the coast from the Cape Fear to Little River, S. C. While their services were not brilliant they were very serviceable to Blockade Runners. They were 130 in number and are not named in "Moore's Roster." ED.

NORTH CAROLINIANS IN OTHER COMMANDS.

VOL. 4, Page 403. In line 16, for "Twelfth" *read* "Sixty-first." The company of W B. Clement, three lines lower down in same page, has its story told, p. 627, Vol. 5, of this work, in the Addenda. ED.

Same page. North Carolina, besides above, had two companies in the Thirteenth Virginia Cavalry, and two more in the Fifteenth Virginia Cavalry, all raised in North East North Carolina. This data was furnished me by the late Jno. B. Neathery while connected with Adjutant-General's

office in 1871, at the time he gave material to General Robert Ransom and General Hood when the latter replied to General Early who had criticised General Hood for his speech in Raleigh wherein he had stated that North Carolina had more troops in Virginia in 1864 than Virginia had on her own soil.

JAMES A. GRAHAM.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

VOL. 4, Page 404.

It appears in *129 Vol. Off Rec. Union and Confed. Armies at p. 491* that many North Carolinians joined the navy, 100 going at one time. ED.

BRIGADE ORGANIZATION.

VOL. 4, Page 442. The following North Carolina Artillery was at Johnston's Surrender:

Fortieth N. C. T. (Third Art.), serving as Infantry. See Vol. 2, p. 764. Batteries A and B (and such part of Battery C as had not been captured at Fort Fisher) of the Third N. C. Battalion. See Vol. 4, p. 269.

Atkins' Battery (B); two sections of Cumming's Battery (C), commanded by First Lieutenant Jno. W Galloway; Dixon's Battery (E), all of the Thirteenth (Starr's) N C. Battalion. See Vol. 4, pp. 352, 353, 362.

A. B. STRONACH.

RALEIGH, N. C.

GARLAND--IVERSON--JOHNSTON BRIGADE.

VOL. 4, Page 521, line 3. The author of this sketch is Joseph F Johnston (since the war, Governor of Alabama) and not James F Johnston.

ED.

CHAPLAIN SERVICE.

VOL. 4, Page 604. Frederic Fitzgerald should be added as a Chaplain in Second Regiment. The services of Chaplains were often brief and doubtless many other names are

omitted because not recorded on the Regimental Returns.

EDITOR.

ESCAPE FROM FORT WARREN.

VOL. 4, Page 733. Add to note at foot of page: Lieutenant Joseph W Alexander was a graduate of Annapolis; Lieutenant U. S. N. 1861; commanded C. S. S. *Raleigh* 1862, gun-boat *Beaufort* 1864. He was a son of Hon. Julius Alexander, of Charlotte, and uncle to Judge W A. Hoke.

W A. GRAHAM.

MACHPELAH, N. C.

GENERAL AND FIELD OFFICERS KILLED.

VOL. 5, Page 11. Line 7, for Saunders Fuller *read* Saunders F Fulton. ED.

FALL OF HATTERAS.

Vol. 5, Page 41–42. The corrected roster of Seventeenth Regiment of that date by the official records is, Company A Captain Thomas Sparrow (this was later transferred and became Company K, Tenth Regiment, 1st Art.); Company B. Captain Cahoon; Company C, Captain Leith; Company D. Captain Lamb; Company E. Captain Gilliam; Company F. Captain Martin; Company G. Captain Johnston; Company H. Captain Johnson; Company I. Captain Clements; Company K. Captain Sharp.

Page 52, *add*: "Among officers captured were Colonel J. A. J Bradford, Tenth Regiment (First Art.), N. C. T., and Lieutenant G. W Grimes, Company E, Seventeenth N. C. T., and Lieutenant M. T. Moye, Company G, same regiment.

EDITOR.

CAPTURE OF PLYMOUTH.

In VOL. 5, page 175, *insert* in line 4 of article the Fifty-fourth regiment as present in Hoke's Brigade at the Capture of Plymouth.

JOHN W GRAHAM.

HILLSBORO, N C.

PAROLE LIST AT APPOMATTOX.

VOL. 5, p. 537 E. J. Hale is there recorded as Captain and A. A. G. but it appears from General Lane's article that in fact at that time a commission had been issued to E. J. Hale as Major under the Act of Congress of 14 June, 1864. This commission was issued, for special services and distinguished gallantry, just before the retreat from Petersburg began and the change was doubtless overlooked in the hurried preparation of the Parole List. The generals and commanding officers of regiments signed the Parole Lists, giving their rank, as may be seen by the originals on file at Washington, but the staff and other officers did not sign the list.

VOL. 5, Page 574, Line 6. Since that page was printed the Parole List of Barringer's and Roberts' Cavalry Brigades, 118 names, has been obtained and printed *ante* page 657; of these only three names had been already given, so adding the 115 net increase we have a total of known North Carolinians on the Parole List of 5,132. Though for reasons there given the true number of officers and men from this State was doubtless about 5,500.

EDITOR.

Many officers and soldiers seeing surrender impending moved by dislike to give up the struggle, or fear of Northern prisons to which it was thought we would be sent, slipped through the lines to evade surrender and thus their names do not appear on the Parole List. On the morning of the Surrender at Appomattox I was with my regiment (Forty-fifth) at the time the last charge was made by Grimes' Division, to which it belonged. At the time I was suffering from an old open wound. Thinking that all prisoners would be marched back to City Point and thence transported to Northern prisons I left the field and started home moving down the Appomattox intending to cross in rear of Sheridan's cavalry during the night. I was captured late in the afternoon about ten miles down the river and was brought back to Gen. Grant's camp with about 150 others caught in like case offending. Without waiting for daylight we were started

early next morning for City Point. Owing to the condition of my wound, however, I was left at Farmville for medical treatment and was paroled there a few days later. In this way, the names of no small number of soldiers (some of whom effected their escape) who were with their commands at Appomattox fail to appear on the Parole List.

CYRUS B. WATSON.

WINSTON, N. C.

NOTE.—This was especially true of the cavalry whose opportunity for escape was better and this accounts in part for the very small number paroled in Barringer's and Roberts' N. C. Cavalry Brigades.—EDITOR.

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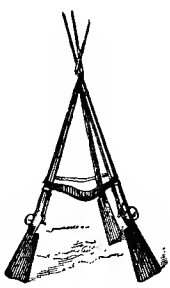
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